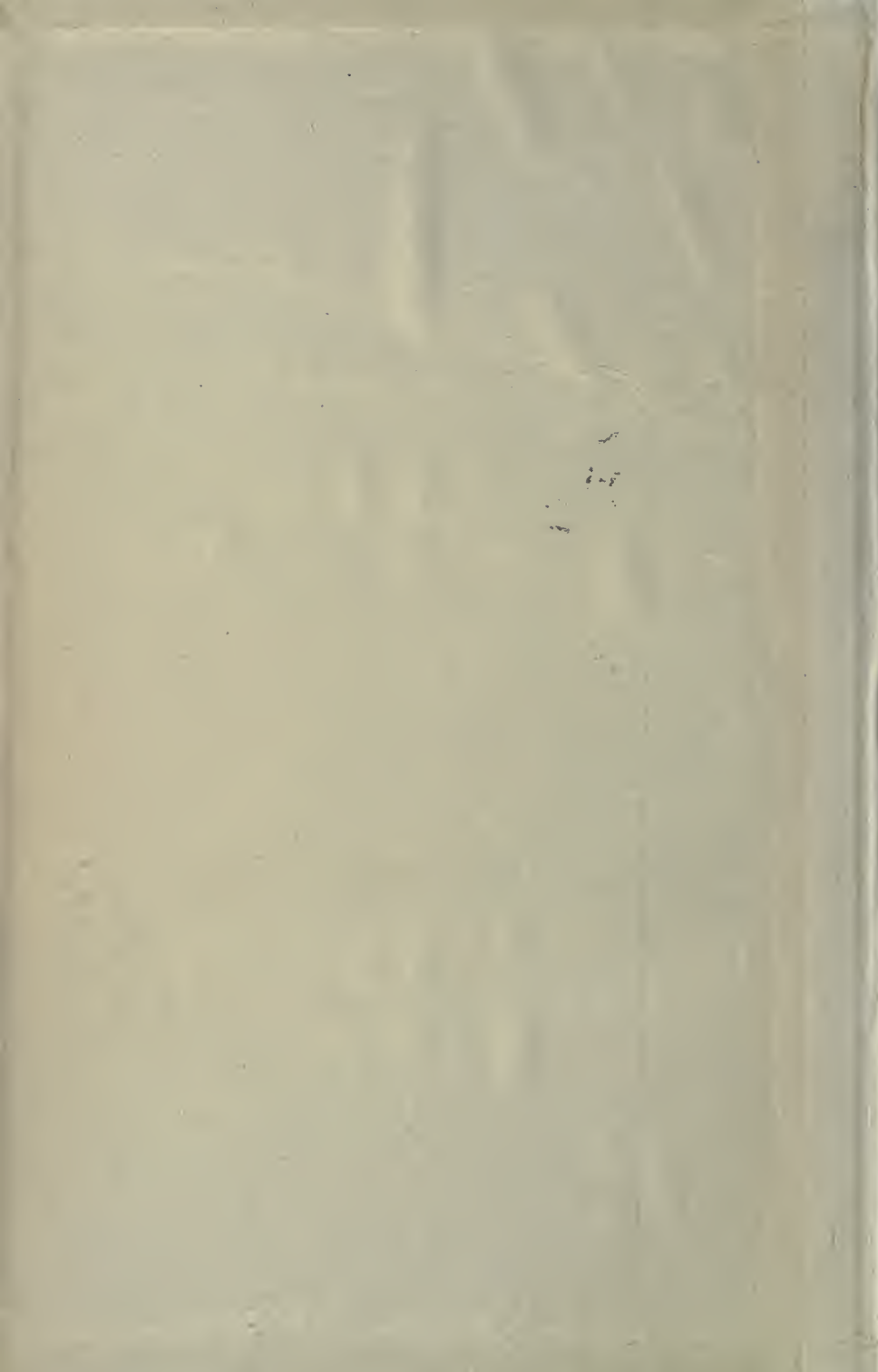
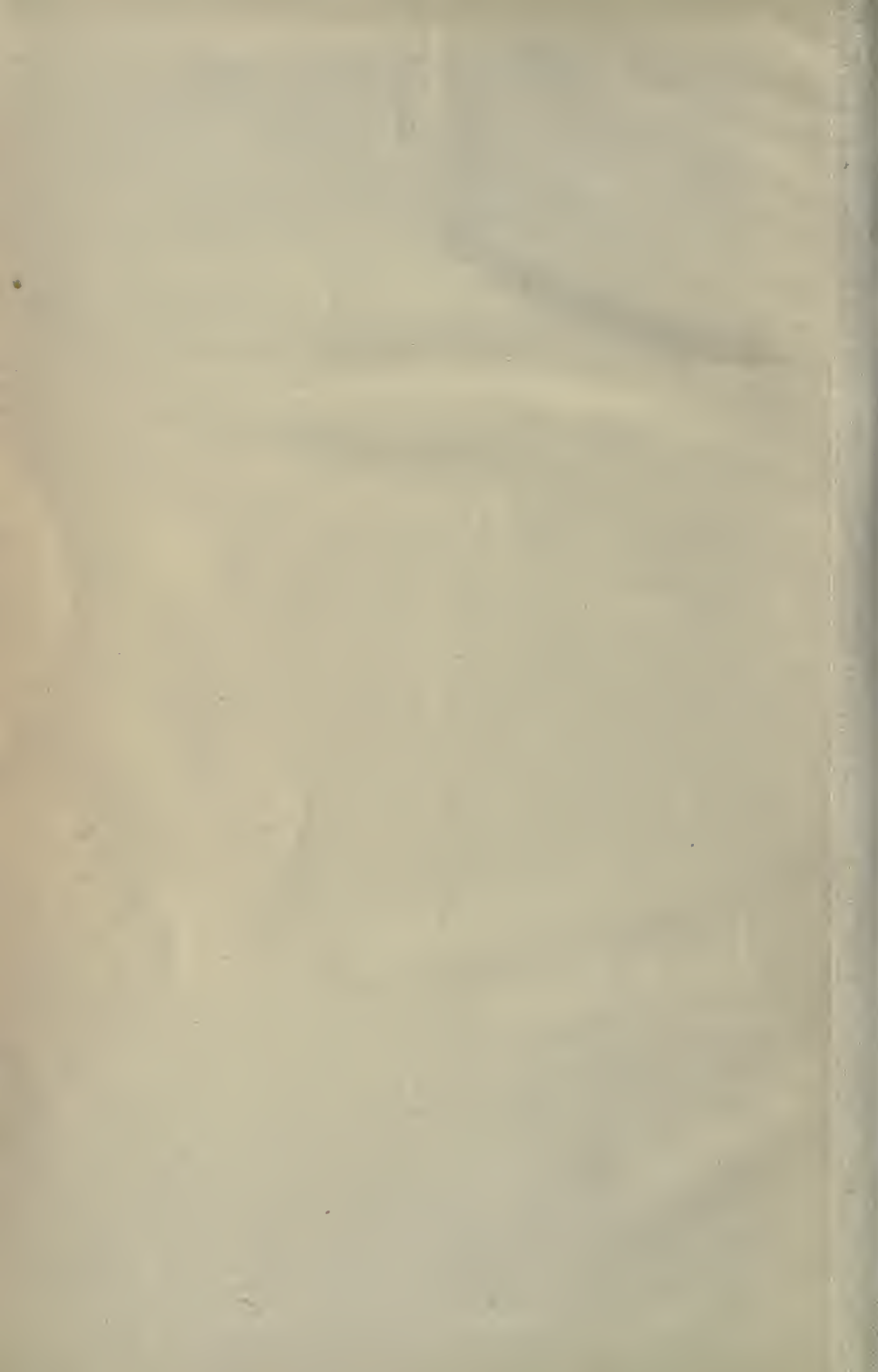
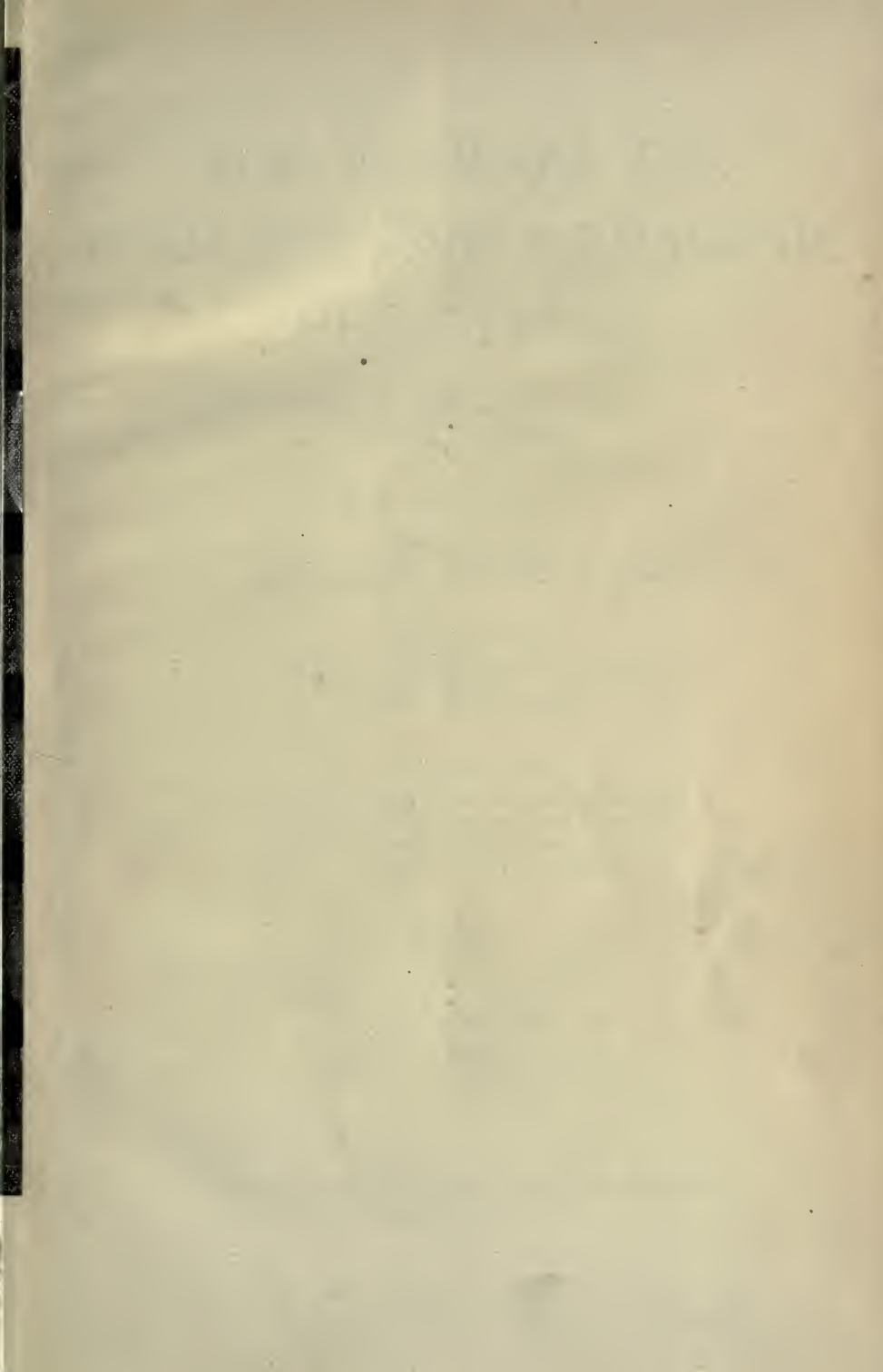


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LUTHER'S TRANSLATION OF THE PSALMS IN 1523-24.

The first edition of Luther's translation of the New Testament appeared in Wittenberg, in September, 1522. It was received with great enthusiasm, and although the price, one and one-half gulden, was high, it was not long before the edition was exhausted. The translation had been completed during the author's seclusion at the Wartburg, and needed but the critical hand of Melanchthon, and the ready advice of Spalatin to prepare it for the press. Its enthusiastic reception acted as an incentive to Luther, and led him to proceed to the translation of the Old Testament. For this task, while at the Wartburg, he had felt the need of advice from distant friends and of books not available in his Patmos. In Wittenberg all these were at hand, and so in the midst of strife and controversy, with the edict of Worms endangering his very existence, in the midst of preaching and teaching, Luther set his hand to the completion of his great undertaking: the translation of the whole Bible. The translation of the Old Testament appeared piece-meal, for the convenience of both the translator and the purchaser. The first part, containing the Pentateuch, appeared about the middle of the year 1523; the second part, containing the historical books, appeared without date, probably in the next year. The third part, as planned, was to contain the remaining Old Testament books with the exception of the Apochrypha. The stress of other duties, however, left the difficult Prophets to be added later, so that the third part, upon its appearance in September or October of 1524, contained Job, the Psalms, and the writings of Solomon (Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Solomon). This, then, was the first appearance of the entire Psalter as translated by Luther.¹

This translation of the whole Psalter marks a most significant stage in the activity of Luther. The work of 1523-24, to be sure, is far removed from the Psalter as it appeared in the complete Bible of 1545, because every subsequent edition after 1524 contained a number of changes and corrections. In the development

¹ Until recently it was thought that a separate edition of the Psalter had appeared before the first edition of the third part. Pietsch in his introduction to the manuscript shows that this Psalter was printed from the third part edition and not from the manuscript.

of the German Psalter as we have it today these later editions have their peculiar value and significance. In the work of Luther, however, the interest must center in the first complete edition. We need only remember that it remained the basis for future editions to show the logic of this procedure. What is more, the work of 1523-24 is much more Luther's own than the subsequent corrected editions on which he had the active assistance of a goodly circle of linguists and scholars. What he did in 1523-24 and how he did it remain after all the questions of most vital importance in the determining of the value of Luther's contribution.

It has been the rare good fortune of Luther students, that a large part of the original manuscript of the Bible translation has been preserved. Manuscripts in the archives at Zerbst, in Anhalt, and in the Royal Library at Berlin contain the greater part of the translation, written in the hand of Luther. The latter manuscript is of particular interest to us in this study of his Psalm translation. It contains, in addition to the original of the translation of Deuteronomy, the original in Luther's own hand of practically all of the third part of the Old Testament.² It has remained for the careful, scholarly work of Paul Pietsch in the Weimar edition of Luther's works to make this manuscript available to the most distant student. The first volume of the section devoted to the German Bible brings a faithful transcription of this manuscript with all its corrections and annotations.³

The manuscript is evidently the one which went to the press. The marks of the printer are everywhere in evidence, and it is a convincing bit of testimony to the stress of Luther's activity that a manuscript so full of annotations and corrections and not a clean copy, should have been placed in the hands of the printer. Of especial interest and of exceptional importance is the fact that absolutely everything in the manuscript with the exception of page numbering and the marks of the type-setter, is in the hand-writing of Luther himself. The original draft, as well as all marginal and foot-notes, headings, annotations, and corrections, is clearly the work of the great translator.

The corrections in the part of the manuscript containing the Psalms, as in all parts of the manuscript of the Bible translation,

² There are two gaps in the Psalms: 48.2-80.9 and 95.4-109.2.

³ *Luther's Werke. Deutsche Bibel I.* Weimar 1906, pp. 453-563.

are extremely numerous. These numerous corrections may, however, be grouped into two general classes. In the first class are immediate corrections made as the first draft was being written down. In the other class are corrections made when a general revision was undertaken. The corrections of the latter class are in red ink, and are naturally more numerous and more important than those made immediately at the time of the first draft. That we have to do here with a first draft as well as a printer's copy is evident upon closer examination. The number of immediate corrections proves this, and the nature of some of them proves it even more conclusively. Many are nothing more than corrections of slips in spelling, case, capitalization, word-order, or verse arrangement. The fact that an adjective is often added above the line, at a point preceding the noun it modifies, points to a first draft, for such an omission would be easily made and yet immediately caught, since the adjective followed the noun in both the Latin and Hebrew originals.⁴ The corrections in black ink, then, were not made at the time of a general revision, but at the time of the first draft. A general revision would have been far more comprehensive, and would have touched many passages which afterwards were revised.

When we discard, and discard correctly, the idea of a revision before the final red ink revision, we come upon peculiar and highly significant characteristics of the first draft. It contained (1) many blanks to be filled later with words or phrases; (2) many Hebrew and Latin words, phrases, and sentences in the text; (3) many verses left unfinished; (4) innumerable words and passages left with two or more parallel translations. All these peculiarities point to the fact that a revision was planned and then immediately undertaken. Whether undertaken at various stages of the translation, or at the end, we are unable to say from the manuscript. That it was a labor extending over many different days is evident, not only from the painstaking care exhibited, but also from the fact that more care was expended on some parts than on others. The call of other duties often took the writer from his work.

The red ink revision, of course, brought new renditions and translations, in some cases to render more nearly the language of the original, in others to improve upon the German. But the peculiar character of the first draft made other demands on the

⁴ Such insertions are found 5.8, 119.114, and 119.148.

revision. It had to fill blanks, cut Hebrew or Latin words and phrases, very often supply German equivalents, complete unfinished portions, and in the numerous cases of parallel translation, retain either one or the other, or supply a new word or phrase.

The nature of the corrections seems to prove that there was but one general revision. There are a few instances where the red ink translation is again changed, but these cases are so few in number that they may reasonably be looked upon as immediate corrections made at the time of the general revision. The resulting changes are consequently numerous, and vary in nature and scope. Nevertheless it is a significant fact which casts a strong light not only on the translating ability and language sense of the scribe, but also on his knowledge of the material in hand that forty-five per cent of the text needed no correction in the final revision and went to press in the form of the first draft. About twenty per cent of all the verses have no corrections whatsoever.

This manuscript of the Psalm translation has more than a mere antiquarian interest for the student of Luther. Indeed, it has an interest which is shared by no other part of the Bible translation. The reason for this lies in the fact that no other book of either Testament had been made, by Luther, the subject of so much labor as the Psalms. Naturally, there is no other book in which he felt so much at home, or of which his judgment was so sure. As a result, we are free to look upon the Psalm translation as the culmination and final member of a long series of labors. An examination of the manuscript is then of immense profit and advantage, since the previous history of the translation lies before us, and we need seldom puzzle over the reasons for a certain translation or rendition.

With the manuscript of the Psalm translation, we are given the key which unlocks the work-shop of the reformer. A careful comparison of the manuscript with his earlier exegetical labors explains to us the nature of the final rendition. A study of the corrections and annotations in the light of the material with which he worked, gives us many a clue to guide us in a determination of his sources and his attitude towards them. We are enabled to trace the development of the work as it grew, word by word, under the pen of the author, and arrive thereby at a clear estimate of his method of procedure. Finally with the genesis of the work clear to us, the sources determined, the method evolved, we can better appreciate the merit and value of the work as a literary monument, and dis-

cern more easily in how far it bears the personal stamp of the genius which called it into being.

As a source, this manuscript takes precedence over every other. Without the manuscript our study would be limited to a comparison of the printed edition of 1524 with the bits of translation appearing before that time, and with the subsequent editions. In a determination of Luther's basis of translation and method of procedure, this would be but little fruitful. We could arrive at conclusions only by inference because the nature of the printed edition of 1524 would remain an unknown factor. With the manuscript, however, the peculiar nature of the edition of 1524 is explicable. The manuscript gives us a wealth of material of primary value in the solution of those problems which must needs be left without solution if only the testimony of later editions be taken into account. The printed edition of 1523-24 is the fundamental basis, and until the nature of that basis is explained, the nature and cause and explanation of later changes must remain in doubt. The material for such an explanation is given in the manuscript as set down by Luther himself.

An understanding of the Psalm translation, and consequently of the manuscript of that translation, is attainable only when one has clearly in mind the position which the Psalms occupied in Luther's everyday life and thought, and when one sees in survey the scope and character of his work on the Psalms prior to the translation of 1523-4.

The translation of the Bible was an undertaking which his own teachings and labors had rendered imperative. He had set up the Scriptures as the source of all truth, and had refused to submit to any judgment not based on the Bible. His work he freely submitted to the test of Scriptural argument, and held his writings higher than other works not grounded in this manner. He urged his contemporaries to a constant reading and study of the Scriptures, and translated the Bible in order to give them the means and material for such study and reading. In his own life, reading and study of the Bible were not a mere diversion or literary exercise. They were an absolute necessity. The result was a keen and thorough knowledge of the Bible. He had not begun to study the Bible until he was twenty years old, but he made up in eagerness and zeal for this late beginning. When the life of the cloister gave him the opportunity for study, it was to the Bible that he turned his atten-

tion, and he read so diligently that in a short time he knew the book thoroughly. He afterwards says that he could quote the pages on which the various verses were to be found.⁵ With this in mind, we can appreciate the significance of his remark that in no part of the Bible was he so exercised as in the Psalms.⁶ This is to be explained by the high opinion in which he held them. For Luther the measure by which the value of a book of the Bible was to be ascertained was the directness of its reference to Christ and His teachings. With this in mind he called the Psalms a Bible in miniature, and says that the Psalter and the Pauline epistles are the noblest and at the same time the most difficult parts of the Bible. It was then but natural that in his earlier studies he should be led to emphasize the prophetic nature of the Psalms, and refer everything in them to the coming of the Messiah. Later, as he came to study them more closely, he became more and more impressed with the fact that they lent themselves to practical everyday application. They came to have a value in themselves apart from their prophetic qualities.

He pointed out an essential difference between the Psalms and the other books of the Old Testament. The vast body of the Old Testament meant for him a definition of the Law of God as revealed to man. In the Psalms, however, he saw, not the stern, law-giving, judging God, but the indulgent Father, who generously took into consideration the weaknesses and deficiencies of His children. So Luther came to see in the Psalms the portrayal of the soul of man seeking salvation. God, the Father, had foreseen the trials and tribulations of the erring man, and had given him this book of prayers and songs for use in moments of darkness and despair.

From our modern standpoint, this led to the one fundamental weakness in all Luther's exegetical commentary on the Psalms. Nowhere is any attempt made at historical criticism. For Luther the Psalms contained things eternal, whose meaning was entirely independent of time and place and circumstance of composition. The author was not David, but the spirit of God speaking through David. The "of David" in the titles of many of the poems, he construes more as a dative and says " . . . spiritus sancti qui fecit psalmum et revelabit Davidi seu ad David."⁷ The

⁵ Koestlin—*Martin Luther, sein Leben und seine Schriften*. Fünftz Auflage Berlin, 1903. I. 56.

⁶ Werke, Weimar. V. 22-23.

⁷ Werke, Weimar. III-41.

Psalms were for him part of the active working-machinery of the salvation-seeking Christian and his church. They were to be placed with the Lord's Prayer, the Decalogue, and the Apostles' Creed, and to be used daily in private prayer and public worship. He protested that in the Roman church not even a single "Psaelmlein" was to be heard, and when he came to work out his form of church service the Psalms received special prominence in the form of responsive readings and songs.

For the common man, in his private life, the Psalms were to be a source of comfort and inspiration. Everywhere we find him directing to the Psalms the attention of his friends in their hours of distress as well as in moments when fortune smiled. In his own life, the Psalter was his constant companion. On the way to Wittenberg the Swiss students found him in the inn at Jena, poring over a Hebrew Psalter; at the Wartburg he said his companion was the Psalter; at Koburg it was always at hand; and even while hunting, he carried it in his pocket. In his deepest moments we find him turning to the Psalter for comfort and consolation. In times of serious illness as in 1527 at Wittenberg, and in 1537 at Schmalkalden, he read Psalms or parts of Psalms. On hearing of the death of his father, he took his Psalter and retired to his chamber to pray. When the news of the death of his implacable enemy, Duke George of Saxony, was brought to him, he read the fifty-eighth Psalm. When his own hour had come and death was at hand, he repeated several times the twenty-first verse of the sixty-eighth Psalm. This constant reading and reciting of the Psalms led to a thorough knowledge of the book. During the illness of 1527 he often recited the whole sixth Psalm, and there can be no doubt that he knew by heart a large amount of the Psalter. It was his custom to recite sections of Psalms together with his morning and evening prayers,—a practice which he urged parents to encourage in their children.

With this high opinion of the Psalter and its practical value, it must have been exceedingly painful for Luther to see how the Psalms had disappeared from the public worship as well as from the every-day religious life of the common man. If the Psalter was to serve the high purposes and fill the dignified place which Luther desired, it must first be rescued from the oblivion into which it had undeservedly fallen. This was what Luther set out to accomplish, and the result was a number of critical and exegetical labors on the Psalms, designed to give a sound and serviceable explanation of

them. But these labors were not an end in themselves. The Psalter, once drawn out from "under the bench," must be made available for the common man. The early labors led inevitably to the translation of the whole Psalter, by which the Psalms would be made an integral part of the every-day religious observance of the people.

Luther's earliest labors on the Psalms were undertaken in connection with his activity as a teacher in the University of Wittenberg. In the year 1512 the degree of Doctor of Theology was conferred on Luther. The teachers of theology of the time did but little with the Bible, centering their attention on the "Sentences" of Peter Lombard. Fortunately, Wittenberg had a chair entitled "lectura in biblia," and this was given to Luther. Henceforward he lectured only on Biblical books of both Testaments, and called himself not Doctor of Theology but "Doktor der heiligen Schrift." It is of significance that his first course of lectures dealt with the Psalms, and no better proof can be found of the fact that the Psalms for him contained the kernel of faith. From them and from the Epistle to the Romans his own faith had been drawn, and these two books were the subject-matter of his earliest lectures.

These early lectures have come down to us as the first written work of Luther on the Psalms.⁸ Again we are fortunate in possessing two manuscript remains of this course of lectures. The one is in the library at Wolfenbuettel, the other in Dresden. The former is a Latin Psalter printed especially for Luther, with wide margins and double spacing, and contains numerous interlinear and marginal notes. The latter contains a series of longer commentaries on a large number of the Psalms. These "Scholae" were probably the lectures themselves, based on the "Glossae" or notes in the Psalter.

Of vast moment for his later translation is this work of 1513-1516. The work on a Psalm began with a careful study of the words themselves. Although Luther was as yet lacking in the knowledge of the Hebrew, we find him here turning back at times to the Hebrew original. More often he does not go back directly to the Hebrew but to Latin works based on the Hebrew. He is aided much by the works of Reuchlin, particularly the "*Septene psalmos poenitentiales hebraeos*" (1512), and the "*Rudimenta hebraica*" (1506).

⁸ Dictata super Psalterium. Werke, Weimar III. IV.

But his great aid on the linguistic side is the third Psalter version of Jerome, the "*Psalterium juxta Hebraeos*." This was the only part of Jerome's last Bible translation which had not been taken up as the Vulgate. It was made from the Hebrew texts of Jerome's time, and was accepted by Luther as the best rendition of the Hebrew. When he refers to the Hebrew it is generally to Jerome's last version, to which the reference points, and these references to Jerome are countless in number. In fact it may be said that he noted almost every instance where the work of Jerome differed from the Gallican Psalter of the Vulgate. In almost every case the testimony of Jerome is accepted over that of the Vulgate. We have here the first evidence of Luther's intimacy with and dependence on the work of Jerome,—facts which have not been sufficiently emphasized in the study of the Bible translation.

In his exegetical labor he shows here a wide knowledge of authorities, and uses with a discriminating judgment the whole critical machinery of his age. He said later that in the Epistle to the Hebrews he had used Chrysostom, that Jerome had been his aid in the Epistles to Titus and Galatians, but that in working with the Psalter, he had used all the writers. True to his hostility towards the philosophy of Scholasticism, he rejects flatly the opinions and commentary of the schoolmen and their master Aristotle. Everywhere he goes back to the church fathers, Augustine, Cassiodorus, Jerome, Lyra, Burgensis, and a host of minor writers. Not only churchmen are brought in. Destined as these lectures were for the university students, they were enriched with numerous references to the classic authors, to Pliny, Horace, Ovid, Vergil, and even Plato. Everywhere we have evidence of a wide reading and an earnest seeking after the truth of the work in hand.

The Psalter is for him the book referring directly to Christ and His teachings. Everything is to be and can be brought into close relation to the life of Christ. This tropological standpoint is carried out to its limits, and hence prevents the author from assuming any true attitude of historical criticism. It leads him away from a literal interpretation of the words of the Psalter, and lays the way open to numerous allegorical interpretations, many of which are almost ludicrous. His great master in this was Lefèvre D'Étaples, whose "*Quintuplex Psalterium*" (Paris 1509. Second Edition 1513) with its numerous notes not only confirmed Luther in his critical method, but also furnished him with the text of Je-

rome's last Psalter version from the original Hebrew. Everywhere, however, in critical comment as well as in linguistic discipline, we find Luther adopting that method of procedure which afterwards became the principle of his activity as a translator. The versions and the opinions of the authorities were carefully compared. With a respect for authority which savors of monastic days, Luther first sought to justify each from the text in hand. Only seldom was a version or opinion entirely discarded. Each had its bit of truth for Luther, and he strove to find that bit. After such comparison, however, the belief that he also was a seeker after truth, permitted him to sit in judgment. This or that opinion was accepted; sometimes an entirely new one came to his mind; or more often, the various bits of truth were gathered and combined. This last method led to interesting results when he came to work out his Psalm translation.

The first Psalm commentary of Luther was not published during his lifetime, although he promised to prepare it for the press. His failure to do this together with the urgent requests from his friends and listeners, led him to his second series of lectures and expositions on the Psalms, which appeared piece-meal from 1519 to 1521.⁹ The work takes up only the first twenty-two psalms, the last of which was finished at the Wartburg. On his return to Wittenberg the number of other duties prevented the completion of the work. The commentaries are so voluminous and wordy that Luther himself calls the work "geschwetzig." On the fifth psalm, for instance, the commentary consists of about thirty thousand words. The general method and attitude are similar to those of the earlier work, but the tone is different. The tone of the earlier work was more truly academic, that of the later more nearly polemic. The vast disturbances following the publication of the theses in 1517, had brought new aims and purposes into Luther's activity, and his critical labors after that time were bent to serve these ends. The great doctrine of justification by faith and the great combat with the Papacy are, in Luther's own words, the two "loci," which are agitated in his second Psalter commentary. Linguistically, the work is an advance, because of Luther's better knowledge of Hebrew, although he still complains that Hebrew grammar "does not entirely enter into the work." The work again shows the great influence of Jerome, whose final Psalter rendition is quoted time

⁹ Operationes in Psalmos. Werke, Weimar V.

and again. Critically, we find a slight regression from the absolute tropological attitude of the earlier work. The Psalms are coming to have a value apart from their prophetic nature.

In addition to these works of an academic nature, which were in the language of the educated classes of the day, there were many others, popular in nature and in the language of the people. Luther, early in his career, turned his attention to giving the lower classes the Psalms in the vernacular. A survey of these early translations of parts of the Psalter forms an introductory chapter to the "Third Part" as translated in 1523-4. The Psalms which appeared prior to 1524 are the following:

1517 Psalms 6, 32, 38, 51, 102, 130, 143.

1518 Psalm 110.

1521 Psalms 68, 119, 37, 10, 142.

1522 Psalms 12, 67, 51, 103, 20, 79, 25, 10.¹⁰

The earliest work which Luther himself gave to the press bears the date 1517, and is a translation with commentary of the seven Penitential Psalms.¹¹ In this, his earliest work of Psalm translation, it is of interest to note that he worked not only with the Vulgate text, but also with the text of Jerome's "Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos" and of Reuchlin's above mentioned "Septene." In his introduction he acknowledges this dependence, and says that he drew on these authorities for the sake of clearing up many difficult and vague passages in the Vulgate. The basis, then, remains the Vulgate, with Jerome and Reuchlin used as checks.

With the appearance of the "Auslegung des 109. (110.) Psalms"¹² in 1518, we come upon a favorite and characteristic practice of Luther in his commentary and translation. The work is dedicated to Hieronymus Ebner of Nuremberg, at the request of Luther's friend Scheurl. This remained a favorite habit of Luther's throughout his activity. Numerous Psalms were translated, explained, and annotated for the comfort of friends and congregations in distress. Other Psalms were worked over to aid in emphasizing some point in the controversial difficulties in which he was fast becoming

¹⁰ Koestlin (I. 573) in his list of these Psalms omits Psalms 10 and 142 of the year 1521. He also still accepts the view that a special edition of the Psalter appeared before the first edition of the Third Part of the Old Testament in 1524.

¹¹ Werke, Weimar I. 154-220.

¹² Werke, Weimar I. 687-710.

involved. As a result we find such commentary very often appended to works of a polemical nature, or at the end of a discussion touching on the subject-matter of the particular Psalm. In regard to the translation of Psalm 110; we find the general method of the Busspsalmen carried farther. He prefixed his comment on the Psalm with parallel Latin and German texts. This Latin text agrees exactly with Luther's Vulgate, with the exception of the difficult third verse. Here Luther, because of decided difficulty with the Vulgate, casts loose from the common rendition, and by a comparison of Jerome, Lyra, and probably the Hebrew, reconstructs his text so as to make sense. His collation was still undertaken almost wholly in the interests of clearness.

The next Psalm translations were made during the stay at the Wartburg. Psalms 68¹³ and 37¹⁴ were edited for his poor leaderless congregation at Wittenberg. The long Psalm 119 came as an appendage to his work "Von der Beicht; ob die der Papst Macht habe zu gepieten."¹⁵ In this work he drew largely from this Psalm, and decided to add the entire Psalm in translation. Psalm 142 was translated as a part of the work entitled "Troestung fuer eine Person in hohen Anfechtungen,"¹⁶ the whole more in sermon form than usual in his commentary. Finally, from the Wartburg dates Psalm 10 which appeared as a part of the work bearing the title "Die Bulla vom Abendfressen des Papstes."¹⁷ The Psalm was added in translation because in Luther's mind it depicted the Pope as the enemy of the church of Christ. The tone of the translation is very naturally rather more than a bit polemical, and when we find in the first draft of the translation of 1524 such expressions as "aufgeblasen", "maul", "tzufellet", "tzukrummet", "wueten," we can attribute their appearance to this earlier employment of the Psalm.

In all these Wartburg labors, we find the sources still varying. In Psalms 68, 37, and 119, we have a rendition drawing nearer to the Hebrew and yet showing a strong Vulgate influence. We know that Luther was busy with the Hebrew bible while at the Wartburg,¹⁸ and its use is apparent in his Psalm translation. The

¹³ Werke, Weimar VIII. 1-35.

¹⁴ Werke, Weimar VIII. 205-240.

¹⁵ Werke, Weimar VIII. 129-204.

¹⁶ Werke, Weimar VII. 779-791.

¹⁷ Werke, Weimar VIII. 688-720.

translation of the long Psalm 119 is especially interesting. When we read it in the light of the earlier "*Dictata super Psalterium*," we can distinguish passages which show the influence of the Hebrew and of Jerome's last Psalter. The method was undoubtedly similar to that of the "*Sieben Busspsalmen*," of 1517 except that the Hebrew had come more into its own. An interesting peculiarity is to be noted. Whereas the use of the Hebrew is unmistakable in the translation itself, the quotations from other Psalms in the commentary are almost directly from the Vulgate. This same dependence on the Vulgate is shown best in Psalm 142, which is very nearly a literal rendition of the Vulgate.

The remaining Psalms which appeared before the edition of 1524 composed parts of the "*Betbuechlein*" of 1522. By their introduction here, Luther wanted to bring home to his people the principle that the Psalms should form in their lives, as they did in his, a very integral part of all religious experience and observance.

There remains to mention only the great use made of Psalms in quotation. All Luther's works of religious or polemical nature in both German or Latin are full of Biblical quotations. Of these numerous quotations, the quotations from the Psalms outnumber those from any other book of the Bible. In his quoting, several peculiarities are apparent. One is that many quotations appear as deliberate paraphrases in which nothing more than the general tone of the Biblical rendering is retained. Another is that many quotations appear in free adaptation, leading us to believe that Luther quoted very largely from memory. An added support for this contention is offered in the numerous slips which occur when Luther attempts to cite the passage exactly. This variance of quotation did not seem to worry the author in the least. In his work "*Grund und Ursach aller Artikel*,"¹⁸ Psa'm 19.13 appears four times in various forms. This same verse appears five times in other works of Luther of the same period in as many different forms. A third peculiarity is the deliberate combination and adaptation of Bible quotations to fit the passage or occasion. Luther's words as he laid the bull of excommunication on the flames are a good example of this: "Because thou hast troubled the anointed of the Lord, the everlasting fire shall destroy thee,"—a combination of Joshua 7. 25 with Mark 1. 24 and Acts 2. 27, made to fit the occasion. This manner of quoting throws a bright light on Luther's attitude

¹⁸ Werke, Weimar VII. 299-458.

toward the Scriptural text. In it he saw the everlasting truth, and to it he turned for support and guidance in his work. But he was not actuated by a reverence and worship of the abstract word. With the words themselves he felt perfectly free to operate as he chose, or as the exigencies of the situation demanded, as long as the sense, as he conceived it, remained intact. This attitude, in itself, is of vast importance when we find Luther at work as a translator. Filled with a feeling that he is dealing with the truth and that he has discovered that truth for himself, he is not hampered by an awe or a reverence for the words in their literal significance.

As a result of these continued labors Luther began the Psalm translation in a spirit somewhat different from that in which he went at the other parts of the Bible. He knew the Psalms thoroughly; they had become part of his daily life. His knowledge of the languages gave him the means of entering into a linguistic study of the various texts and versions. Much of the Psalter had been translated by him before, and much of it he knew by heart in Latin and in German. The result of all this was a confidence which Job, for instance, did not instill. Coupled with this confidence was the determination to give his people a better version of the Psalter than the earlier ones had been.

The spirit in which he began his translation is shown in his preface to his second Psalm commentary, the "*Operationes in Psalmos*," dedicated to his friend and protector, the Elector Frederick the Wise of Saxony. The words written there might be placed as an introduction to the Psalm translation. With all his knowledge and after all his study, he still felt it highly presumptuous of him to attempt the elucidation of the Holy Writ, for "who will presume to say that he understands fully and in all its parts any one book of the Scriptures," or "who will presume to maintain that he understands fully and perfectly any single Psalm." Nevertheless he feels sure of himself and makes this reckoning with his authorities that what he says may not be the only true meaning, but it is truth.¹⁹ He may see many things which Augustine or Jerome did not see.¹⁹ The principle then is that all must mutually assist each other.¹⁹ He is ready to assign to each his element of truth, and to use each in proportion to the truth which he believes it to contain. It is in this spirit that he begins his translation, and it remains for us to follow him in his labors and see the work grow into being.

¹⁹ Werke, Weimar V. 23.

The first question that is naturally raised in connection with the Bible translation, either as a whole or in any of its parts, is the question as to the use of the original text, and of the various versions as bases for translation. It has become almost a tradition in this connection to say that the basis for Luther's New Testament translation was the edition of the Greek text made by Erasmus, and that Luther's Old Testament translation was from the original Hebrew text of an edition which appeared in Brescia in the year 1494.²⁰ Generally speaking, or for the information of the casual reader, this statement is correct. With regard to the Psalms however, a careful study of the manuscript leads us to a conclusion which is not diametrically opposed to the above statement, but which adds a few necessary qualifications and reservations. In preparing his press manuscript of the translation of the Psalter, Luther made use of the Hebrew Psalter, the Gallican Psalter of the Vulgate version, and the third version of Jerome, the "Psalterium juxta Hebraeos." It is exceedingly difficult to assign to any of these three the position of basis, subordinating thereby the others to the rank of auxiliary. Nor is it possible to say that any one of the three was consistently used as a check, or that the revision was undertaken at the hand of one or the other. The original draft and the revised manuscript as it went to press were moreover the result of a collating of the three versions before the translator. After a comparison of the three, the author accepted those readings which appeared to him the true ones regardless of the Psalter in which they happened to be found. Luther's resulting Psalter is not a translation of the Hebrew Psalter, nor is it a translation of the Hebrew Psalter corrected from the Vulgate, nor vice versa. It is a translation of what appeared to him to be the correct version as it resulted from a comparison of the text of the Hebrew with the versions of the Vulgate and the third translation of Jerome.²¹

It becomes apparent immediately that Luther's treatment of the Hebrew is not in accord with the principles which modern research

²⁰ Briggs—The Book of Psalms. *International Critical Commentary*, 1908. I. Introd. 24.

²¹ The question as to the probable influence of earlier German versions is left for a future discussion. Such influence has been traced with success in other parts of the Bible (Florer—Luther's Use of the Pre-Lutheran Versions of the Bible. Ann Arbor, 1912.). In the Psalms no apparent dependence appears, which would warrant treating these versions among the primary sources.

would demand. We today make a distinction between text and version. For us the Hebrew is the original text, and such works as the Gallican Psalter and the Third Psalter of Jerome we consider versions. Luther certainly had this idea, but in his method this distinction is not consistently observed. The examples which we shall introduce later will serve to illustrate the point that Luther made no distinction in his treatment of text and version. The inevitable result is that the text came to have but little more authority than the versions. Hence, differences and deviations from this "text-version" were not necessarily errors, but retained their validity. It is as if an English translator of Homer would use the German translation of Voss and the Greek text as of almost equal value. Such was the fundamental error in Luther's procedure, but it was this which gave to his translation of the Psalms its peculiar character. It is a collation of the three Psalters in which the Hebrew original text is treated as if it were but another version, to be submitted to the same collation and comparison as the Vulgate and Jerome.

This treatment of the Hebrew no doubt had its source in Luther's fear that he was not well-grounded in this subject, although his translation bears ample evidence that his fears were largely imaginary. He had always insisted that a knowledge of Hebrew was necessary to a complete understanding of the Old Testament. He urged the study of Hebrew in the universities, and bent all his energies to secure for his own university a competent teacher of the subject. He himself strove to acquire a knowledge of the language. We find him at various times reading in the Hebrew Psalter. Such a Psalter, with Latin marginal notes in his own hand, has been preserved in Frankfort-am-Main. At the hand of Reuchlin he had gone back to the Hebrew in earlier translations, and Reuchlin's "Rudimenta" had been his text-book. His lectures and commentaries are full of notes on the Hebrew and conclusions drawn from a study of the Hebrew word. We do Luther an injustice when we belittle his knowledge of Hebrew, although his own remarks would lead us to do so. Most of the variations from the Hebrew in his translation are not due to ignorance; they appear as errors or liberties because we insist on making him a translator of the Hebrew. He was not this and never intended to be. In his program the Hebrew was only one of the several "versions."

As a version, it was considered by the translator to be an important one, in fact the most important one. This is attested by the part it plays in the evolution of the Psalm manuscript. Many Psalms are almost direct from the Hebrew with but little comparison with other versions (Psalms 13, 14, 19, 83, 85, 86). Other Psalms show that he followed the Hebrew only when apparent and almost irreconcilable divergences existed (Psalm 24). Isolated passages where the Hebrew differed from the other versions and where Luther followed the Hebrew are numerous (23.4, 27.9, 28.1, 28.9, 32.4, etc.). At times when extreme difficulty beset him, he cast loose and followed the Hebrew with no regard for comparison (45.15). Where real differences of great moment exist, such as the interpolation in Psalm 14 at verse three of the passage in Romans 3.12-18, he followed the Hebrew as supported by Jerome. This dependence on the Hebrew has misled students into believing that we have to deal here with a free translation from the Hebrew, or a translation mediated by the Vulgate. The first position is untenable because the seeming freedom can be explained by reference to the Vulgate or Jerome's third Psalter. The second position would not explain passages literally from the Vulgate or Jerome, where the Hebrew divergence is ignored. The logical position is one in which the three Psalters are treated as versions of varying value, but all to be submitted to the same method of procedure.

If Hebrew was not entirely and actively in the earlier works, Latin was there, and there on a firm basis of critical knowledge and ample practice. In his work on the Psalms, any attempt on his part to get away from the Latin Psalter would have been folly indeed. He knew the Psalms by heart in Latin, and that language was more fluent on his tongue than his native German. We must remember that the medium through which all these men had learned their Hebrew and Greek, was Latin, the language of the cloister and the university. The Hebrew Psalter in Frankfort with its marginal notes is of interest here. The notes are but a few Latin words in the margin. In Psalm 119 they are the beginning words, found in the Vulgate, of various sections of that long alphabetical Psalm.²² It would seem that he read his Hebrew Psalter in Latin.

Before pointing out the influence of the Latin Vulgate on the Psalm translation, it is necessary to protest against a serious mis-

²² Werke, Weimar IX. 45.

take, which, if accepted, would lead to the exclusion of the Vulgate from serious consideration in the Bible translation. Many authors have been led into a supposition that there was a feeling of hostility towards the Vulgate in Luther's mind. The reasoning is easily followed. The Vulgate was the book of the Roman Church, and as an enemy of the Pope and of the Church, he might also be an enemy of the book. This is not the case. The Vulgate was for Luther one of the versions of the word of God, and hence worthy of serious consideration and study. His criticism of the Roman Church was not that it made use of the Vulgate, but that it made no use of it. To be sure he had often pointed out places where the Vulgate might be improved upon, but there were other Vulgate translations which he had defended. When another version or interpretation seemed more logical, he turned to it; but when the Vulgate spoke truth to him, it was worthy of being accepted. Even after his own Bible had made its triumphant way through Germany, there was no open hostility towards the Vulgate, which it had in numerous cases superseded. As late as 1529 we find the Lord's Prayer in his Catechism still appearing in accord with the Vulgate, even after his Bible translation had made the necessary additions from the Hebrew. He wanted to give his people a better Psalter than the Vulgate, but it would have been entirely contradictory to the principles and program of Luther to work without the Vulgate as an aid in his Bible translation.

The Vulgate influence on the first draft is rather difficult to measure and determine exactly. Where Hebrew and Latin are in agreement and Luther's translation is in accord with them, the question of influence has to be laid aside. Where apparent differences occur, we can proceed with more assurance. Many of these differences have remained for more modern investigation to determine. Of many, however, Luther was aware. Since he treated the Hebrew as a version, he proceeded in such cases to determine which was the most logical, and many times his decision favored the Vulgate. In such cases we are able to point to an influence of the Vulgate. Of equal importance is the large number of passages in which his knowledge of Latin and the fact that it was the medium through which the Hebrew had been learned led to readings of the Hebrew which were influenced by the Latin. That this is an influence of the Vulgate is not to be denied. The familiarity of

Luther with the Latin very naturally led him to read the Latin version into the Hebrew.²³

Many verses seem directly from the Vulgate, as, for instance, the opening verses of Psalm 20. The whole of Psalm 123 is very likely a direct rendition of the Vulgate text with but little regard for comparison, whereas Psalm 23 seems to have been subjected to a double translation from the Hebrew and the Vulgate. Almost countless are the occurrences, minor in nature, of similarity of voice, tense, or mood, where we are at liberty to trace an influence of the Vulgate. Of the two hundred and twenty odd passages that exhibit the influence of the Vulgate, the following will serve as examples. The relation is best shown by a quotation²⁴ of the key word in Luther's translation, the corresponding word in the Vulgate, and in a literal translation from the Hebrew.²⁵

The Vulgate and Jerome's third version are of influence, particularly in the translation of those words and phrases which refer to the theological doctrines and beliefs of the time. This situation is to be explained by the fact that critical machinery was still lacking, by means of which Luther could have determined the differences in

²³ This same influence of the Vulgate was shown to exist for Job, in a paper by Florer and Lauer, read before the Modern Language Association at Chicago in 1908.

²⁴ For the sake of convenience and brevity the following abbreviations will be used in quoting: H.=Hebrew, V.=Vulgate, J.="Psalterium juxta Hebraeos" of Jerome and L.=Luther's translation of 1524 in manuscript.

²⁵ A word should be said with respect to the renditions of the Hebrew which appear in the paper. Exception may be taken to some on the ground that these are not the only possible translations and in many cases not the ones which modern research accepts as correct. Everywhere the attempt was made to incorporate those renditions which would have been for Luther, literal translations. It is obvious that Luther's Hebrew must not be measured in the light of modern research. To discover these Luther renditions was of course impossible at times, but in most cases, hints in the "Dictata" and the "Operationes" coupled with the historically critical work of Briggs (see below) and the testimony of modern translators (De Wette, Kautsch, Bindseil and Niemeyer) made possible at least an approach to accuracy.

Ps.	6.8	L. zorn	V. furore	H. grief
"	9.21	" lerer	" legislatozem	" fear
"	15. 5	" gellt	" pecuniam	" silver
"	17. 8	" augapffel im auge	" pupillam oculi	" daughter of the eye
"	30.10	" ynn das verwesen	" in corruptionem	" in the ditch
"	31.22	" festen stad	" civitate munita	" city of siege
"	114. 1	" wilden	" barbaro	" strangely speaking

belief between the writer of the Psalms and the people of the early sixteenth century. The Hebrew "goyim" is almost universally rendered "heyden," because of the Vulgate "gentes." In fact the Hebrew came to have that meaning for him. The great schism led to the translation "ketzer" in 119.113 for the Latin "iniquos" and the Hebrew "those of doubtful thoughts." That this translation is also contained in the word "heyden" is shown by a note in an earlier work, in which the Latin "gentes" is explained as "contra Ecclesiam."²⁶ In the same way the Hebrew "Sheol" becomes "helle" because of the Latin "inferno." Strange as it may seem, the name Messiah appears but once (84.10) in the Psalm translation; and here, combining the Vulgate "Christi" with the Hebrew "the anointed", Luther renders "gesalbten Messia." Luther had departed from the extreme position of the first Psalm commentary, in which everything in the Psalms was referred to Christ. Here he gave them a more independent position, and studiously avoided reading into them any interpretation which might be turned so as to appear unduly prophetic. His faithfulness in this respect is best illustrated by a little correction in the title of Psalm 9. The first draft "von dem Son" is changed to "von der iugent des sons"—the change from capital to small letter being of particular significance.

The third version which served as a basis for the Psalm translation was the "Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos" of Jerome. Whether or not Luther had a separate edition of this Psalter we do not know. We do know that he used the text appearing in the "Quintuplex Psalterium" of Lefèvre D'Étaples, because his copy of this work, with numerous notes in Luther's own hand, has come down to us. Just when Luther first became acquainted with this additional Psalter of Jerome is uncertain. We find numerous references to it in the "Dictata super Psalterium." Here in almost every instance in which variations occur, the Glossae bring the Jerome reading in a note, while the Scholae contain references not only to the text of Jerome, but also numerous citations from his commentaries. The translation of the Penitential Psalms was influenced by this Psalter as the introduction says, and in the second Psalm commentary, it is the "iuxta Hebraeos" which is again used on every page. In the face of this constant use of Jerome's last version, extending over many years preceding the Psalm translation, it is surprising that

²⁶ Werke, Weimar III. 179.

the influence of Jerome's work on the translation of 1524 should have been overlooked and disregarded.

It goes without saying that Luther respected the labors of Jerome, for the activity of Jerome is very closely paralleled by the later work of Luther. Jerome began with a translation of the Greek Septuagint, which occupied much the same place for him that the Vulgate did for Luther. Jerome's next attempt drew in the Hextupla of Origen, very much as Luther later called on Reuchlin and Jerome. Finally Jerome went back to the original Hebrew, which he translated with all the aids he could muster. So with Luther in his final rendering. This last version of Jerome was of inestimable value to Luther. In his earlier labors it had been the mediator between the Hebrew and the Latin. In fact the references to Jerome in the "Dictata" are made simply as "Hebreo," and Luther often quotes this version as if it were the Hebrew original.²⁷ In case of disagreement between Vulgate and Hebrew, it was natural to turn to Jerome, and in case of difficulty with the Hebrew, the last version of Jerome came as a much-needed reference.

To determine the places where Jerome's "juxta Hebraeos" influenced the translation is difficult, since the close agreement of Jerome with the Hebrew lays the interpretation always open to the objection that it is the Hebrew and not Jerome which is being translated. There are however a number of passages in which the influence of Jerome can be readily discerned, both in the first draft and in the revised version. The following, quoted by the key word, will serve to illustrate:

Ps. 10.7	L. geytz	J. avaritia
" 16.4	" gotzen	" idola
" 2.2	" radschlahen	" tractabunt
" 19.2	" erzelen	" enarrant
" 29.4	" zierden	" decore
" 26.7	" predigt	" predicem
" 91.6	" seuche	" morsu
" 35.2	" spies	" hastam

In all these instances, the corresponding words of the Vulgate and of the Hebrew differ from the rendering in the last Psalter of Jerome.

The influence of Jerome is most noticeable in the translation of those passages which gave Luther difficulty, or in which striking differences between the Vulgate and the Hebrew met the translator.

²⁷ Werke, Weimar, III. 469.

In such cases Jerome was called in. This is true in Psalm 35, in which the "juxta Hebraeos" appears as a mediator between the Vulgate and the Hebrew. Psalm 10 clearly shows the influence of Jerome, for Luther here, in the first five verses, follows the version of Jerome almost directly. This contention is borne out by the fact that in the "Operationes in Psalmos," the complete rendition of Jerome is quoted in the commentary on the Psalm.²⁸ In one other respect is the influence of Jerome to be noted. This is in the translation of the titles. Perhaps nothing in the whole Psalter has given the commentator and translator more serious difficulty than these titles. Our modern criticism has, to all appearances, cleared up the matter by regarding most of them as marks designating earlier Psalter collections, and the remainder as musical directions, or assignments to liturgical use. We no longer see fit to attempt a reading in accordance with the content of the Psalm to which the title is prefixed. But it has taken centuries to decipher these mysterious words, and for Luther they were a matter of difficulty. In his earlier works, he spent much time and labor on the explanation of the titles, mainly because he attempted to bring the title into accord with the content of the Psalm—an attempt which often bordered on the impossible. An examination of the various titles points to extreme labor on the part of Luther and a leaning toward the authority of Jerome.

The common "ynn der hohe" from "oben zu singen" or "hoch zu singen" (V. "in finem," J. "ad victoriam," H. "of the Director") is very much Luther's own, in accord with his idea of the temple ceremony. In the same way, the Songs of Degrees become for him first "stufen lieder" or "auffsteygend lieder," to be superseded by "lieder ym hoehern chor." The labor which he expended on these titles is illustrated in the case of the difficult "Miktam." In the "Dictata,"²⁹ at the first appearance of the word in the title of Psalm 16, he quotes Jerome, Paulus Burgensis, Lyra, Augustine, and Cassiodorus. Finally he sums up by saying that Lyra emphasizes "aureus psalmus," Burgensis "de aurea materia", and Jerome "ab aureo authore," and hence he evolves "Eyn gulden Kleynod Davids." The influence of Jerome is seen in the translation of the musical directions (Ps. 5. "fur die erbe" from Jerome's "pro hereditatibus" and Ps. 46 "von der iugent" from Jerome's "pro juven-

²⁸ Werke, Weimar V. 330.

²⁹ Werke, Weimar III. 102.

tutibus"). An annotation in Psalm 42 bears witness to the influence of Jerome. The "Maskil" of the title had given trouble before. Here Luther renders it "verstand klug lied" and adds the Latin "Eruditus Psalmus" in accord with Jerome's "Eruditio." These several citations point to an influence of Jerome—an influence which is all the more comprehensible when we find that the passages in which the Jerome influence is discernible are those which were explained by a reference to Jerome in the earlier exegetical labors.

The influence of these earlier works on the Psalm translation is not to be underestimated. The nature of the earlier work, the "Dictata super Psalterium," made it an excellent preparation for the Psalm translation. The Glossae brought an interlinear commentary; the notes brought parallel renditions from other versions, and the Scholae brought a compilation of the exegetical labors of earlier commentators. The Vulgate text was explained by the insertion of numerous synonyms and explanatory phrases. Derivations of words were explained, and things geographic and scientific were elucidated to the best of the writer's ability. The second commentary continued this method for the first twenty-two Psalms. It is not to be wondered at that these notes and commentaries come to light again in the Bible translation. One need not assume that the works were actually before Luther at the time of translation. The earlier work had fixed certain interpretations of familiar words and phrases, and it made but little difference which version was being used. A few striking examples will suffice.

Ps. 7.16. A gloss (Werke, Weimar III.-76) to the V. "foveam" brings "perditionem" which appears in 1524 as "verderben," afterwards revised to the literal "loch."

Ps. 23.2 V. "super aquam refectionis educavit me." A gloss (Werke, Weimar III.-139) to "educavit" brings "nutrivit" and hence 1524 first draft "neeret mich am wasser guter ruge."

Ps. 41.3. A gloss (Werke, Weimar III.-229) to "animam" brings "voluntatem" which leads to "willen" in the first draft of 1524. The same situation prevails in Psalm 27.12.

Ps. 6.8 V. "turbatus est." In the Operationes we have "Reuchlin sic: verminavit" and hence the participle "vermottet" in 1524.

Ps. 22.30. The change from "Es beugen sich" to "Las Knye beugen" is foreshadowed by the gloss to "cadent": "genu flectent" in the Operationes (Werke, Weimar V.-667).

Ps. 17.14. The "leutten deyner hand" becomes clear when we find "todten" over the line and read in the *Operationes* (Werke, Weimar V.-485) that "leutten deyner hand" meant to Luther those dying touched by the hand of God, hence Jerome "qui mortui sunt in profundo." The "todten" then does not become a free translation, but one prepared by earlier labors.

Ps. 25.14. A gloss (Werke, Weimar III.-144) to "hereditabit" is "possidebit" and hence "besitzen" in 1524.

From this discussion of the sources we can arrive at some conclusion as to the method employed. That the work was a collation of the versions is seen by the nature of the first draft. But one other point needs emphasis. A mere difference of authority did not necessarily constitute one correct, and the others wrong. Not even was the Hebrew favored in this regard. In his earlier work, Luther had been eager in all cases of disagreement to allow perfect justice to come to each authority. Witness the discussion in the *Dictata* on the word *Miktam*, in which seven authorities are quoted and each translation justified. So now in the Bible translation he strives to accept as much of each version as possible, and attempts to combine the various renderings. At times it seems as if he put the three texts together and then made his translation from the resultant of the three. In a larger number of cases it is the Hebrew and Vulgate which are combined.³⁰ The first draft, as a result of this method, presents a number of peculiarities worthy of note. The first is a number of unfinished passages. Very often a word gave the translator difficulty causing a blank to be left, or the insertion of a Hebrew or Latin word (44.10, 44.24, 43.2, 38.9, 118.12, 31.14, among others). In almost every case, the cause of the difficulty was a divergence of the Hebrew and the Vulgate. This also caused whole passages to be left blank (32.7 and 87.7 among others).

The second peculiarity is the fact that a large number of passages were left with parallel translations. As excellent examples, the following may be quoted:

Ps. 44.6 "wollen," "mugen," "kuenden," and "werden" left as auxiliary to go with verb "stossen."

Ps. 89.29 "sicher," "trew", and "fest" as adverb with verb "bleyben."

³⁰ 29.1, 47.10, 2.12, 89.3, 6.7, 87.6, 88.19, 109.19, 112.6, 140.11, and numerous other instances are examples of such combination.

Ps. 119.1. Two idioms remaining: "die on wandel sind auff dem wege" and "die eyn wesen furen on tadel."

Ps. 39.8 "meyn harren ist auff dich." The word "ich" above the line points to a second possibility.

Ps. 42.10. Two parallel renditions: "weyl meyn feynd mich drenget" and "ymb des dranges willen engstet."

The large number of these constructions remaining double and their various nature may be traced to three causes:

1. The natural difficulties of translation and the keen desire of Luther to find the right word, together with his admitted ignorance of colloquial German, led him to postpone the final settlement of the correct translation until the time of the general revision.

2. Coupled with this was the fact that Luther, together with all his contemporary authors, loved to pile up synonyms. We find this in all his earlier work, and excellent examples can be found in both Latin and German writings. One of the early Latin sermons has the following German insert:

. "Sunt enim: vergiftete Schlangen, Verraether, Verloffer, Moerder, Diebe, Stroeter, Tyrannen, Teuffel und alles Unglueck, verzweiffelt, unglaubig Neidhardt und Hasser."³¹

In the "Dictata super Psalterium" we have in a note to the word "sigillatim" the following piling up:

. "singulatim, singillatim, singulanter, seorsum, solitari, propie, distributavi."³²

This practice led to any number of insertions of synonyms left to be decided upon revision.

3. In addition to these two causes, however, there was a third, entirely in keeping with his method of translating. He found upon comparison of the versions that different shades of meaning were expressed. In the first flow of translation it would have interfered too much to have decided one way or the other at the time. Hence many passages were left double because of differences, more or less great, in the Hebrew and Vulgate. To illustrate:

Ps. 18.20	L. wollen: wolgefallen	V. voluit	H. delight.
" 18.46	" veralltet: faulet	" inveterati	" fade.
" 21. 3	" wollten: fodderten	" voluntate	" request.
" 37.35	" mechtig: grewlich	" superexaltium	" ruthless.
" 40. 9	" willen: lust	" volue	" delight

³¹ Werke, Weimar I. Sermones aus den Jahren 1514-1517. Sermon 4.

³² Werke, Weimar III. 180.

Ps. 41.11	L. wecke: richte	V. resuscita	H. raise
" 44.14	" setzest: machst	" posuisti	" make.
" 44.25	" trubsal: drang	" tribulationis	" oppression.
" 90. 1	" zuflucht: wonung	" refugiam	" habitation.
" 91. 2	" zuflucht: burg	" refugiam	" fortress.
" 93. 2	" fertigt: bereyt	" parata	" established.
" 119.25	" boden: staub	" pavimento	" dust
" 136. 6	" gefestiget: ausbreyttet	" firmavit	" spread out.
" 129. 4	" ioch: seyle	" cervices	" cord

These peculiarities of the first draft are the results of his method of procedure. A revision was in the mind of the author, while the first draft was in the process of completion. When this revision was undertaken, the same principles and method of translation still prevailed.

The revision had first of all to deal with the unfinished parts. Since these had been caused by a divergence of the sources or by excessive difficulty, they remained difficult spots. The result is that in most cases he departed from his method of comparison, and followed the Hebrew. At other places he made a last attempt at reconciling the versions. The passages remaining double then drew his attention. The various possibilities were examined in the light of the versions, and a decision reached in favor of one or the other. In some cases the form corresponding more nearly to the Latin was favored; in others, the form closer to the Hebrew; in some cases, both were discarded. There can be no more direct proof that the manuscript was not corrected to conform to any one of the three versions. In cases where it was merely a choice of synonym, the choice was naturally controlled by questions of accuracy, variety, shade of meaning, etc.

In addition to these changes in revision which the condition of the first draft made imperative, the author made a large number of others. This was in keeping with his whole aim in translating. He wanted to render the Scriptures into the best possible German, and was never satisfied with his work. He thought there was always room for improvement, even in places where there was no question of the accuracy of the first draft. Many of the corrections are to be attributed to this indefatigable labor and ardent zeal; others, however, are the result of continued comparison of the three versions before him. As a result of this comparison of the three sources, a large number of revisions were made, which brought the final rendition closer to one or the other of the three. There is no

consistency in this matter. In some cases it meant a change from the Hebrew to the Vulgate, again from the Vulgate to the Hebrew, with an occasional influence of Jerome's last version. This is an added proof that the revision was not undertaken at the hand of one version alone.

The revisions which brought the final rendition nearer to the Vulgate, number about sixty; and of these, the following will illustrate their nature.

Ps. 88.5 L. *eyn krafftloser man*>*eyn man on hulffe*. H. *man without strength*. V. *homo sine adiutorio*.

" 40.15 L. *die lust haben an meynem vngluck*>*die myr vbels gonnen*. H. *those who delight in evil for me* V. *qui volunt mihi mala*.

" 43.2 L. *vmb des dranges willen des feyndes*>*wenn mich meyn feynd drenget*. H. *by the oppression of the enemy*. V. *dum affligit me inimicus*.

" 89.45 L. *lessest auffhoren*>*zustorest*. H. *made to cease*. V. *destruxisti*.

" 47.5 L. *er erwelet vns vnser erbteyl*>*er erwelet vns zum erbteyl*. H. *he will choose for us our inheritance*. V. *Elegit nobis hereditatem suam*.

There are about an equal number of revisions, which bring the final from the Vulgate nearer to the Hebrew. Of these the following:

Ps. 2.3 L. *last ioch*>*seyle*. V. *iugum*. H. *cords*.

" 12.7 L. *sibenfeltig*>*sibenmal*. V. *septuplum*. H. *seven times*.

" 18.35 L. *vnd spannet meyne arm wie eyn ehern bogen*>*vnd leret meynen arm den ehern bogen spannen*. V. *et posuisti, ut arcum aereum, mea brachia*. H. *teaching so that my arms press down a bow of brass*.

" 36.9 L. *truncken*>*voll werden*. V. *inebriabuntur*. H. *be sated*.

" 139.17 L. *Aber wie kostlich sind myr deyne freunde wie mechtig sind yhre heubter*>*aber wie kostlich sind fur myr gott deyne gedanken, wie gros ist yhre summa*. V. *Mihi autem nimis honorificati sunt amici tui, Deus; confortatus est principatus eorum*. H. *And how precious have been to*

me thy thoughts, O God: how strong have been their sums.

The revisions, bringing the corrected manuscript closer to Jerome, are less numerous. There are about a dozen in all.

Ps. 16.9 L. ynn sicherheyt>sicher. V. in spe. H. in security. J. confidenter.

" 17.4 L. weg des reyssers>weg des reubers. V. vias duras. H. of the violent. J. vias latronis.

" 35.3 L. las erfur>zeuch erfur. V. effundi. H. draw out. J. evagina.

The same method of combining was carried on in the revision. The Vulgate and the Hebrew are most often combined.

Ps. 31.11 L. matt worden>verfallen. V. infirmata est. H. stumbled.

" 33.16 L. risse, gewalltiger>starcker man. V. gigas. H. mighty man.

" 94.1 L. brich erfur>erscheyne. V. libere egit. H. shine forth. J. ostendere.

At times the translation of his own note in the first draft appears in the revised translation.

Ps. 29.1 L. Kinder der gotter>starcken. H. sons of Gods. V. filii Dei.

Note "filii fortium / forte."

" 109.3 " "ubique">"allenthalben" in text.

And many times the final is a combination of his own suggested possibilities.

Ps. 25.3 "auff dich harret" and "deyn erwartet">"deyn erharret."

There are of course many corrections made in the interests of unity and uniformity, as in Psalms 22, 118, and 119. Very often the aim at uniformity leads to corrections not always of the best as in 7.17. The corrections in many cases show a great elaborateness of method, and a constant searching for a correct rendition. For instance, Ps. 7.15:

vntugent vnd muhe hat er empfangen und wird falscheyt
geberen>mit boses und vngluck ist er schwanger und wird
nichts geben— er wird aber eynen feyl
geberen.

Nevertheless, the numerous corrections in the revision are made in a most economical manner. Parts of words are cut and syllables

added, so that the final is often far from clear. For instance in 5.12 "frolich" is separated into its syllables by a mysterious "Dich" afterwards cut. But the first syllable of the word is not repeated. In a few instances, a regard for the printer led Luther to rewrite a half-verse, but this is a rare exception.

It remains to view the translated Psalter as a work of literary merit, and measure thereby the honor due its translator. Luther set out to give his people a Psalter better than the earlier versions, and he considered his method best suited to produce such a Psalter. That such a method may have its shortcomings or weaknesses in the light of modern research methods is not to be denied. The excellence of the Psalter, however, as a work of literary merit, will go far to make up any defects in method and will render eternal tribute to Luther's genius as a translator.

The Psalms were poetry for Luther. He wanted them recited and sung in the new form of church worship. He encouraged others to arrange them as church songs, and his own paraphrases have given us some of the grandest Lutheran hymns. In his translation he sought, as best he could, to preserve the poetic qualities of the original. The form he retained religiously, even with the numerous corrections, and he was very careful that the half verse arrangement should be consistently carried out. In all his earlier work on the Psalms he had taken great pains to note any differences in verse arrangement and structure. The peculiar character of Hebrew poetry was of course unknown to him, and hence no attempt was made to take over into the German its essential qualities. But much attention was given to rhythm, balance, variety, and other qualities in their nature poetic. Luther was a real poet at times, and the occurrence of many poetical expressions (raunen, beben, brausen, etc.) attest his interest in the purely poetical side of his work.

In his earlier labors on the Psalms, Luther had often had occasion to complain of the vagueness of some of the passages. Many a time he openly confessed that a certain verse was unintelligible to him. Not all of these passages were cleared up by the time he set his hand to the translation of 1524, and not all were cleared up in the course of the work. With all his knowledge of the Psalms, there were some difficulties which of necessity remained insurmountable for him. A brief examination of these difficulties will show their nature and importance.

In the first place it is true that notwithstanding Luther's wide reading, real critical machinery for the study of the Psalms was lacking to him. Our present era is just beginning to make up this deficiency. For Luther, the real nature of the Psalms was a closed book. He had not the desire and not the means to view them in an historical light. For the exegete, this situation was of importance, while for the translator, the lack of critical works on the Psalms was especially trying. There was no question in Luther's mind that everything in the Psalms was authentic. He could not know that much was merely the work of scribe and copyist. To translate these later addenda as integral parts of the Psalms and attempt to weld all into an homogeneous whole was well-nigh impossible. The vagueness of passages in Psalms 7 and 8 is to be traced to this source. Another source of vagueness was the fact that the dialogue character of many of the Psalms, although apparent, was not sharply marked. The number of changes of person in Luther's manuscript attest to this difficulty, and Luther spent much time in his earlier commentary trying to throw some light on this question. In Psalms 2, 41, and 91, we find the conversational division lost, with resulting vagueness in the final rendition.

This lack of critical material was paralleled by a lack of knowledge of the "Realien," which is so necessary to the genesis of a translation. Luther and Melancthon had planned an edition of a map of the Biblical lands, but had given up the undertaking. Their own knowledge of the geography was very meagre. Furthermore, authentic political history, except as it could be gleaned from the Scriptures themselves, was unknown to them, and the history of the neighboring peoples was even more a matter of ignorance. In this situation, it is to be supposed that their knowledge of the fauna and flora of the countries was only elemental, and led to many renditions mediated by the Latin. Material on the manners and customs of the Biblical peoples was of course more accessible. Much came from the Scriptures themselves, and in these Luther was well versed. How this knowledge comes to light is shown in a most interesting manner in Psalm 81.4. The Hebrew has:

"Blow ye the cornet in the new moon, at the full moon for the day of our festival."

The Vulgate:

"Buccinate in Neomenia tuba, in insigni die solennitatis vestrae."

Luther has:

"Ynn vnserm feste der lauberhutzen."

The Dictata clears us up on this matter.³³ Here he says that "neumonden" refers to September, and then from Numbers 3.23 he names his festival accordingly. This is an excellent example of the influence of his earlier critical labors. Many passages seemingly free or unusual are to be explained by a reference to these works.

Luther, at a time later than his Bible translation, once expressed his views on translation, and, as is to be expected, emphasized the advantages of keeping to the sense, and slighting the word if necessary. As a result, one should expect to find in his Psalm translation numerous places where a literal rendition is avoided in favor of a free translation. Students of Luther have attached too much importance to Luther's own words in this matter, and have been led to ascribe to him a method of translation essentially free. Closer study of the manuscript and of the method shows us that many translations apparently free are but literal translations of the developed text, constructed by comparison and collation. Some free passages indeed are to be found, but in much smaller number than might be supposed. A survey of those points at which Luther translated freely, or, at which he introduced into the translation elements foreign to the sources, will serve to bring out those contributions in the Psalm-translation which are clearly the work of Luther, regardless of source or previous version.

The first contribution which Luther made may be summed up in his use of the modal auxiliaries. It will be agreed that this does not necessarily mean freedom, since the original must certainly have sought to express such shades of meaning as the German modals make possible. Luther, however, makes the most of the modals, and in the Psalms uses them to render a great variety of construction. They are used to translate simple future construction, to give the meaning of the Hebrew Hiphil, to render the Latin subjunctive, and very often to intensify the character of the action expressed. This last is especially true of "sollen" and "muessen," since the Psalms say much of obligation. A study of Luther's use of the modals in all their varying possibilities would show him at his best as a translator. The great flexibility of the modal construction he brought to bear on his originals, and gained thereby a great variety and wealth of expression.

³³ Werke, Weimar III. 611.

A second peculiarity of the Luther translation savors of freedom, although it does not really point to free translation in the ordinary sense of the word. Luther was preparing his translation for the everyday man of his time. His great aim was, then, to bring the language of his translation as close as possible to the tongue of the people for whom it was intended. Not only this, but the references to daily life had to be to the life of German peasant and workman of the sixteenth century, and not to the life of the Jew of the Monarchy or the Exile. The result of this plan and endeavor was, in the first place, the appearance of a number of colloquialisms in the text. A good example is the "wesscher" for "vir linguosus" or Hebrew "man of tongue" in Psalm 140.23, or "har zu berg" in 119.120, and many others. A second result is the use of proverbs, or the translation in maxim form of many of the passages. The puzzling "feyl geben" of 7.15 may be one of these. The third result is the open and apparent anachronism when the life and belief of the people are touched. We have mentioned the source of such words as "helle," "heyden," and "ketzer." Another interesting example is the occurrence of the word "hertzogen" in Psalm 83.12.

The third peculiarity of the translation is more of the nature of real freedom. This lies in Luther's use of connectives. The parallelism of Hebrew poetry was unknown to him and his Latin predecessors. The result was that a literal rendition would have been a series of clauses, connected in thought to be sure, but isolated as to grammatical structure, or at most loosely connected in compound sentence form. That a connective was often understood goes without saying, and for the translator who knew nothing of the essential nature of the poetry before him, the expression of the connective became imperative. In Psalm 37.12-13:

The wicked deviseth against the righteous and
gnasheth his teeth at him.

The Lord laugheth at him; for he seeth that his
day cometh.³⁴

This antithetical parallelism must be connected by Luther to read: "Aber der herr lachet sein" ; a reading mediated by the Vulgate, "Dominus autem"

And Psalm 37.1-2:

³⁴ Briggs 1.323.

Fret not thyself because of evil-doers, and be not envious
against them that do wrong.
As grass they shall speedily wither, and like
the fresh grass fade.³⁵

The Hebrew here is an emblematic parallelism. For Luther a grammatical relation is expressed: "Denn wie das gras , " again mediated by the Vulgate "Quoniam tamquam foenium"

In such cases as these, the introduction of the connective was mediated by the Latin and did no violence to the context. By analogy with this practice however, connectives were introduced in large number, and often grammatical relations of cause or purpose were thereby expressed, which have no basis in the originals. A very good example occurs in Psalm 4.5. The first draft had

"Tobet und sundiget nicht."

The Hebrew has

"Tremble ye and sin not."

The rendition of tremble as "tobet" is foreshadowed in the Operations.³⁶ In the revision this translation is colored by the Vulgate,

"Irascimini, et nolite peccare."

The result is a change from "tobet" to "zurnet." Then the two verbs are brought together in grammatical relation; the final inserts a connective; and we have

"Zurnet yhr so suendiget nicht."

Other places where such introductions occur are "drumb," (26.1 and 28.5) "dass," (81.10 and 119.17) "so," (109.28 and 138.3). Connectives are introduced in many other places, but in most of these they are to be found in the Vulgate, and have but little effect on the final rendition.

In addition to all these examples of quasi freedom, there are a number of places where Luther translates freely in every sense of the word. In many cases this freedom comes as the result of difficulty or because of a divergence of the versions. At such times he works to reconcile the versions, and, failing in this, goes ahead freely (Ps. 33.3, 35.15-16, 17.4, 45.9-10). The resulting free passages are almost universally good translations. In fact some of the most brilliant translations are in this category (Ps. 24.20, 36.2, 37.2,

³⁵ Briggs I.323.

³⁶ Werke, Weimar V.113.

39.7, 45.2-3, 84.11, 88.2, 89.48). It remains true, however, that the passages freely translated are comparatively few in number. Moreover it is easy to see that a free translation was not his aim and purpose. In Ps. 34.13, when he finds it necessary to translate freely, he recognizes the literal rendition in a footnote. Nor was an uncomparated translation of either one of the versions his aim. In Ps. 118.5 and 80.16 he translates from the Vulgate, but recognizes the literal Hebrew in the margin. Many of his Latin notes are but paraphrases of the Vulgate, to be compared with the Hebrew at the time of revision.

Such is the Psalter as it came from the pen of the reformer, and made its first appearance in 1524. It came as a culmination of years of study and labor, and was itself the fruit of hard, concentrated, persevering activity. The manuscript has given us the material for studying this activity. A scrutiny of this manuscript has shown us (1) that Luther worked with the three texts before him; namely, the Massoretic Hebrew text in the edition of 1484, the Gallican Psalter of the Vulgate, and the Psalter as found in the "Psalterium juxta Hebraeos" of Jerome, (2) that these three Psalters were used not only during the completion of the first draft, but also at the time the revision was undertaken, (3) that these three texts were considered of almost equal value, whereas but one was text, and the others versions, (4) that the previous work on the Psalms had prepared a great deal of the translation, (5) that the method was a scientific one, consisting of comparison and collation. The Psalter, as it appeared in 1524, is the result of an earnest attempt on the part of the author to give his people the Psalms in a language which they could understand, and thereby lead them to make this Psalter a part of their daily religious worship, both public and private.

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THE PHÖBUS FRAGMENT OF KLEIST'S KÄTCHEN VON HEILBRONN

The enormous literature that appeared in celebration of the centenary of Heinrich von Kleist¹ discussed every conceivable phase of that author's life and work. While this is significant as evidence of the present general interest in Kleist, it cannot but be a matter for regret that the authors of the more detailed studies have chosen to continue the long-standing Kleist controversy, rather than remove forever the basis for that controversy by accepting the well-established canon of Kleist criticism, that he reveals himself through his works to those who make sufficiently earnest and persistent inquiry of him.² In other words, the extensive centenary literature has not as a general thing been sufficiently intensive.

'Das Kätchen von Heilbronn' has suffered most; Kleist's most typical and most popular work is at the same time the most misunderstood. Goethe was certainly prejudiced when he spoke of 'verfluchte Unnatur,' and Charlotte von Schiller merely accepted Goethe's cue³ when she spoke of the play as a 'wunderbares Gemisch von Sinn und Unsinn.' The Vienna *Sammler* discovered 'Symptome der entschiedensten Querköpfigkeit' which made the play 'unterhaltend für alle, die mit der Vernunft fertig geworden sind.' These contemporary expressions of opinion must be discounted, as it was apparently impossible to render a purely objective opinion of Kleist's work. For that very reason it was all the more incumbent upon subsequent critics to study the play very carefully, that they might know whereof they spoke; and yet Hebbel, in an oft-quoted passage that has had weight with subsequent judgment, merely stepped from one side of the controversy to the other without stopping in between to ascertain Kleist's meaning. The critics of today align themselves on the extreme right and extreme left of

¹ For an excellent survey of the Kleist Centenary and its literature see Minde-Pouet, *Neue Kleist-Literatur. Das literarische Echo*, April 1 and 15, 1913.

² Emma Körner: 'Man muss ihn genauer kennen, um ihn zu verstehen.' Hanna Hellman, in *H. v. Kl., Darstellung des Problems*, Heidelberg, 1911, p. 4, in speaking of the key to the Kleist problem, says: 'Gegeben scheint er sie mir selbst zu haben.'

³ Since the same phrase is attributed to Goethe.

Kleist criticism and make much the same copious quotations from 'Kätchen' in substantiation of radically opposing views, in the one case⁴ that the author was in no sense problematical, in the other⁵ that he was a 'schwerer Hereditärer' and to a considerable degree a degenerate. On the stage the reputation of the play has suffered, largely because of Holbein's stupid adaptation. Modern editors of the play show more Ehrfurcht vor dem Kunstwerk, for they do not seek to excuse the strange features but content themselves with a citation of similar passages in a great variety of authors by whom Kleist might possibly have been influenced. Finally, the play has been a stumbling block to those who would see in Kleist's dramatic activity an even progress toward the complete elaboration of an underlying principle. Thus,⁶ 'Das Kätchen von Heilbronn' involves Meyer-Benfey⁷ in a contradiction of a plausible theory propounded for the dramas up to and including 'Penthesilea.'

As has been said, one must go to Kleist himself for an interpretation of his work. By careful scrutiny of the play under consideration, and of the letters, supplemented by an occasional reading between the lines, one may obtain clues whereby many of the difficulties connected with 'Das Kätchen von Heilbronn' may be solved.

⁴ Wilhelm Herzog, *Heinrich von Kleist. Sein Leben und sein Werk*. München, 1911, p. 434: 'Dieses holde Märchen ist ein hochzeitliches Gedicht.—Die Liebe, für die es keine logische Erklärung gibt,—ist in den Augen aller vernünftigen Menschen eine Perversität, zum mindesten eine Krankheit, eine Manie.—Es gibt aber Menschen, die nie jung gewesen sind, und dieses Kätchen erschliesst sich in all ihrer Schönheit nur denen, deren Phantasiewelt durch den Verstand nicht vertrocknet ist, die naiv und Kinder genug geblieben sind,—.' And yet the despised 'Lichtchen des Verstandes' (ib. p. 432) might prove valuable; for example, it would have saved the Kleist-apologist from the necessity of admitting, a little further on: 'Er hütet sich nicht vor Übertreibungen und geschmacklosen Wendungen, selbst wenn die Charakteristik dadurch etwas Groteskes bekommt oder nur Karikatur wird.' As I hope to show, the exaggerations and grotesque features are essential to one of the main purposes of the play.

⁵ H. Sadger: *Heinrich von Kleist. Eine pathographisch-psychologische Studie*. Grenzfragen des Nerven- und Seelenlebens, 10. Bd. 1910, p. 6. Also Rahmer, *Das Kleist Problem*. Berlin, 1903: 'Eine eindringliche medizin.-psycholog. Untersuchung.' (*Lit. Jahresber.* 1903, p. 681).

⁶ According to Minde-Pouet, *Das Lit. Echo*, Apr. 15, 1913, 970 f.

⁷ Meyer-Benfey, *Kleists Leben und Werke. Dem Deutschen Volke dargestellt* 1911. Same author's *Das Drama Heinr. v. Kleists*. Bd. 1. Kleists Ringen nach einer neuen Form des Dramas. Göttingen, 1911.

The most conspicuous clue is the familiar contrast that Kleist draws between Penthesilea and Kätchen:⁸ 'Sie gehören ja wie das + und — der Algebra zusammen, und sind Ein und dasselbe Wesen.' This has been abundantly quoted but it remained for Julius Hart⁹ to accept the hint that the remark contained and to study the two plays intimately in their relation to one another and to the whole Weimar school of Classicism. Out of the amazing verbosity and redundancy of Hart's book one is still able to discern the significance of his study, as summed up in the following conclusion: In *Kätchen von Heilbronn* erzählt er uns unter anderem von diesen seinen künstlerischen Verwirrungen, Kämpfen und Entwicklungen, und wie er, der Wetter vom Strahl, der als Hellenist die sehr Antike, die lernbare, die Schul- und Vernunftkunst, das Fräulein Kunigunde von Thurneck, heiraten will und heiraten soll, sich dennoch glücklicherweise und zur rechten Zeit zum Kätchen hinfindet, zu einer naiven Poesie, die zweifellos seiner Natur sehr viel besser entsprach.'

This interpretation does away with some of the greatest perplexities, particularly the one connected with Kätchen's imperial parentage; furthermore, it shows that Kleist was chiefly concerned with the symbolism of his play and made no great effort to reconcile inconsistencies that occurred in a purely literal interpretation. He saw his own play through a veil that made the defects less evident but did not obscure its charms.

But Hart's explanation goes only half way; it leaves other difficulties, chiefly of technique, unsolved, while the author makes haste to join the extreme right wing of Kleist-criticism: 'Nicht das kleistsche Kunstwerk ist voll von Rätseln und Widersprüchen, Verwirrungen, Abnormitäten und Zusammenbrüchen, sondern allein unsere Kleistforscher, Kleistkritiker und Kleistleser waren stets die Irrenden und Entgleisenden. . . So wurde der Kunst des

⁸ In a letter of Dec. 8, 1808, to Heinrich Joseph von Collin.

⁹ *Das Kleist Buch*. Berlin 1912, p. 480. On page 71 Hart aptly divides Kleist criticism into an extreme left, the Mediziner-/Esthetiker, who answer affirmatively Tieck's query as to Krankheit; and an extreme right, gefühlvoll-sentimentalisch rather than critical, who repudiate Goethe's view as uncomprehending.

Hart's symbolical interpretation leaves little basis for the older theory, in which some credence is still placed (cf. Otto Brahm, *Das Leben H. v. Kl.* Berlin, 1911. Neue Ausg. pp. 282 ff.), that Kätchen and Kunigunde are patterned on Julie Kunze and Dora Stock. This theory has always met with difficulties in chronology; Hart's book leaves it wholly untenable.

Dichters eine Schwäche, ein Nachteil angerechnet, wo in der Tat nur das kritische Verständniss versagte. . . . Dieselbe Raupenkritik aber schüttelt in gleichen vollen Verkennungen ihr weises Haupt über das demütig-unterwürfige hündische Kätschen.' While this may be true in substance, although unnecessarily forcible in expression, the 'Kleistforscher, Kleistkritiker und Kleistleser' would have been more appreciative of a complete interpretation of the problem.

The difficulties in technique still remain: the monologs in the first act and in the first scene of act two are still inordinately long, indeed the longest in all of the plays and thus wholly at variance with Kleist's usually strong dramatic technique. In the longest monolog, Strahl still 'raves in drunken declamation,' as Erich Schmidt characterizes it;¹⁰ the lover of act II, sc. 1 is still inconsistent with the Strahl of act I. Theobald's language is still utterly unsuited to a man of his class; in fact, all of the grotesque features which have been the source of so much of the unfavorable judgment of the play persist, even after we know the true inwardness of the Kätschen-Kunigunde relationship.

Hart's clever interpretation is intended for the play as a whole. It does not take into account the fact that the play is made up of instalments that appeared at intervals of several months. When we observe the significant fact that the above unexplained features are comprised in the first instalment, act I and act II, scene 1, in the double number of *Phöbus* for April-May, 1808, we are already on the way toward their solution.¹¹ Kleist reveals himself through his works but each work must be studied for itself; the key to one problem will not suffice to unlock the next, however

¹⁰ *Werke*, vol. 2, Käth. v. Heilbronn, Bearb. v. Erich Schmidt, Einl. p. 175 f.

¹¹ One and the same objection may be urged to most of the sources suggested for the earlier portions of the play: that they do not account for the element of burlesque or for the excessive length of the monologs of the fragment. Berthold Schulze (*Neue Studien über H. v. K.*, 1904), suggests Virgil's first Eclogue as the source for Strahl's declaration of love (act II, sc. 1), and Erich Schmidt refers to Geszner's *Idylls*. But the swains in Virgil and Geszner do not 'rave in drunken declamations' Equally unconvincing are references to passages in Othello and King Lear as possible sources for Theobald's wild language. Kleist was surely artist enough to have reproduced more closely the style of these various sources, had it been his serious desire to do so. The passages in question resemble parody and burlesque because that is exactly what Kleist intended them to be, as this article will endeavor to show.

closely related. *Kätchen* was begun and ended in such different moods that it amounts almost to two different works; the *Phöbus* fragment must be studied for itself. In this connection, the subsequent omissions from the fragment in the completed version become as important as the readings which were allowed to remain. Through close study of the *Phöbus* Fragment in its relation to Kleist's life between September 1807 and May 1808, the writer believes that he has arrived at a rational explanation of the points that have provoked controversy. He begs indulgence for recapitulating familiar facts of Kleist's life during that period on the score that they serve as premises to a logical conclusion.

In his letters to Ulrike on September 17 and October 7 and 25, 1807,¹² Kleist tells of his congenial surroundings in Dresden. He had the entrée to the best houses, two comedies had been loudly applauded when read 'in öffentlichen Gesellschaften,' Goethe had accepted the *Krug* for Weimar production and another play was being rehearsed for private performance wherein the Austrian ambassador would play a part. 'Es erfüllt sich mir Alles, ohne Ausnahme, worauf ich gehofft habe.' This unaccustomed recognition stirred Kleist's ambition. He decided to obtain a larger share of the profits from his writings through the establishment of a Buch-Karten- und Kunsthandlung. The 'average twenty-two per cent profit' from this venture he would reinvest in the business, 'nach dem Vorbild der Fugger und Medicis'! The impractical nature of the venture became apparent and its scope was accordingly narrowed to the publication of a magazine. At the same time Kleist's ambition had not abated a particle but had gone on by leaps and bounds. On October 10, at the Austrian embassy, he had been crowned with a wreath of laurel. The incident in itself was trivial, but it sufficed to recall an ardent longing of former days, so that in December¹³ when he tells of his intention to publish the journal *Phöbus*, it was no longer due to a desire to reap all the profits from his writings, but in response to a 'sehr heiligen Forderung seiner [meiner] Seele.'

This Forderung of 1807 was not new. It had first been awakened by Wieland, after hearing Kleist declaim selections from Robert Guiskard. 'Von diesem Augenblicke an war es bei mir entschieden,

¹² *Werke*, 5. Bd. Briefe: Bearb. v. Minde-Pouet, Nos. 98, 100, 101.

¹³ *Ib.*, No. 108: An Karl Freiherrn Stein zum Altenstein.

Kleist sei dazu geboren, die grosse Lücke auszufüllen, die . . . selbst von Schiller und Goethe noch nicht ausgefüllt worden ist, und Sie stellen sich leicht vor, wie eifrig ich nunmehr an ihm war, um ihn zur Vollendung des Werkes zu bewegen.¹⁴ The fruits of Wieland's admonitions are seen in Kleist's repeated declarations to Pfuel:¹⁵ 'dass es nur das eine Ziel für ihn gebe, der grösste Dichter seiner Nation zu werden; und auch Goethe sollte ihn daran nicht hindern. Keiner hat Goethe leidenschaftlicher bewundert, aber auch keiner ihn so viel wie Kleist beneidet und sein Glück und seinen Vorrang gehasst. Dem Freunde gestand er in wilderregten Stunden wie er es meinte: Ich werde ihm den Kranz von der Stirne reissen, war der Refrain seiner Selbstbekenntnisse, wie seiner Träume.'

Goethe's majestic presence undoubtedly proved to be as over-awing to Kleist as to others who made the pilgrimage to Weimar.¹⁶ For nothing more is heard of an overleaping ambition—until 1807, that is, when the Dresden homage, culminating in an actual crowning with laurel, suggested that Wieland's ideas might after all have been prophetic. In his letter of December 17, telling Wieland of *Phöbus*, he says: 'Sie können mich und die Empfindung meiner innigsten Verehrung Ihrer, noch viel weniger aus dem Gedächtniss verloren haben. . . Ich wollte, ich könnte Ihnen die Pen-thesilea so aus dem Stegreif vortragen, wie damals den Robert Guiskard. Entsinnen Sie sich dessen wohl noch?' This was equivalent to saying that he proposed to justify the faith earlier imposed in him—only the heilige Forderung of 1807 was not 'to fill the place never attained unto even by Goethe and Schiller,' but rather the place at Goethe's side left vacant by Schiller's death.

¹⁴ *Heinr. v. Kleists Gespräche, Nachrichten und Überlieferungen aus seinem Umge.* Z. ersten Male ges. u. hgg. v. Flodoard Frhrn. v. Biedermann. Leipzig, 1912, p. 82: Wieland to Dr. Wedekind, Apr. 10, 1804.

¹⁵ Von Biedermann, No. 43, p. 93, quoted from A. Wilbrandt. The editor cautions (p. 96) against accepting Pfuel's testimony too implicitly.

¹⁶ H. C. Robinson's comment is typical: 'In Goethe I beheld an elderly man of terrific dignity: penetrating and unsupportable eye.' (Wolfgang Stämmeler, *Zeitgenossen über Goethe*, No. 708, p. 360 f.) Cf. also No. 917, p. 460. Johanna Schopenhauer: 'Welch ein Wesen ist dieser Goethe! Da ich nie weisz, ob er kommt, so erschrecke ich jedesmal, wenn er ins Zimmer tritt; es ist, als ob er eine höhere Natur als alle übrigen wäre; denn ich sehe deutlich, dass er denselben Eindruck auf alle übrigen macht, die ihn doch weit länger kennen und ihn zum Teil auch weit näher stehen, als ich.'

Goethe's position since 1805 had been one of severe isolation. 'Nun war mir Schiller eigentlich erst entrissen, sein Umgang erst entsagt, unleidlicher Schmerz ergriff mich; und da mich körperliches Leiden von jeglicher Gesellschaft trennte, so war ich in traurigster Einsamkeit.' Kleist was eager to see in Goethe's withdrawal from the world the expression of his dissatisfaction with Weimar classicism, with 'Schul- und Vernunftkunst, einer durchaus noch in einer absolutistisch-dogmatischen Weltanschauung wurzelnden Ästhetik.'¹⁷ The Goethe who had been his Abgott during the residence in Switzerland was a much younger Goethe, who would naturally hold the allegiance of a Stürmer und Dränger like Kleist. In the latter part of 1807 Kleist considered the time ripe for him to win Goethe over to a new conception of art more in harmony with his youthful ideals. Goethe's approval meant their friendship, more authoritative rank in German letters; . . . the fulfilment of the heilige Forderung.

Kleist proposed to obtain Schiller's place at Goethe's side by following Schiller's example, that is, by inviting Goethe to coöperate in the establishment of a magazine in the interests of a new conception of art. The policy of *Die Horen*, the stepping-stone to the Goethe-Schiller friendship, had been thus outlined in the Ankündigung: Eine reizende Dichtung, durch welche angedeutet wird, dass das Schöne sich unter Regeln fügen muss und nur durch Gesetzmässigkeit würdig werden kann, einen Platz in Olymp . . . zu erhalten. . . Mitten' in diesem politischen Tumult soll sie für Musen und Charitinnen einen engen, vertraulichen Cirkel schliessen, aus welchem alles verbannt seyn wird, was mit einem unreinen Parteigeist gestempelt ist. Und indem sie sich alle Beziehungen auf den jetzigen Wettlauf verbietet, usw. Shortly after having brought Goethe and Schiller together *Die Horen* had suspended publication. Kleist attributed this failure to faulty underlying principles; their ultimate expression he believed that he saw a decade later in Weimar classicism. Accordingly, the name and policy of Kleist's new magazine were founded on principles directly opposed to Schiller's: Die Kunst, in dem Bestreben recht vieler gleichgesinnter, wenn auch noch so verschieden gestalteter Deutschen darzustellen, ist dem Charakter unsrer Nation angemessener, als wenn wir die Künstler und Kunstkritiker unsrer Zeit in einförmiger Symmetrie und in ruhigem

¹⁷ Julius Hart, *Das Kleist Buch*, 480.

Besitz um irgend einen Gipfel noch so herrlicher Schönheit versammeln mochten. . . Unter dem Schutze des daherfahrenden Gottes eröffnen wir einen Wettlauf.¹⁸

Undoubtedly Kleist hoped, though illogically, that his magazine, founded on principles so different to Schiller's, would experience a different fate, that is, that it would succeed. But the mere establishment of a successful magazine had never been his prime motive. Had it been, he would have selected a more recent and more successful model than *Die Horen*. Furthermore, the magazine was merely a substitute for a much more ambitious project that had filled his mind a short time before. Nor could he have believed that there was a demand for a new magazine, inasmuch as *Prometheus* of Seckendorf and *Tröst-Einsamkeit* of Arnim and Brentano had just been launched.¹⁹ Nor was he any too confident about the assistance which Adam Müller could render in the editorial work; at any rate, he described²⁰ *Phöbus* in December as a 'Kunstjournal . . . das ich, unterstützt²¹ von Göthe und Wieland . . . herauszugeben denke.' No mention was made of Müller.²² Finally, in spite of his optimistic assertions, Kleist could not have felt that he had material enough on hand or in sight. In this particular, he had the benefit of Schiller's bitter experience with the *Horen*. On June 12, 1794, Schiller wrote Körner that he had material enough for two years; on December 29 of the same year he wrote: 'Ich rufe: Herr, hilf mir, oder ich sinke.' When, in the face of all these difficulties, Kleist insisted on publishing a magazine, it

¹⁸ From the *Anzeige*, betreffend den *Phöbus*—eine Zeitschrift nach dem etwas erweiterten Plane der *Horen*.

In the reference to Phoebus Apollo lies an implied compliment to Goethe. The *Anzeige* concluded: 'erklären wir, dass wir uns der Begünstigung GOETHE'S erfreuen.' In the innumerable figurative references to Parnassus it was inevitable that Goethe should be designated as Apollo. Cf. Johanna Schopenhauer a.a.O.: 'Er sieht so königlich aus. . . und . . . geht so hin in seiner stillen Herrlichkeit wie die Sonne.' Heine makes a similar comparison to Jupiter. Cf. also Wolfgang Stammeler, *Anti-Xenien*, Bonn, 1911, p. 28-29, No. VIII, Goethe as Föbos.

¹⁹ See Otto Brahm. *Das Leben Heinr. v. Kleist*. Berlin, 1911. Neue Ausg., p. 262.

²⁰ In almost duplicate letters to Hans v. Auerswald and Karl Freiherrn v. Stein zu Altenstein. (*Kl's Werke*, 5 Bd. Briefe, 364f.).

²¹ There was no warrant for the use of this word only five days after letters had been sent to Goethe and Wieland, and before their replies had been received.

²² To be sure, Müller was mentioned in a letter a few days earlier to Ulrike.

was because he saw in a magazine the most direct approach toward the accomplishment of a deeper purpose, the fulfilment of a mission.

In spite of these handicaps, *Phöbus* might have served as a stepping-stone to higher things, had Kleist's tact and business sense been on a level with his ambitions. He made his initial blunder in prematurely announcing Goethe's support, as other authors who had been asked to contribute apparently waited for that promise to be made good before submitting anything of their own. As Goethe's reply to Müller's letter was noncommittal, Kleist wrote an urgent appeal—the familiar letter of January 24. By way of stimulating Goethe's interest, he partially disclosed his purpose that he and Goethe should write the platform of a new conception of art. He suggested that the times were not quite ripe for Penthesilea: 'so sehr ich auch sonst in jedem Sinne gern dem Augenblick angehörte, so muss ich doch in diesem Falle auf die Zukunft hinaussehen.' Kleist could not go further into details as the *Käthen* part of the symbolism had not been worked out.

Goethe's reply on February 1 sounded the deathknell for the magazine and for Kleist's higher ambitions. Goethe ignored the request for a contribution. This in itself was bad enough, for it meant early failure; a much more serious rebuff to Kleist was contained in Goethe's reply to the comment upon Penthesilea. He condemned the idea of writing for a future stage and added: 'Mit der Penthesilea kann ich mich noch nicht befreunden.' This put an end to all hopes of taking Schiller's place beside Goethe and changed Kleist's attitude from one of admiration to one of intense resentment. Fuel was added to the fire early in March, when *Der Zerbrochene Krug*, under Goethe's management, made a complete failure in Weimar. The climax came in April. The issue of *Phöbus* for that month had to be postponed until publishers could be found who were ready to shoulder the financial responsibilities of the magazine. It was in the same month that Dora Stock wrote²³ that no one looked forward with any eagerness to forthcoming issues of *Phöbus*. Instead of extending his reputation, Kleist was not even holding his much-boasted Dresden allegiance. The truth of his self-characterization, 'das Unglück macht mich heftig, wild, und ungerecht,' was now made manifest. To his overwrought mind, Goethe was the one source of all his troubles. The earlier feeling of resentment rapidly developed into intense anger and a determina-

²³ Von Biedermann, No. 72, p. 127.

tion to get revenge at any cost. The irony of fate pointed out the way to that revenge through literary satire. Instead of ruling with Goethe, Kleist found himself on the opposite side, among the writers of *Anti-Xenien*, i. e., in the same class as the enemies of *Die Horen*, the magazine that in one important respect was to have been his guide. The old accusation:²⁴

Wahrheit und Würd' und Schönheit versprochen die Horen mit vollem
Munde: Verläumdung und Schimpf leisten die Xenien nur,

might equally well have been written in 1808, if instead of *die Horen* one substitutes *Phöbus* and for *Xenien* the epigrams and *Kätschen von Heilbronn* Fragment of the double number for May.

There has never been any difficulty about interpreting the satirical intent of most of the twenty-four epigrams in that issue of the magazine. The first one, particularly offensive, actually bore the caption 'An Hrn. Göthe.' But they do not know Kleist who consider his desire for revenge to have been satisfied by the epigrams, however bitter. It is strange that investigators have not looked for further spilling of gall in the only other new material contributed by Kleist to the double number, the *Kätschen von Heilbronn* Fragment.

There was a three-fold purpose back of the *Kätschen* Fragment: In the first place, there was the Penthesilea-*Kätschen* symbolism, whereby the latter was to be portrayed as 'mächtig durch Hingebung als jene durch Handeln'; secondly, revenge must be sought with Goethe, and thirdly, there was the very practical need of filling many pages in the double number, in lieu of the hoped-for articles which Goethe and other prominent writers had failed to submit. The last necessity may be taken up first.

The first three issues of *Phöbus* had fulfilled the promise of the prospectus, that each issue should contain six or seven 'signatures' (Bogen). The double number of April-May, in order to be a double number, should contain thirteen 'signatures', or slightly over a hundred pages. *Robert Guiskard* (long withheld from publication but now brought forward in case of need) and the epigrams took up twenty-two pages. By emptying the green-bag, the editors managed, through three articles by Müller, three by Wetzel and four from miscellaneous sources (making the imposing number of

²⁴ Wolfgang Stammler, *Anti-Xenien*. Bonn, 1911: From Parodien auf die Xenien by Gottlob Nathanael Fischer, 1797, p. 19, No. 53.

seven contributors, whereas hitherto there had not been more than three), to fill 74 of the 104 pages. The remaining thirty pages, the last in the double number except for a poem by Wetzel, Kleist undertook to fill with his third contribution to the one issue, the scenes from *Kätchen von Heilbronn*.

The long monologs, the longest in all of Kleist, are at once explained by this necessity of filling so many pages.²⁵ They may not be quoted as evidence of faltering technique, as they were all materially shortened in the complete version of the play, wherein there was no necessity for padding; the longest, Strahl's soliloquy in act two, lost about one-fourth in revision (i. e., about 175 words were excised).

The guise under which the Penthesilea-Kätchen symbolism was to be presented was only vaguely outlined when Kleist set to work in May. He was a slow worker even under the best conditions; in May he was under such pressure to supply material for the waiting presses that it was quite impossible for him to invent and develop a well-ordered plot. Consequently, he drew unreservedly upon material familiar to him, wherever it could furnish him with details that would be useful to a treatment of the 'Patient Grisél' theme. Thus it is that so many 'sources' to *Kätchen* have been discovered. Bürger's *Graf Walter* is the most conspicuous and undoubted; but *Götz von Berlichingen*, *Die Jungfrau von Orleans*, *Othello*, *Lear*, Geszner's *Idylls*, Virgil's *Eclogues*, and Schubert's *Ansichten* might very well have been called forth from the recesses of the author's brain, whenever they could contribute to his theme.

Only one conspicuous source has escaped detection. Bürger's ballad contained details of the infatuation; it had to be supplemented with a convincing description of the heroine's feminine charm. There was a figure in contemporary literature that exactly fitted the requirements. Theobald's enthusiastic description of his daughter is patterned very closely, although apparently from memory, on 'die kleine Mariette,' the heroine of Zschokke's short story, *Der Zerbrochene Krug*, with which Kleist was sure to be

²⁵ This was not the first instance of padding in *Phöbus*; the two fables in the March issue were put in simply to fill a blank page, as Erich Schmidt points out.

familiar, inasmuch as it was written in a sort of competition with Kleist's play of the same title.²⁶

Theobald thus describes his daughter: 'Zuvörderst müsst ihr wissen, ihr Herren, dass mein Kätchen Ostern funfzehn Jahr alt war; . . . ein Kind recht nach der Lust Gottes, das heraufging aus der Wüsten meines Lebens, wie ein gerader Rauch von Myrrhen und Wachholdern, wenn alle Lüfte in feierlicher Stille ruhen. . . . Etwas Zarteres, Frommeres und Treueres müsst ihr euch nicht denken. . . . Ging sie in ihrem bürgerlichen Schmuck über die Strasse, den Strohhut auf, von gelbem Lack erglänzend, das schwarzsammtne Leibchen, das ihre Brust umschloss, mit feinen Silberkettlein behängt: so lief es flüsternd von allen Fenstern herab: das ist das Kätchen von Heilbronn . . . die ganze Strasse, in der wir wohnten, erschien an ihrem Namenstage, oder zu Weihnachten . . . und beschenkte sie; wer sie nur einmal gesehen und einen Gruss von ihr empfangen hatte, schloss sie acht folgende Tage lang . . . in sein Gebet ein. Anton der Grossvater . . . hatte ihr als einem Goldkinde . . . ein Landgut verschrieben, das vor den Thoren der Stadt liegt, und sie dadurch . . . zur wohlhabenden Bürgerin gemacht. Fünf wackre Männer . . . hatten nun schon um sie angehalten; . . . doch weil Gottfried Friedeborn, der junge Landmann, dessen Güter. das ihrige umgrenzen, sie zum Weibe begehrte, usw. . . .'

The following parallels are from the first three chapters of Zschokke's story: Man nannte sie zwar nur die kleine Mariette doch war sie nicht kleiner als ungefähr ein Kind von siebenzehn Jahren und darüber zu sein pflegt. . . . Denn Mariette, die mit ihrer Mutter Manon bisher zu Avignon gewohnt hatte, drehte, als sie wieder in ihren Geburtsort kam, diesen beinah ganz um. . . . Mutter Manon hätte wohl besser gethan, wäre sie in Avignon geblieben. Aber sie machte in La Napoule eine kleine Erbschaft; sie erhielt da ein Gütchen mit einigen Weinbergen, und ein niedliches Haus im Schatten eines Felsen, zwischen Oelbäumen und afrikanischen Akazien. . . . Kaum war Mariette vierzehn Tage im Hause . . . , so wusste jeder junge Lanapoulese, dass Mariette da wohne, und dass in der ganzen Provence kein

²⁶ The play had been very much in Kleist's mind since the preceding Autumn, when Goethe had accepted it for production. The March *Phöbus* had contained selected scenes from the play.

reizenderes Mädchen wohne, als eben in diesem Hause. Ging sie durch den Flecken, schwebend leicht, wie ein verkleideter Engel, im flatternden Rock, blassgrünen Mieder, vorn am Busen eine Orangenblüte nebst Rosenknospen, und Blumen und Bänder wehend um den grauen Hut, der ihr feines Gesicht beschattete, ja, dann wurden die finstern Alten beredt und die Jünglinge stumm. Und überall öffnete sich links und rechts ein Fensterlein, eine Thüre, der Reihe nach. 'Guten Morgen,' hiess es, oder 'guten Abend, Mariette!' Und sie nickte lächelnd rechts und links hin. Wenn Mariette in die Kirche trat, verliessen alle Herzen (nämlich der Jünglinge) den Himmel; alle Augen die Heiligen, und die betenden Finger verirrten sich in den Perlen der Rosenkranzsnur. . . . Denn seit Mariettens Ankunft war mehr als ein Bräutigam kühl geworden und mehr als ein Anbeter seiner Geliebten abtrünnig. . . . Ein denkwürdiges Beispiel solcher Hartherzigkeit gab der junge Colin, der reichste Pächter und Gutsbesitzer in La Napoule'.²⁷

Kleist's play opens with the Anklage vor dem Vehmgericht. The idea of the Vehmgericht recalls the familiar scene in *Götz*, while Theobald's accusation bears great similarity to Thibaut's tirade against his daughter in the fourth act of the *Jungfrau von Orleans*.²⁸ But to Kleist the great value of the charge that Strahl has resorted to Verbrüderung mit dem Teufel in order to win Kätchen's love was that it served to convert Bürger's ballad into a play and at the same time opened the way to revenge with Goethe.

The 1808 edition of *Faust*, with the Walpurgisnacht and other new material, appeared just as Kleist started to prepare his third contribution to the May *Phöbus*.²⁹ He eagerly seized upon this

²⁷ Theobald's description of his daughter has been abundantly quoted in histories of literature, in order to illustrate the originality and charm of Kleist's style in this play. Kuno Francke, in his *Hist. of Germ. Lit.*, 1905, p. 474, and Robertson, in his *Hist. of Germ. Lit.*, p. 435, translate most of the passage as characteristically Kleistian. They do not mention Zchokke in this connection.

²⁸ Erich Schmidt calls attention to the even more striking similarity in the first act of *Othello*.

²⁹ Pniower, *Goethes Faust, Zeugnisse und Excuse*, Berlin, 1899, p. 97 f. Julius Braun, *Goethe und Schiller im Urtheil ihrer Zeitgenossen*, Berlin, 1885. 2. Abth. Bd. 3, p. 152. From these sources it seems that *Faust* appeared between May 5 and 12, 1808. As late as May 7 Kleist was occupied with the transfer of the financial responsibilities of the magazine; after that he turned his attention to the more congenial task. The exact date of the appearance

opportunity to enter the lists against Goethe. Faust's Verbrüderung with Mephistopheles, with its dire results for Gretchen, offended him.³⁰ First he endeavors to show that Goethe's treatment is faulty and then he proceeds to give his own conception of the way in which such a theme should be handled.

Theobald, when asked to explain his accusation, replies: 'Es ist wahr, ihr Herren, ich sah ihn nicht zur Nachtzeit, an Mooren und schilfreichen Gestaden, oder wo sonst des Menschen Fuss selten erscheint, umherwandeln und mit den Irrlichtern³¹ Verkehr treiben. Ich fand ihn nicht auf den Spitzen der Gebirge, den Zauberstab in der Hand, das unsichtbare Reich der Luft abmessen, oder in unterirdischen Höhlen, [die kein Strahl erhellt],³² Beschwörungsformeln aus dem Staub heraufmurmeln. Ich sah den Satan und die Scharen, deren Verbrüderten ich ihn nannte, mit Hörnern, Schwänzen und Klauen, wie sie im Holzschnitt³³ abgebildet sind, an seiner Seite nicht.'³⁴ The passage based on Zschokke is here interpolated. Then, Otto: 'Durch welche Mittel hat er sie dir

of the double number cannot be determined. It was toward the end of the month. For this last note I am indebted to the kindness of Prof. Dr. Georg Minde-Pouet; for various other details Mr. Leonard L. Mackall of Jena has given me helpful references.

³⁰ Sadger, p. 23: 'Schon in Frankfurt konnte den Dichterjüngling der geringste Verstoff gegen die Sittlichkeit, ein Blick, eine Miene ausser Fassung bringen.'

³¹ Zolling's Wortregister does not give this word; I have not found it elsewhere in his works. The reference to the Irrlicht of the Walpurgisnacht is unmistakable, although Kleist seems not to have understood the satirical import of the will-o'-the-wisp.

³² This phrase, added later, has more than its literal, insignificant meaning; it is a play on words, by which Kleist reinforces the idea that Strahl (Kleist) employed other methods than Faust did. Kleist not infrequently plays on words.

³³ For im Holzschnitt the later version substituted zu Heilbronn über dem Altar. The change is in line with Kleist's effort to rationalize Strahl's language, that is, to mitigate the satire and parody when he no longer felt a grievance against Goethe.

³⁴ One comment on this passage may be taken as typical: Argen Misbrauch mit der poetischen Sprache hat Kleist getrieben wo Theobald vor dem Vehmgericht eine für einen Waffenschmied gänzlich ungeeignete Rede hält; ein Waffenschmied schäumt nicht so grundgelehrt und in solcher Bilderpracht auf; überhaupt passen alle jene Bilder, mit denen die Reden verbrämt sind, gar nicht für diese Leute des Volkes, so schön sie an sich sein mögen. Minde-Pouet, *Heinr. v. Kleist*, p. 188.

entrissen?' Theo.: 'Durch welche Mittel? Ihr Herren, wenn ich das sagen könnte, so begriffen es diese fünf Sinne und so ständ ich nicht vor euch und klagte. . . . (Here follow seventy words that were omitted in the revised version). . . . Was soll ich euch sagen, wenn ihr mich fragt, durch welche Mittel? Hat er sie am Brunnen getroffen, wenn sie Wasser schöpfte, und gesagt: Lieb Mädel, wer bist du? hat er sich an den Pfeiler gestellt, wenn sie aus der Kirche kam, und gefragt: Lieb Mädel, wo wohnst du? hat er sich in ihre Kammer geschlichen, und ihr einen Halsschmuck gebracht, und gesagt: Lieb Mädel, gefällt mir?'

In this negative testimony as to the means which Strahl (i. e., of course, Kleist) did not employ, there are unmistakable references to many scenes in *Faust* wherein such methods were employed to win the girl's love. Kätchen, however, was not approached by such arts, for, Theobald concludes, 'damit war sie nicht zu gewinnen!' Kleist then proceeds, through Theobald, to give evidence that a conspiracy between the lover and the devil leaves the girl utterly helpless in their hands: it causes Kätchen to plunge out of a window onto the pavement and after her recovery to follow her lover like a dog.

There seem to be no further satirical references to *Faust*. In seeking further revenge with Goethe, Kleist was guided by the only direct criticism that he had received from him, that contained in the letter of February 1. 'Mit der Penthesilea kann ich mich noch nicht befreunden. Sie ist aus einem so wunderbaren Geschlecht und bewegt sich in einer so fremden Region, dass ich mir Zeit nehmen muss, mich in beide zu finden.' These words rankled so in Kleist's mind that it was impossible for him to observe the request with which Goethe had concluded the letter: 'Verzeihen Sie mein Geradezu: es zeugt von meinem aufrichtigen Wohlwollen.' Kleist proposed to show that there had been a time when Penthesilea's realm had not been so unfamiliar to Goethe; that he had not always been so coldly classical, but had even been known upon occasion to tear a passion to tatters. Kleist insinuates that the realm in which Achilles and Penthesilea moved was not perhaps so far removed from that of Werther and Lotte.

It has long been established that the self-contained Graf vom Strahl of act one represents Kleist. Theobald, who brings an accusation against Strahl, therefore represents Goethe.

A judge asks: 'Was ist in diesem ganzen Vorfall, das ihn anklagt?' Whereupon Theobald:

Was ihn anklagt?. . . . 'Musst' ich vor dem Menschen nicht erbeben, der die Natur in dem reinsten Herzen, das je geschaffen ward, dergestalt umgekehrt hat, dass sie vor dem Vater, zu ihr gekommen, seiner Liebe Brust ihren Lippen zu reichen, kreideweissen Antlitzes entweicht, wie vor dem Wolfe, der sie zerreißen will? Nun denn, so walte, Hekate, Fürstin des Zaubers, moorduftige Königin der Nacht! Sprosst, ihr dämonischen Kräfte, die die menschliche Satzung sonst auszujäten bemüht war, blüht auf unter dem Athem der Hexen and schosst zu Wäldern empor, dass die Wipfel sich zerschlagen und die Pflanze des Himmels, die am Boden keimt, verwese; rinnt, ihr Säfte der Hölle, tröpfelnd aus Stämmen und Stielen gezogen, fällt wie ein Katarakt ins Land, dass der erstickende Pestqualm zu den Wolken empor-dampft; fließt und ergießt euch durch alle Röhren des Lebens, und schwemmt in allgemeiner Sündflut Unschuld und Tugend hinweg!

The fact that the larger part of this passage is metrical has escaped observation. To it compare a part of the reading from Ossian that plunged Werther into such profound despair:

Auf, ihr Winde des Herbstes! auf! stürmt über die finstere Heide! Waldströme, braust! heult, Stürme im Gipfel der Eichen! Wandle durch gebrochene Wolken, o Mond! zeige wechselnd dein bleiches Gesicht! Erwinnere mich der schrecklichen Nacht, da meine Kinder umkamen, da Arindal, der mächtige, fiel, Daura, die liebe, verging.

With this passage the Werther satire does not conclude, although there is no more of it in the first act. Between the acts Strahl undergoes a transformation. The love-lorn, languishing swain of act two, scene one, is as far removed as possible from the self-contained, masterful hero of act one and almost as dissimilar to the Strahl of the subsequent scenes. Once having dipped into *Werther*, Kleist could not resist the temptation to parody the sentimentality thereof. In a review of Nicolai's *Freuden des Jungen Werthers*, March, 1775, *Der teutsche Merkur* had said: Mitunter läuft dann wohl auch, nach Hrn. N— Art, ein wenig Persiflage; aber dies ist man von ihm gewohnt, und Hr. G—, der sich gegen andre alles erlaubt, kann sich über die Folgen einer Ungebundenheit, die er durch sein Beispiel rechtfertigt, am wenigsten beschweren. There was even more force to this observation after the appearance of the *Xenien*. Kleist in particular might feel that his parody was called for, inasmuch as he regarded it as a sort of self-justification thus to refute Goethe's assertion that Kleist's characters moved in an unfamiliar realm.

As Strahl³⁵ is led forth from the secret tribunal he 'wirft sich auf's Gras nieder und weint:

Nun will ich hier wie ein Schäfer liegen und klagen. Die Sonne scheint noch röthlich durch die Stämme, auf welchen die Wipfel des Waldes ruhn; . . . Ich will mir einbilden, meine Pferde dort unten, wo die Quelle rieselt, wären Schafe und Ziegen, die an dem Felsen kletterten und an Gräsern und bittern Gesträuchen rissen; ein leichtes, weisses, linnenes Zeug bedeckte mich, mit rothen Bändern zusammengebunden, und um mich her flatterte eine Schaar munterer Winde, um die Seufzer, die meiner von Gram sehr gepressten Brust entquillen, gradaus zu der guten Götter Ohr empor zu tragen."

Most of Strahl's monolog is based on, indeed, is a parody of, Werther's reading from Ossian, on the occasion of his last visit to Lotte. To the above words of Strahl, compare the beginning of the Ossian selection:

"Stern der dämmernden Nacht, schön funkelst du im Westen, hebst dein strahlend Haupt aus deiner Wolke, wandelst stattlich deinen Hügel hin. Wonach blickst du auf die Heide? Die stürmenden Winde haben sich gelegt; von Ferne kommt des Giessbachs Murmeln; rauschende Wellen spielen am Felsen ferne; das Gesumme der Abendfliegen schwärmt übers Feld. Wonach siehst du, schönes Licht? Aber du lächelst und gehst; freudig umgeben dich die Wellen und baden dein liebliches Haar. Lebe wohl, ruhiger Strahl!

Strahl continues: 'Wenn mir nur Gottschalk gegenüber sässe, und irgend etwas, was es auch sei, vor uns auf der Erde läge, damit ich mir einbilden könnte, es sei ein Wettstreit.'

The Ossian selection in 'Werther' is a *Wettgesang auf dem Hügel*, held by the bards:

Siehe! die Barden des Gesanges! Grauer Ullin! Stattlicher Ryno! Alpin, lieblicher Sänger! und du, sanftklagende Minona!—Wie verändert seid ihr, meine Freunde, seit den festlichen Tagen auf Selma, da wir buhlten um die Ehre des Gesanges, wie Frühlingslüfte den Hügel hin wechselnd beugen das schwach lispelnde Gras. . . . Einst kehrte Ullin zurück von der Jagd, ehe die Helden noch fielen. Er hörte ihren Wettgesang auf dem Hügel. Ihr Lied war sanft aber traurig.

Strahl's next words are a characterization of the whole Ossian passage:

Ich will meine Muttersprache durchblättern, und das ganze reiche Kapitel, das diese Überschrift führt: Empfindung, dergestalt plündern, dass [keine Thräne mehr, die unter dem Monde rinnt,]³⁶ auf eine neue Art soll sagen können: ich bin betrübt.³⁷ Alles, was die Wehmuth Rührendes hat, will ich aufbieten, Lust und in den Tod gehende Betrübniß sollen sich abwechseln, und meine

³⁶ Of course Strahl no longer represents Kleist, as in Act I.

Stimme, wie einen schönen Tänzer, durch alle Beugungen hindurch führen, die die Seele bezaubern; und wenn die Bäume nicht in der That bewegt werden, und ihren milden Thau, als ob es geregnet hätte, herabträufeln lassen, so sind sie von Holz, und Alles, was uns die Dichter von ihnen sagen, eine bloss ange-
nehme Täuschung.

The assertion that 'the trees are made of wood, if they do not weep', is evidence enough that Strahl's monolog is not entirely serious. The Ossian selection in Werther concludes as follows:

Warum weckst du mich, Frühlingsluft? Du buhlst und sprichst: Ich betaeue mit Tropfen des Himmels! Aber die Zeit meines Welkens ist nahe, nahe der Sturm, der meine Blätter herabstört! Morgen wird der Wanderer kommen, kommen, der mich sah in meiner Schönheit; ringsum wird sein Auge im Felde mich suchen und wird mich nicht finden.

Strahl continues:

Du Schöner als ich singen kann, ich will eine eigene Kunst erfinden, und dich weinen. Alle Phiole der Empfindung, himmlische und irdische, will ich eröffnen, und eine solche Mischung von Thränen, einen Erguss so eigenthümlicher Art, so heilig zugleich und üppig, zusammenschütten,³⁶ dass jeder Mensch

³⁶ For the words in brackets the revised version substituted kein Reimschmidt mehr, in keeping with a general desire to rationalize the Fragment and to do away with satire.

³⁷ Up to this point in Strahl's monolog there is a resemblance to Goethe's *Schäfers Klagelied* (cf. Strahl, Nun will ich hier *wie ein Schäfer liegen und klagen*). The poem begins and ends as follows:

Da droben auf jenem Berge,
Da steh' ich tausendmal
An meinem Stabe gebogen
Und schaue hinab in das Thal
Dann folg' ich der weidenden Herde.

. . .

Und Regen, Sturm und Gewitter
Verpass' ich unter dem Baum.

. . .

Hinaus in das Land und weiter,
Vielleicht gar über die See.
Vorüber, ihr Schafe, vorüber!
Dem Schäfer ist gar so weh.

This poem (Weimar Aug. I, 86) appeared in the *Taschenbuch* for 1804, and again in the *Werke*, vol. I, 1806. Von Loeper says of it that as early as 1805 it was 'vielleicht hundertmal componirt.'

³⁸ Cf. Werther: Ich will mein ganzes Herz ausschütten.

gleich, an dessen Hals ich sie weine, sagen soll: sie fliessen dem Kätchen von Heilbronn!

Goethe had thus described the agitation of Lotte and Werther:

Ein Strom von Thränen, der aus Lottens Augen brach und ihrem gepressten Herzen Luft machte, hemmte Werthers Gesang. Er warf das Papier hin, fasste ihre Hand und weinte die bittersten Thränen. Lotte ruhte auf der anderen und verbarg ihre Augen ins Schnupftuch. Die Bewegung beider war fürchterlich. Sie fühlten ihr eigenes Elend in dem Schicksale der Edlen, fühlten es zusammen, und ihre Thränen vereinigten sich. Die Lippen und Augen Werthers glühten an Lottens Arme; ein Schauer überfiel sie; sie wollte sich entfernen, und Schmerz und Anteil lagen betäubend wie Blei auf ihr. Sie atmete, sich zu erholen, und bat ihn schluchzend, fortzufahren, bat mit der ganzen Stimme des Himmels! Werther zitterte, sein Herz wollte bersten.

Strahl now proceeds to fulfill his promise, to "plunder that chapter which bears the caption 'Empfindung.'"

O du . . . wie nenn' ich dich? Kätchen! warum kann ich dich nicht mein nennen? Kätchen, Mädchen, Kätchen! warum kann ich dich nicht mein nennen? . . . Kätchen, Kätchen, Kätchen! du, deren junge Seele, als sie heut nackt vor mir stand, . . . Kätchen, Mädchen, Kätchen! warum kann ich es nicht? [War's nicht,—als ob ich—gänzlich zu Gesang verwandelt worden wäre; als schwäng ich mich, wie ein Adler, kreisend und gewälzt und kopfüber, ins Reich unendlicher Lüfte empor, immer jauchzend und wieder jauchzend: ich bin geliebt! dass die ganze Welt, wie ein grosser Resonanzboden, mir wiederhallte: ich bin geliebt! ich bin geliebt! ich bin geliebt! schwachher der Nachhall lispelnd noch von den äussersten Sternen, die an der Gränze der Schöpfung stehen, zu mir herüber zitterte.]³⁹

In the first part of his comment upon the scene, Fries⁴⁰ unwittingly comes very close to its real purport. He says:

Strahl's Monolog klingt in seinem Anfang wie eine Parodie weitschweifiger romantisch schäferlicher Sentimentalität.

Mir dünkt, Kleist hat den Monolog in Gedanken an die Geliebte (Julie Kunze) geschrieben, er wollte seine eigenen Gefühle zum Ausdruck bringen, zerfloss in Lyrik, unterliess dann aber, alles Überflüssige zu tilgen.

This is one of the explanations already referred to as inadequate, in that it does not account for the element of burlesque.

The figure of the eagle, 'gewälzt, kopfüber, immer jauchzend,' forbids one to take the monolog seriously. To understand the

³⁹ The bracketed portion was in *Phöbus* and omitted in revised version.

⁴⁰ A. Fries: *Stilist u. vergl. Forschungen zu H. v. K.* Berliner Beitr. z. germ. u. rom. Philologie. 1906, XXX, p. 74.

monolog, one must recall Werther's letter of farewell to Lotte, the day following the reading from Ossian:

Jetzt noch mein, dein! dein, o Geliebte! Und einen Augenblick—getrennt, geschieden!—vielleicht auf ewig?—Nein, Lotte, nein! . . . Sie liebt mich! Dieser Arm hat sie umfasst, diese Lippen haben auf ihren Lippen gezittert, dieser Mund hat an dem ihrigen gestammelt! Sie ist mein! du bist mein! ja, Lotte, auf ewig!

. . . ich habe sie in ihrer ganzen Himmelswonne geschmeckt, diese Sünde, habe Lebensbalsam und Kraft in mein Herz gesaugt. Du bist von diesem Augenblicke mein! mein, o Lotte! . . . O du Engel! zum ersten Male, zum ersten Male ganz ohne Zweifel durch mein Innigsterstes durchglühte mich das Wonnegefühl: Sie liebt mich! Sie liebt mich!

Kleist's satirical references to Faust and Werther show the same attitude to Goethe as that which prompted Fürchtgott Christian Fulda to write his *Anti-Xenien*.⁴¹

Bäurisch bin ich und grob,⁴² wiewohl ich ein Edelmann heisse.
Weg drei Schritte! sonst schlägt Götz mit der eisernen Faust.

and

Hundertmal hab' ichs gesagt, und tausendmal werd' ichs noch sagen:
Schlechte Verse sind schlecht, wenn sie auch G—e gemacht.

Whether Goethe felt the thrusts cannot be told; at any event he made no rejoinder, observing his policy as he later described it in a letter to Cotta:⁴³ 'Ich habe, wenn zwischen Freunden, notwendig Verwandten und Verbundenen sich eine Differenz hervortrat, immer lieber geschwiegen als erwidert.'

In a conversation with Eckermann⁴⁴ Goethe divided his opponents into four classes.

Zuerst nenne ich meine Gegner aus Dummheit.

Eine zweite grosse Menge bilden sodann meine Neider. Diese Leute gönnen mir das Glück und die ehrenvolle Stellung nicht, die ich durch mein Talent mir erworben. Sie zerren an meinem Ruhm und hätten mich gern vernichtet. Wäre ich unglücklich und elend, so würden sie aufhören.

⁴¹ Wolfgang Stämmler, a. a. O. p. 22, No. 7 and p. 30, No. 102.

⁴² Theobald is addressed as 'du alter, wilder Kläger and du wunderlicher Alter.' Strahl says: 'Der alte Esel, der! dem entgehn' ich nichts als meinen Namen'. Strahl throws down the gauntlet before Theobald; to this compare Kleist's one-time desire to challenge Goethe.

⁴³ Quoted by Wilhelm Bode, *Goethe über Freunde und Feinde*, Berlin, 1913. P. 10 f.

⁴⁴ Bode, p. 28.

Ferner kommt eine grosse Anzahl derer, die aus Mangel an eigenem Sukzess meine Gegner geworden. Es sind begabte Talente darunter, allein sie können mir nicht verzeihen, dass ich sie verdunkele.

Viertens nenne ich meine Gegner aus Gründen. Denn da ich ein Mensch bin und als solcher menschliche Fehler und Schwächen habe, so können auch meine Schriften davon nicht frei sein.

In 1808 Kleist would have assigned himself to the fourth class. Goethe, however, would in all likelihood have assigned him to both the second and third—and, sad to state, the Phöbus Fragment of Das Kätchen von Heilbronn would have confirmed his judgment.

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A NEW ENGLISH SOURCE OF WIELAND

In a narrative, philosophical and descriptive poem in five cantos entitled *The Sea Piece* by J. Kirkpatrick (London 1750) there occurs a conceit which appears to have been borrowed by Wieland for his *Briefe von Verstorbenen*, a poem presenting also important reminiscences of the writings of Elizabeth Rowe, a contemporary of Kirkpatrick. Unless I am mistaken, Wieland's indebtedness to the *Sea Piece* has hitherto been overlooked.

In canto three of Kirkpatrick's epic we are told that the poet, wearied by the sameness which prevails on the surface of the ocean, disengages himself from his corporeal body and with the assistance of Pallas dives down into the unfathomable depths of the sea. Here he discovers an empire of philosophers whose monarch Halsanax, the Genius of the Ocean, informs him concerning their life and nature; this information, however, is not imparted directly to the poet but is conveyed through the medium of odors which Pallas, as interpreter, instantly translates into words. It is this odd fancy of odors serving as a medium of thought which, as we shall see, is reflected in Wieland's *Briefe von Verstorbenen*.

Concerning his observations in the subterranean region the poet informs us (cf. *The Sea Piece* III):

" mimicked here each earthly form we view,
 And each resembles, while it differs too;
 Chiefly the birds exempt, we plainly scan
 The wat'ry scale ascend to sea-born Man:
 Bright as he moves th' obsequious waters heave,
 An orb of light repels the ambient wave,
 Beyond the fictious rays which painters draw,
 And every sea-born monster shrinks with awe.
 Keen are their eyes intensely to explore,
 Their nostrils ample to inhale the more:
 For as the blest by intuition know,
 As sounds from man to man distinctly flow;
 So where the sager sons of ocean dwell,
 Each clear idea's well convey'd by smell.
 For nameless scents the man marine affords,
 Pliant as letters, miscible to words;
 But more in number, whence the smooth discourse
 Steams off in sweet variety and force.

Late as I trac'd a grove amidst the waves,
Whose polished stems were crown'd with glist'ning leaves;
Where shipwreck'd cannon, lodg'd amidst the boughs,
Serv'd timid insects for a safer house;
Where golden wrecks each sea-born sage contemns,
And Proteus laughs to see me picking gems;
All instantly involved in dazzling blaze,
The great Halsanax fix'd me in his rays.
Bright a huge league around his radiance flows,
The vaulted waters gleaming as he goes.
No regal ornaments but looks he wore,
Which spoke his knowledge much, his goodness more.
Deep silence reign'd, commanded by his eye,
"Till soon around the vocal odors fly:
Rose, nard, and ev'ry sweet the East exhales,
Were faint, or fetid, to the meaning gales;
Each nerve of smell the tickling fragrance wounds,
Which Pallas breath'd as quick in Albion's sounds."

After a further description of the strange subterranean realm we learn from Halsanax himself, whose information is translated by Pallas,

" 'Here each exhales sincerely as he thinks,
Odors are truth, and ev'ry falsehood stinks,
Beyond the force of art to hide or still;
Since each base quirk would aggravate the ill.
One means of converse reigns throughout the waves,
Which through the nerves of smell the mind perceives.' "

Continuing his discourse in 'vocal odors,' Halsanax informs the visiting poet that

" ' various thought in various odor springs,
And while you canvas words we smell out things.
All forms consuming must exhale, and hence
We favor what eludes your blunter sense;
Compute each smallest particle of steam,
And ken cohesion by our piercing beam;
For though in odors science float around,
We view the shapes of noise, and see a sound;
What parts repel, what touch, or firm unite,
And ceaseless motions, that elude your sight,
Minute beyond a name, which we behold,
In sparkling adamant and flaming gold;
Discerning clear what few on earth infer,
Few, by strong genius, least propense to err.
Yet deep through nature while our sages glance,
Unrav'ling matter's endless mazy dance,

We stop at spirit—certain ne'er to find
 The pow'r, that shows all other things, the mind:
 Yet doubt we not from hence, profoundly vain,
 That conscious essence which we can't explain;
 But with simplicity of heart revere
 The mental source of ev'ry radiant sphere,
 Who feels our ceaseless gratitude and praise,
 Nor least his wonders in the deep displays.
 Come then, he adds, with me illumin'd try
 The spacious wonders deep within the sky;
 Let science visible thy soul enrobe,
 Transpierce the earth, and analyse the globe:
 Nor hope from thence a fond access of fame,
 You'll think you teach; your man that you declaim.'
 He ceas'd—the speaking odors die away,
 Which charm'd beyond the brightest poet's lay:
 Pallas admits they lose transfus'd to sound,
 And still their sweet remembrance soothes around."

For the convenience of those who may not know Wieland's *Briefe von Verstorbenen* or, having read the poem, may not have a clear recollection of the parallel conceit therein presented, it may be advisable to quote the particular passage in question. In the fourth 'letter,' bearing the title *Theagenes an Alcindor*, the author gives us a picture of one of the heavenly worlds to which Theagenes has been translated. We read

"Eine der Erden des Siebengestirns, die sich um die Sonne
 Wo ich jetzt wohne, bewegt, ist von der erschaffenden Weisheit
 Nur für den Sinn des *Geruchs*, den einzigen Sinn der Bewohner
 Wunderswürdig gebaut
 Für menschliche Sinnen
 Ist die harmonische Mischung so vieler verschiedner Gerüche
 Unbegreiflich. So künstlich auch immer die weise Natur sich
 In den Sphären gezeigt, wo sie zur Speise der Augen
 Ihre Geschöpfe mit Licht und harmonischen Farben geschmückt;
 Dennoch weicht die liebliche Stimmung der blumigen Düfte
 Nicht dem Wohllaut der Farben. Dies macht diese Geschöpfe
 Reich an der feinsten Lust, und ohne den Beistand der Augen
 Und der übrigen Sinne beglückt. Ihr geistiger Leib ist
 Aus zartfühlenden Nerven gewebt. Statt Töne zu reden,
 Hauchen sie ihre Gedanken mit deutlich veränderten Düften
 Ihren Gespielen entgegen.
 Ein einziger Sinn gibt ihnen die Wollust,
 Die ihr von etlichen nehmet. Sie fühlen die holden Akkorde,
 Welche für sie die symphonischen Wirbel der Düfte beseelen,
 Mit nicht minderer Lust, als euch die Zusammenstimmung
 Reizender Lieder und silberner Töne der Laute gewähret."

It is significant, moreover, that in the same 'letter' Wieland pictures another planetary world where musical sounds perform the same function which, in the region just described, is assigned to odors. The passage in question opens with the lines,

"Eben die Sonne, die diese bewundernswürdige Sphäre
Mit sanft leuchtendem Glanze befeuchtet die strahlt auch von ferne
Einem Planeten entgegen, der zum *Gehör* nur gemacht ist."

It seems likely that Wieland at the time of his sojourn in Zürich (1752-4) made the acquaintance of the *Sea Piece* through his friend Bodmer who himself, in his epic *Colombona* (1753), shows unmistakable reminiscences of Kirkpatrick's poem;¹ moreover, under date of March 7, 1753, Bodmer wrote: "Der Winter ist uns unter den Händen entschlüpft. Er (i. e. Wieland who was then Bodmer's guest) hat neun Briefe der Abgestorbenen an ihre hinterlassenen Freunde geschrieben. . . . Sie sollen vor Ausgang des künftigen Mai schon publiziert sein."² Finally, we have it on Wieland's own testimony that during his visit he virtually read through Bodmer's entire library, a performance which is little surprising in view of the fact that he was ever an omnivorous reader.³

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¹ Cf. Jacob Bächtold: *Gesch. der deutschen Lit. in der Schweiz*, p. 620. The *Colombona* contains numerous literal translations from the *Sea Piece*; also other influences of the English poem are apparent. Moreover, Bodmer, in the preface to his epic, acknowledges his indebtedness to Kirkpatrick by referring to him as his 'collaborator.'

² Quoted by Bernhard Seuffert in his *Prolegomena zu einer Wieland-Ausgabe*, Berlin 1904, p. 34.

³ [It may be of interest to note that Goethe in his remarkable poem *Höheres und Höchstes* (West-östlicher Dören) also speaks of gaining *one* sense in the life hereafter which the poem describes:

Ist somit dem Fuenf der Sinne
Vorgesehen im Paradiese,
Sicher ist es ich gewinne
Einen Sinn für alle diese.

EDITOR.]

NICOLAI UND DIE SCHUNDLITERATUR

Durch die geistvolle Untersuchung, die Richard Schwinger¹ über Nicolais "Sebaldus Nothanker" anstellte, besitzen wir eine Fundgrube für das Quellenstudium des Romans, sowohl für die persönlichen Modelle, die dem Verfasser dienten, wie auch für alle Geistesströmungen und kulturhistorischen Verhältnisse des 18. Jahrhunderts.

Das Buch ist in satirischer Absicht geschrieben, erreicht aber noch nicht jene leichte, künstlerische Form der Ironie, die erst die Romantiker schufen und ist wegen seiner nüchternen, tendenziösen Art, dem Gebiet der Aufklärungsliteratur einzureihen.

Dem Teil des Buches, der sich nicht mit den "Meinungen," sondern mit dem "Leben" des Helden, also mit der eigentlichen Fabel beschäftigt, widmet Schwinger nur wenige Zeilen seiner Untersuchung.² Er weist darauf hin, dass hier die Bestandteile der Reise—und Abenteuerromane, von denen die englischen Romane bereits Besitz ergriffen hatten, herangezogen werden. Wollten wir auch hierin eine aufklärerische Absicht erkennen, so steht sie nur an zweiter Stelle und ist etwa so aufzufassen, dass uns Nicolai in Zustände aller Art Einblick gewähren will. Zu dem Zwecke weiss er in höchst spannender und nicht immer glaubwürdiger Weise zu erzählen. Die merkwürdigsten Geschehnisse folgen oft Schlag auf Schlag aufeinander.

Da erleben wir dass der sanfte Seelenhirt, dessen Vergehen ist, dass er bei Gottes Güte an die Ewigkeit der Höllenstrafen nicht glaubt, nicht nur durch Entsetzen vom Amt, durch Not, Krankheit und Todesfälle in der Familie gestraft wird,—sondern dass ihn auch ganz aussergewöhnliche Unglücksfälle ereilen! Zweimal gerät er in Räuberhand³; ein andermal leidet er Schiffbruch⁴ und wird von einer Welle ans Land gespült. Vor den Toren von Amsterdam fällt er in die Hände eines Seelenverkäufers und wird in eine "Unterkammer"⁵ gestossen, wo er im grössten Elend

¹ Friedrich Nicolais Roman "Sebaldus Nothanker" v. Schwinger 1897.

² Vgl. ebd. S. 260.

³ Bd. I, (4. Auflage, 1799) S. 192 und Bd. II, S. 16.

(Vgl. üb. d. Anlass zu dieser Schilderung Schwinger S. 164. Anm. 5.)

⁴ Bd. III, S. 3.

⁵ Bd. III, S. 42.

schmachtet. Wir müssen an die Burgverliesse denken, die in den späteren Ritter—und Räuberromanen eine so grosse Rolle spielen.

Aber auch in anderer Hinsicht ist die Brücke zu der angehenden Modelektüre durch billige Motive geschlagen: der Sohn des Pastors ist der Student der Schulden macht⁶, die Universität heimlich verlässt und sich einem abenteuerlichem Leben zuwendet. Natürlich nimmt er einen falschen Namen an, er verliebt sich in seine Schwester, die sich für eine Französin ausgibt und lässt sich, da sie ihn verschmäht, in ein Intriguenspiel gegen sie ein; er veranlasst ihre Entführung, nachdem sie vorher in dem Schlosse, wo sie Gesellschafterin gewesen war, in Gewahrsam⁸ gehalten worden war. Einmal scheint es fast als sollte es zur Geschwisterehe⁹ kommen, aber durch unerhörte Zufälle, nachdem auch ein Ring als Erkennungszeichen seine Schuldigkeit getan, und ein Lotterielos den unschuldig Verarmten äussere Güter in den Schoss geworfen hat, findet alles unter Tränen der Freude einen befriedigenden Schluss. Als Episode wird noch eine Verführungsgeschichte¹⁰ eingeführt, in der ein Major, der an Lessings Tellheim erinnert, seine Bravur in einem Duell zeigen kann.

Überblicken wir also die Fülle der Motive so finden wir, wie sehr dem Roman der Stempel seiner Zeit, auch da, wo es unfreiwillig geschieht, aufgedrückt ist.¹¹ Er ist 1773, also in dem Jahre, wo Götz das grosse Ereignis war, erschienen. Aussergewöhnliche Motive hat er mit diesem gemein. Die mittelmässigen, aber psychologisch fein individualisierten Charaktere verdankt er den englischen bürgerlichen Romanen, die damals in Mode waren und nachgeamt wurden. Seine weinerlichen Familienscenen finden sich nicht nur bei Iffland und Kotzebue, sondern auch mitten im Waffengeklirr der Ritterdramen wieder. Schon hat er Frömmigkeit und Pfaffenhass in des Biedermanns Seele zu paaren gewusst. Indem der Verfasser sein Werk nicht nur zu moralischen, sondern auch zu allgemeinen Belehrungen benutzt, weist er auf Goethes spätere Ziele für den Roman hin, freichlich ohne auch nur eine Spur seines künstlerischen Empfindens zu besitzen. Nicolai ver-

⁶ Bd. I, S. 38. Diese Variation des verlorenen Sohnes ist jedoch alt.

⁸ Bd. I, S. 266.

⁹ Bd. III, S. 129.

¹⁰ Bd. II, S. 117.

¹¹ Rein äusserlich und bewusst schliesst er sich an Thümmels komisches Prosa-Gedicht "Wilhelmine" (1764) an: seine Manier, im Titel auf "Leben und Meinungen" des Helden hinzuweisen, wird u. a. von Kortum in der *Jobiade* (1784) von Cramer in seinem *Paul Ysop* (1795) befolgt.

folgte in letzter Hinsicht ernste Zwecke! Aber um seinem Publikum entgegen zu kommen, verschmähte er nicht die krassen Mittel, die später die Ritter- und Räuberlektüre so berüchtigt gemacht haben. Wenn wir dies berücksichtigen, wird ein Teil des Vorwurfs, der dem Goetz von Goethe und den Räubern von Schiller gemacht wird, die Schundliteratur verschuldet zu haben, auf Nicolai geworfen werden müssen. Will man einwenden, dass die späteren Romane deshalb von jenen *Dramen* abhängen, weil sie gerne die Dialogform benutzen, so ist wiederum auf Nicolai hinzuweisen, der diese unschöne Abwechslung im Stil bereits vor Sturm und Drang bringt;¹² sie beweist die niedrige Entwicklungsstufe, auf der sich der Stil des im Entstehen begriffenen deutschen Romans damals befand. Betrachten wir noch als dritten im Bunde der Angeklagten Schillers Geisterseher, so werden unsere Vermutungen nur bestärkt. Denn hier haben wir keinen Roman mit aufklärerischen Tendenzen wie den Sebaldu Nothanker; er spielt wie dieser im 18. Jahrhundert, erschien aber erst etwa 15 Jahre später als Nicolais Werk. Nicolais Buch ist damals in den Händen von jedermann gewesen; seinem Einfluss ist also auch ein gebührender Platz neben den oben erwähnten Werken einzuräumen. Hat Götz von Berlichingen vor allem Cramer, die Räuber Vulpus, die Geisterseher Spiess beeinflusst, so dürfen wir von den sensationellen und seltenen Begebenheiten, die sich im Familienleben des Sebaldu Nothanker abspielen, eine direkte Linie zu den Erzählungen des Mannes ziehen, der nur diesem Teil des Werkes Beachtung schenkte, und der mit seinem und seiner Anhänger Schriften lange Zeit den Büchermarkt beherrschte: August Lafontaine.

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¹² Hiermit widerspreche ich Müller-Fraureuth, der in "Ritter- und Räuberromane" behauptet, dass Schlenkert und Wächter (Veit Weber) den Dialog in den Roman eingeführt hätten.

THE TEMPEST: PARALLELISM IN CHARACTERS AND SITUATIONS

Conspicuous in *The Tempest* of Shakespeare is the use of similar and yet contrasted situations and characters. The suggestion of likeness in difference is especially noticeable in the case of the two strange servants of Prospero, Caliban and Ariel, one an airy sprite, the other an earthy monster. Ariel is a being purely supernatural, gifted with the abilities proper to spirits of the air, who, says Reginald Scot, "can give the gift of invisibility, and the foreknowledge of the change of weather; they can teach the exorcist how to excite storms and tempests, and how to calm them again; they can bring news in an hour's space of the success of any battle, siege, or navy, how far off soever" (*Discovery of Witchcraft*, 15. 6, App. 1). Caliban, on the contrary, though partly supernatural, possesses no powers greater than those of ordinary mortals, and can render only the services of a menial of savage race. Though of superhuman descent through his father, the devil, from that parentage he derives only deformity. Like Lorel the Rude in Jonson's *Sad Shepherd*, he does not partake of the diabolical craft of the witch, his mother; quite the other way, he is sometimes but a "puppy headed monster." Both the light spirit and the brutish monster are equally desirous of freedom: Caliban embraces his opportunity to throw off the yoke of Prospero, and there is discord between Prospero and his quaint minister only when Ariel too much insists upon his master's promise of liberty. Even though Caliban, having a human shape, and being half of human parentage, may be supposed to have a soul, and Ariel is, like Undine, without one, the moral superiority is Ariel's. Were he but human he would be moved by the sorrow of Prospero's victims; even though but air he has "a touch, a feeling of their afflictions." The suggestion that Ariel can feel pity leads to his comparison with Miranda, the only woman appearing in the play. Even though she scarcely understands the ship she sees wrecked before her, she says:

O! I have suffer'd
With those I saw suffer:
O! the cry did knock
Against my very heart (1. 2. 5-9).

Many of the characters of the play appear two by two. Prospero and Alonzo, the two rulers who have been enemies, are thrown together by the union of that charming pair, their children; for the courteous Ferdinand and the simple Miranda are foils for one another. There are two conspirators, Antonio and Sebastian; two clowns, Stephano and Trinculo; two lords, Adrian and Francisco; even two principal goddesses, Juno and Ceres. If Sycorax can be counted, there are two magicians, for the witch was

one so strong
That could control the moon, make flows and ebbs,
And deal in her command without her power (5. 269).

Prospero uses his power for good, bringing about repentance and restoration, but Sycorax has practised

mischiefs manifold and sorceries terrible
To enter human hearing (1. 2. 264-5);

yet the two work in similar ways. Prospero threatens to inflict on Ariel a punishment like that he suffered from Sycorax. She, he says to Ariel,

did confine thee,
 By help of her more potent ministers,
 And in her most unmitigable rage,
 Into a cloven pine; within which rift
 Imprison'd, thou didst painfully remain
 A dozen years;
where thou didst vent thy groans
 As fast as mill-wheels strike (1. 2. 274-81);

and for himself he declares:

I will rend an oak
And peg thee in his knotty entrails till
Thou hast howl'd away twelve winters (1. 2. 294-6).

Both magicians have been banished to the island, and both because of their art; Prospero gave himself so much to the study of magic that he lost hold of the reins of his dukedom: Sycorax was criminal in her practise of magic. Prospero brought his infant daughter to the island: Sycorax gave birth to Caliban soon after her arrival, so that he is a native of the island.

The two conspiracies, that of Stephano, Trinculo, and Caliban, against Prospero, and that of Antonio and Sebastian against Alonzo,

emphasize one another by contrast, even in details. Stephano expects to make himself king of the island, and under his rule Caliban anticipates freedom, just as Sebastian by the murder of his brother will become king of Naples and will grant to Antonio, for his aid, freedom from tribute. The sufferings of the two sets of conspirators, when their plots are revealed, are suited to their characters: Stephano and his companions suffer bodily torments, but the noble conspirators are afflicted only in conscience. Yet both are punished through the same instrumentality, that of Prospero and Ariel, and the same word (*pinch*¹) is used to describe the afflictions of both. Caliban endeavors to induce his fellow conspirators to leave the spoiling of Prospero's goods and proceed with their attack upon the owner, by saying:

Let's along,
And do the murder first: if he awake,
From toe to crown he'll fill our skin with pinches;
Make us strange stuff (4. 231-4).

He is right, for Prospero commands Ariel, when he punishes them, to

shorten up their sinews
With aged cramps, and more pinch-spotted make them
Than pard, or cat o' mountain (4. 260-62);

and in his afflictions Caliban cries out:

I shall be pinched to death (5. 276).

In rebuking the noble villains Prospero uses *pinch* to describe the torments of conscience:

Thou'rt pinch'd for't now, Sebastian
Sebastian,—
Whose inward pinches therefore are most strong (5. 74-7).

Sebastian and Antonio apply to Caliban the very words before used by Stephano and Trinculo. When Trinculo first sees Caliban he exclaims: "What have we here? a man or a fish? Dead or alive? A fish: he smells like a fish; a very ancient and fish-like smell; a kind of not of the newest Poor-John. A strange fish! Were I in

¹ *Pinch* is elsewhere used by Shakespeare to describe mental discomfort (e.g., *I Henry IV*, 1. 3. 229), but nowhere so strikingly as in *The Tempest*, where it appears several times, referring now to mental, now to physical pain.

England now, and had but this fish painted, not a holiday fool there but would give a piece of silver" (2. 2. 24-9); and in like manner when Caliban first appears to the nobles, Sebastian cries:

What things are these, my lord Antonio?
Will money buy them?

and Antonio answers:

Very like; one of them
Is a plain fish, and, no doubt, marketable (5. 263-6).

When Gonzalo begins to speculate on his ideal commonwealth he remarks:

Had I plantation of this isle, my lord,—
And were the king on't, what would I do?

to be interrupted by Sebastian:

'Scape being drunk for want of wine (2. 2. 144-7).

King Stephano, during his brief rule of the island, is far from escaping drunkenness through lack of wine; when at the conclusion of the play he comes forward drunk, Sebastian, with his same thought of the barrenness of the isle, says:

He is drunk now: where had he wine (5. 278)?

When told of Miranda, Stephano, bringing himself into contrast with other characters than the conspirators, decides: "His daughter and I will be king and queen—save our graces" (3. 2. 111-2), just as Ferdinand, when he first sees Miranda, plans to make her queen of Naples, and Alonzo says of her and Ferdinand:

O heavens! that they were living both in Naples,
The king and queen there (5. 147-8)!

In neither case is the chief plotter in the conspiracy to be the chief gainer. Caliban is to secure nothing but the gratification of his hatred for Prospero, and a freedom that is but a more abject servitude; Antonio's share in the conspiracy into which he leads Sebastian, and in which the latter is to gain a kingdom, is but the remission of the tribute he pays to Naples. Caliban defers to what he thinks the better intellect of Stephano, and Antonio to Sebas-

tian's right by birth. Both plans are to be brought to pass by a single stroke. Sebastian exhorts Antonio:

Draw thy sword: one stroke
Shall free thee from the tribute which thou pay'st (2. 1. 293-4);

and in an antithetical speech Caliban, the chief plotter, promises subjection to King Stephano:

This is the mouth o' the cell: no noise, and enter.
Do that good mischief, which may make this island
Thine own forever, and I, thy Caliban,
For aye thy foot-licker (4. 216-9).

Both groups of conspirators rely on striking while the objects of their attack are asleep, and have not courage to make the attempt at any other time. When foiled in the first attempt at murder by the waking of the king, Antonio exhorts Sebastian to carry out the plan that night, when their victims,

oppress'd with travel,
Will not, nor cannot, use such vigilance
As when they are fresh (3. 3. 15-7).

Caliban again and again speaks of the necessity of attacking Prospero when he is asleep:

I'll yield him thee asleep,
Where thou may'st knock a nail into his head (3. 2. 65-6);

Prithee, my king, be quiet (4. 215);

and there are other references to the same necessity. Prospero's opinion of the noble conspirators,

some of you there present
Are worse than devils (3. 3. 35-6),

is echoed in his remark on the "born devil" Caliban, when he says to those very conspirators:

And this demi-devil—
For he's a bastard one—had plotted with them
To take my life (5. 272-4).

Caliban's hatred for Prospero led him, in his hope for revenge, to serve Stephano even more abjectly than he had served Prospero,

and to offer him the same services, such as pointing out the fresh springs and bearing wood (2. 2. 160): Antonio, duke in all but name, was willing to submit to the king of Naples,

and bend
The dukedom, yet unbow'd,—alas, poor Milan!—
To most ignoble stooping (1. 2. 114-6),

in order to dispossess his brother. Both Caliban and Antonio have manifested ingratitude. Caliban had been no slave during the early part of Prospero's residence in the island; Prospero had treated him kindly, taught him, and lodged him in his own cell, but the devilish nature of Caliban would take no print of kindness: he repaid his benefactor by an attempt to violate the honor of his child. The depraved nature of Antonio responded to kindness in the same fashion; Prospero says of him:

I in my false brother
Awak'd an evil nature; and my trust
Like a good parent, did beget of him
A falsehood in its contrary as great
As my trust was; which had indeed no limit,
A confidence sans bound (1. 2. 92-7).

Like Caliban he used his opportunities to practise treachery against his benefactor.

At the beginning of Act II, Scene 2, Caliban enters with a burden of wood: two hundred lines later, at the beginning of the next scene, the first of Act III, Ferdinand enters bearing a log. If this similarity is striking on the modern stage, with its change of scenery, and its long pause between the acts, it must have been much more so on the Elizabethan stage. Miranda's words to Ferdinand,

Such baseness
Had never like executor (3. 1. 12-3),

receive new meaning when one remembers that Prospero has laid on Ferdinand the chief task of Caliban, though with the difference that Ferdinand

must remove
Some thousands of these logs and pile them up (3. 1. 9-10),

while Caliban merely fetches in fuel. Even though Miranda does not love to look on Caliban and has no ambition to see a goodlier

man than Ferdinand, the two are related in more than occupation alone. Prospero endeavors to restrain Miranda's admiration for Ferdinand's beauty with the words:

Thou think'st there is no more such shapes as he,
Having seen but him and Caliban: foolish wench!
To the most of men this is a Caliban
And they to him are angels (1. 2. 475-8).

Miranda herself uses Caliban as a standard:

This

Is the third man that e'er I saw; the first
That e'er I sigh'd for (1. 2. 442-3).

Later she refrains from bringing Caliban into the comparison :

Nor have I seen
More that I may call men than you, good friend,
And my dear father (3. 1. 50-2).

The two are used to show the connection of beauty and goodness, evil and ugliness. Miranda says of Ferdinand:

There's nothing ill can dwell in such a temple:
If the ill spirit have so fair a house,
Good things will strive to dwell with't (1. 2. 454-6).

And Prospero says of Caliban:

He is as disproportion'd in his manners
As in his shape (5. 290-1);

As with age his body uglier grows,
So his mind cankers (4. 191-2).

With the last may be compared also Prospero's description of Ferdinand:

And, but he's something stain'd
With grief—that beauty's canker—thou might'st call him
A goodly person (1. 2. 411-3).

Ferdinand hears mysterious music, and comments on it as follows:

Where should this music be? i' th' air, or th' earth?
It sounds no more;—and sure, it waits upon
Some god o' th' island. Sitting on a bank,

I might call him
A thing divine; for nothing natural
I ever saw so noble (1. 2. 406-15).

In like manner Caliban, after recovering from the fright given him by Stephano and Trinculo, says of them:

These be fine things an if they be not sprites.
That's a brave god and bears celestial liquor (2. 2. 114-5).

When Miranda looks on the assembled company she bursts out:

O wonder!
How many goodly creatures are there here!
How beauteous mankind is! O brave new world,
That has such people in't (5. 181-4).

Similarly Caliban exclaims:

O Setebos! these be brave spirits, indeed (5. 261).

But why should there not be likeness between Miranda and Caliban? Both have been brought up on the island without knowledge of the ways of the world, and both have been pupils of Prospero; but while the devilish nature of Caliban, appealed to only by stripes, has taken no impress of virtue, Prospero can say to his daughter:

Here
Have I, thy schoolmaster, made thee more profit
Than other princes can, that have more time
For vainer hours and tutors not so careful (1. 2. 171-4).

When Davenant and Dryden "added to the design of Shakespeare" to produce their adaptation, *The Tempest*, or *The Enchanted Island*, one of the additions of which Dryden speaks with most satisfaction was "that of a man who had never seen a woman"; the part was already well nigh filled, for Caliban had seen only his mother and Miranda. Just as Prospero can make himself intelligible to Miranda only by comparing Ferdinand to Caliban, in his words:

To the most of men this is a Caliban
And they to him are angels (1. 2. 477-8);

so the experience of Caliban has given him but one comparison with which to tell of the beauty of Miranda:

I never saw a woman,
But only Sycorax my dam and she;
But she as far surpasseth Sycorax
As great'st does least (3. 2. 105-8).

Shakespeare has added to the interest of *The Tempest* by his use of contrast and similarity, making the plot more vivid, and the comic scenes more striking; one conspiracy makes the other more effective, and Caliban is more of a fish when called so by nobles as well as by servants. But the similarities are even more important in bringing out some of the truths embodied in the drama. Perhaps the greatest lesson of the play is that men are good or bad by what is within, not by that which is without: virtue or vice depends on a man's own spirit rather than on his environment: human nature is essentially the same in every walk of life and in every state of society: the learned and the ignorant, the civilized and the savage, turn to good or evil as their natures incline them.

The witch Sycorax was banished for terrible deeds of sorcery; she had used her magic power to devise such abhorred commands that Ariel could not perform them. Yet even though she sold herself to the devil, and bore a son whose father was the devil, she did one good act that saved her life. The magic power of Prospero is far different from that of Sycorax, not in scope, but in the spirit behind it: if the magic of Sycorax drove her from men, that of Prospero restores him to society by overthrowing the works of evil, and causing repentance in the hearts of those who have injured him; his supernatural power joined to his nobility of character makes him the righteous providence of the play, bringing all to a happy end. The two conspiracies reveal selfish lust for power in the minds of prince and servant: Stephano is as willing to do evil to make himself king as is Sebastian. Caliban, the savage native, is as full of hatred for Prospero as Antonio himself had been, for ingratitude dwells in the woods of the island as well as in the halls of princes. It is a significant thing that he who might appear as the innocent child of nature is made the son of the prince of darkness himself. Difference in externals makes more evident the similarity in character of the various conspirators. Stephano is turned aside by a few rich garments; Sebastian grants Antonio the tribute of a dukedom: Antonio has been moved by ambition ungratefully to seize the dukedom of Prospero; Caliban, though untainted by avarice, has with equal ingratitude yielded to lust

and endeavored to dishonor Miranda: both noble and savage are willing murderers. There can hardly be a greater contrast than between the courtly Ferdinand and the brutal Caliban. The former is the ideal of a fine gentleman who unites virtue with his accomplishments. His language is indeed, particularly in contrast with the simple words of Miranda, somewhat extravagant, but beneath courtly speech and aristocratic contempt for toil there is a true heart. Though he resists an insult in the spirit of a courtier, he is "gentle." The "fearful" savage, Caliban, suffers when compared in moral character with the youth from the court. If Shakespeare, when he brought into contrast Ferdinand and Caliban, was thinking of Montaigne's presentation of the virtues of the innocent native in that essay, *Of the Cannibals*, which is so freely used in *The Tempest*, he did not give it his full approval, for the natural man, as represented in Caliban, is morally inferior to the sophisticated prince. Yet for all that, Prospero warns Ferdinand against that "fire in the blood" to which Caliban has yielded. Though the thoughts of Ferdinand are all of virtue, the elemental passions of prince and savage are the same.

How daring and effective a device for the clear presentation of character Shakespeare has made his use of parallelisms! Not a character in the play speaks a line out of keeping with what the dramatist tells of his station and opportunities in life: though characters greatly unlike utter similar speeches and do similar deeds, there is always enough difference to accentuate the dissimilarity of those characters. Prospero's analogy to the witch Sycorax is so far from making him like her that it makes him more evidently the learned man, strong through years of study, and her the witch whose power depends on her contract with the devil. When Ferdinand does the tasks of Caliban he is so little like Caliban that he is yet farther removed from the savage by his like occupation: Ferdinand piling a great quantity of logs carries them like a prince, and Caliban with his burden of fire-wood is more a serf than ever. Caliban's speech on the noises of the island is more impressive than that of Ferdinand on the mysterious music of Ariel, partly because that of Ferdinand is more conventional; but this very conventionality makes it more fitting to the character of the prince. Ferdinand talks of music, and the savage Caliban contrasts himself with him by speaking of noises. Antonio calls Caliban a "fish" with the amused contempt of a noble, the more emphatic in contrast with the vulgar astonishment with which the servant Trinculo

crap.

uses the same word. Miranda and Caliban are both amazed at the appearance of the strangers who come to the island; but how different are their expressions of wonder! The verbal similarity of their exclamations but makes more striking the great difference in the two characters: Caliban's words are full of vulgar fear, but Miranda's have in them something of maidenly reverence. The parallels of the play emphasize the contrasts of the characters in virtue while bringing out their truth to type. The plan of the nobles to murder their victims when they are sleeping, made known in courtly phrases, seems blacker when contrasted with Caliban's similar plan, set forth in language proper to him. Prospero's character is more noble when contrasted with that of Sycorax. When Ferdinand's conduct is set against the foil of the demeanor of Caliban, the virtues of the prince shine the brighter. What a difference between his character, as revealed in the speech telling of the care he will have of his lady's honor, and the disposition that Caliban manifests in his attempt on her honor!

Though Ferdinand and Gonzalo, who have lived at court, are virtuous, and Prospero by neglect of his dukedom for retired study has brought evil on himself and others, the play speaks strongly for the value of retirement—to spirits fitted to profit by it. On his solitary island Prospero has perfected the wisdom with which he looks upon and guides the affairs of men. Yet retirement little avails him who is without a virtuous spirit. Absence from civilization does not produce perfect character. Caliban, though friendly to Prospero at first, yet had in his nature a malice that allowed him to be nothing but evil. The instruction of Prospero had not been able to affect him for good: his profit from language is that he knows how to curse. Miranda's noble character has made the training that Caliban has turned to evil redound to her good, and she has gained from it profit impossible to princesses who have more leisure for the vanities of the world. Her innocence and goodness are Shakespeare's recognition of the truth in Montaigne's protest against the vices of civilization. Her pure nature, developing in solitude under the care of a tutor able to impart the best of civilized wisdom, has made her, even among the women of Shakespeare, indeed a "wonder." This Eve of an enchanted paradise has shown in the island, and one may believe continued to show at Naples what it is to live the perfect natural life.

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SOURCES OF THE ARTHUR STORY IN CHESTER'S
*LOVES MARTYR*¹

Critical study of Robert Chester's *Loves Martyr* has been chiefly concerned thus far with the interpretation of the allegory of the Turtle and Phoenix, and comparatively little has been done toward tracing the sources from which the materials for the poem were borrowed, although one might fairly expect by this means to gain additional information concerning the literary equipment of a poet whose personality, and even identity, are involved in obscurity. The title-page of *Loves Martyr*, it is true, offers to the reader what purports to be an explicit statement of the source of the poem: "*now first translated out of the venerable Italian Torquato Caeliano.*" Unfortunately, however, neither Dr. Grosart nor any subsequent student of Chester's poem has succeeded in identifying the Italian author here mentioned, and it is strongly suspected that the statement on the title-page may be merely a device to start the reader on a false scent. It is quite possible that Chester put forth his poem under the guise of a translation with the deliberate purpose of concealing the personal nature of his allegory of the Phoenix and Turtle.

There is a large section of *Loves Martyr*—nearly one-third of the poem—which, fortunately, is not haunted by the ghost of Torquato Caeliano: this is the *Birth, Life and Death of honourable Arthur, King of Brittain*. This digression concerning King Arthur, as Professor Carleton Brown has recently pointed out,² formed no part of the original plan of *Loves Martyr*, but was inserted by Chester as an afterthought with a separate preface, in which he explained to the reader the reason for its introduction. The purpose of the present paper is to examine the sources of this Arthurian material with a view to gaining new information concerning Chester's literary methods and the authorities with which he was acquainted.

In his preface to the history of Arthur and in scattered remarks in the poem itself Chester gives the reader to understand that his

¹ Edited by Alexander B. Grosart, New Shakspere Society, Series viii, No. 2 London, 1878.

² In *Poems by Sir John Salusbury and Robert Chester*. Bryn Mawr, 1913, liv f.

information on this subject has been drawn from the chronicle histories. "I thought good to write not according to ages oblivion, but directed onely by our late Historiographers of England, who no doubt have taken great pains in the searching foorth of the truth of that first Christian worthie." Elsewhere Chester appeals again to the authority of "Wise, learned Historiographers," or to the "true Historiographer." It is, therefore, a matter of some surprise to find that a considerable portion of Chester's story of Arthur has been borrowed not from history but from romance, being copied almost literally from the first chapters of Malory's *Morte D'Arthur*. Indeed, the preface itself, in which Chester discusses the evidence for the historical existence of Arthur, contains more than one passage which has been borrowed directly from Caxton's preface to the *Morte D'Arthur*, as will be seen from the following parallels:

Caxton:³ p. 2.

Fyrst in the abbey of Westmestre at Saynt Edwardes shryne remayneth the prynte of his seal in reed Waxe closed in beryll/ In whych is wryton Patricius Arthurus/ Britannie/ Gallie/ Germanie/ dacie/ Imperator/ Item in the castel of douver ye may see Gauwayns skulle/ & Cradock's mantle. At wynchester the rounde table/ in other places Launcelottes swerde and many other thynges.

Loves Martyr: p. 35.

And for more confirmation of the truth, looke but in the Abbey of Westminster at Saint Edwards shrine, there shalt thou see the print of his royal Seale in red wax closed in Berrill, with this inscription, Patricius Arthurus Galliae, Germaniae, Daciae Imperator. At Douer likewise you may see Sir Gawins skull and Cradocks mantle: At Winchester, a Citie well knowne in England, his famous round Table, with many other notable monuments too long to rehearse.

A few lines further on both prefaces refer to Arthur's wide-spread fame outside of Britain:

Caxton: p. 2.

And also he is more spoken of beyonde the see moo boookes made of his noble actes than there be in england, as wel in duche, ytalyen, spaynysshe, and grekysshe as in frensshe.

Loves Martyr: p. 35.

. . . . that neuer dead Prince of memory, is more beholding to the French, the Romane, the Scot, the Italian, yea to the Greekes themselves, then to his own Countrymen, who haue fully and wholly set foorth his fame and liuelyhood.

Possibly, also, Chester's reference to the "honourable-minded friends" who urged on him the insertion of Arthur's life in his poem

³ All references to Malory are to Sommer's edition, London, 1889, I.

is an echo of Caxton's "many noble and dyvers gentylmen" who desired him to print an account of Arthur.

Turning to the poem itself we find that after the first stanza, which is purely introductory, Chester proceeds at once to follow Malory:

Malory: Bk. I, Ch. i. p. 35.

It befel in the dayes of Vther
pendragon when he was kynge of all
Englond/ and so regned that there was
a myghty duke in Cornewaill that
helde warre ageynst hym long tyme.

p. 35.

And the duke was called the duke of
Tyntagil/ and so by meanes kynge
Vther send for this duk/ chargyng
hym to brynge his wyf with him/

p. 35.

and in lyke wyse as she saide so
they departed/ that neyther the
kynge nor none of his counceill were
ware of their departyng. Also soone
as kyng Vther knewe of theire
departyng soo sodenly/ he was won-
derly wrothe.

Loves Martyr: p. 36, st. 2.

In the last of Vter surnam'd Pen-
dragon,

In famous *Brytaine* mongst his
owne allies,

There was a mightie Duke that
gouern'd Cornewaile,

That held long warre, and did this
King assaile.

p. 36, st. 3.

This Duke was nam'd the Duke of
Tintagil:

From whence *Pendragon* for this
Duke did send,

And being wounded sore with
Cupids sting,

Charg'd him his Wife vnto the
Court to bring.

p. 37, st. 4.

And as the Duchess spake, the
Duke departed,

That neither *Vter* nor his Councell
knew,

Soone as the King perceiued their
intent,

Intemperate Rage made him impa-
tient.

The three stanzas describing Uther's melancholy at the loss of Igrene are Chester's own, but except for such poetic elaborations the similarity between the two accounts is unmistakable. Aside from these close verbal resemblances the influence of Malory appears in Chester's use of certain details peculiar to the *Morte D'Arthur*. The first example of this occurs in the account of Merlin's coming to the assistance of Uther in winning Igrene. In other versions Uther is advised to send for Merlin, who comes at his command. In Malory Sir Ulfius, setting out to find Merlin, meets

an old beggar,⁴ who asks him his quest. When Ulfius disdains to answer this beggar's question, the supposed beggar reveals himself: "I knowe whome thou sekest/ for thou sekest Merlyn/ therfore seke no ferther/ for I am he/"⁵ and he promises to aid the king. Ulfius immediately returns to Uther with the good news, and to the King's questioning where Merlin is, he answers, "sir he wille not dwelle long/ ther with al Vlfius was ware where Merlyn stood at the porche of the paelions dore/"⁶ In Chester the account is very similar. Among the others versions of this incident the closest approach to Chester's is that in the prose *Merlin*.⁷ Here Ulfín meets "with a man that he nothing kenned," and the stranger, learning his errand, tells him to come again next day and name the reward the king will give for Merlin's aid. On the following day, Ulfín returns with the king, and in the same place meets a cripple whom the king recognizes as Merlin.

A second detail that is found only in Malory and Chester relates to the transformation of Uther, Ulfias, and Merlin into the likenesses of Duke Gorlois and two of his followers; a transformation by which the three are to gain access to the castle wherein Igrene is guarded. Malory's version is the only one, previous to Chester's, in which Ulfias and Merlin represent respectively Brastias and Jordanus. Chester adopts the same transformation.

The close verbal correspondence between the two authors continues through the account of Arthur's birth and of his subsequent delivery to Sir Hector:

Malory: 39.

So the child was delyuerd vnto Merlyn/ and so he bare it forth vnto Syre Ector/ and made an holy man to crysten hym/ and named hym Arthur/

Loves Martyr: 46, st. 5.

So *Merlin* had the prince at his disposing,

Committing it to *Hectors* faithfull wife:

A holy reuerent Man indu'de with fame,

Arthur of *Britaine* cald the Princes name.

From this point Malory ceases to supply a source for Chester's narrative. Whereas Malory relates the story of Uther's last battle, of his death, and of the well-known sword-test by which Arthur is recognized as his rightful successor, Chester, on the contrary,

⁴ In the English prose *Merlin*, E. E. T. S. orig. ser. 10, II. 42, Merlin appears as a beggar but not in connection with the Igrene story.

⁵ Malory, 36.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Edited by H. B. Wheatley, E. E. T. S. orig. ser. 10, p. 72.

records Uther's death briefly, and proceeds at once to the reign of Arthur. His information now comes from the "Historiographers," chiefly from Holinshed from whom he borrows as literally as up to this point he had done from Malory. The transition is made somewhat abruptly immediately after the verses last quoted. The succeeding stanzas in Chester and their source in Holinshed are in part as follows:

Holin:⁸ 88, b.

Finallie (according to the agree-
ment of the English writers) Uter
Pendragon died by poison, when he
had gouerned this land by the full
terme of 16 years, and was after
buried by his brother Aurelius at
Stoneheng, otherwise called *Chorea
Gigantum*, leauing his sonne Arthur to
succeed him.

Loves Martyr: 47, st. 1 f.

The sixteenth yeare of his victor-
ious raigne,

By poison was this braue *Pen-
dragon* slainee.

His body vnto *Stone-heng* being
brought,

Hard by his brother *Aurelius* is he
laid,

But from his loynes he left a
sonne behind,

The right *Idea* of his fathers
mind.

In both substance and wording there is little to choose between this passage in Holinshed and the account of the same event in Fabyan's Chronicle. But inasmuch as Chester undoubtedly uses Holinshed later on, the latter rather than Fabyan is probably the source for the present passage. Chester's account of the twelve battles of Arthur is clearly derived from Holinshed:

Holin: 90, a.

He fought (as the common report
goeth of him) 12 notable battels
against the Saxons, and in euerie of
them went away with the victorie, but
yet he could not driue them quite out
of the land, but that they kept still the
countries which they had in posses-
sion, as Kent, Sutherie, Norfolke, and
others: howbeit some writers testifie,
that they held these countries as
tributaries to Arthur.

Loves Martyr: 47, st. 4 ff.

Twelue noble battels did King
Arthur fight,

Against the *Saxons* men of hardie
strength,

And in the battels put them still to
flight,

Bringing them in subjection at the
length:

He neuer stroue to driue them
quite away,

But stragling here and there he
let them stay.

In *Southry*, *Kent*, and *Norfolke* did
they dwell,

Still owing homage to king *Arthures*
greatnesse

⁸ *The Historie of England*, edition, 1586 or 7.

Chester follows Holinshed up to the point of the coronation of Arthur. For his description of this event he makes use of a new source, which will be discussed in a later paragraph. He returns to Holinshed in the latter part of the poem, where he recounts Arthur's expedition against the Romans and his fight with certain "huge Mirmedons . . . surnamed Giants," giving his account in much more expanded form than the corresponding report in Holinshed.⁹ However, the similarity between the two versions is shown in the following points of comparison. Like Holinshed, Chester omits the name of Flollo, against whom Arthur's first continental attack was made; he does not report the death of the Roman Lucius; his "Mirmedons" are paralleled by Holinshed's giants "of passing force and hugeness of stature"; and finally he, too, states that Arthur's intention was to crown himself emperor at Rome, a plan brought to nought by Modred's treason. The latter's defeat is told in words borrowed from the chronicle:

Holin: 91, b.

Mordred fled from this battell, and
getting ships sailed westward, and
finallie landed in Cornwall.

Loves Martyr: 70, st. 3.

That vniust *Mordred*
Fled from the battell, getting ships
he saild
Westward towards *Cornwail* whē/
his force was quail'd.

It may be noted that Chester occasionally patches together two passages that are not consecutive in his source, as in the following stanza:

Holin: 91, b, l.52.

. which was in the last yeere
of the reigne of the same Henrie, more
than six hundred yeeres after the
buriall thereof.

Loves Martyr: 72, st. 2.

In the last yeare of *Henries* royaltie,
More then sixe hundred after his
buriall,
By the Abbot of the house of
Glastenburie,
At last they found King Arthurs
funerall:
Henry de Bloys the Abbots name
they gaue,
Who by the Kings commaund did
find the graue.

92, a, l.22.

The abbat, which then was gouernour
of the house, was named Stephan,
or Henrie de Blois, otherwise de
Sullie, nephue to king Henrie the
second (by whose commandement he
had serched for the graue of Arthur)

.

After speaking of the translation of Arthur's bones to a mausoleum within Glastonbury Abbey, Chester quotes the epitaph that

⁹ Holin: 91, a. Chester: 64, st. 3 ff.

was inscribed on the king's tomb, a detail not found in Holinshed but probably taken from John Leland, who notes, "Hoc autem epitaphium tumbae inscribitur:

Hic jacet Arthurus, flos regum, gloria regni,
Quem mores, probitas commendant laude perenni."¹⁰

This is not the only trace of Leland's influence. The Latin encomium which Chester appends to his story of Arthur is definitely named as Leland's. Holinshed quotes the same verses, so that it is probable that Chester knew of them from Holinshed and from Leland. Similarly, Leland seems to be responsible, either at first hand or through Holinshed, for Chester's statement that Uther was surnamed Pendragon, "for his wittie pollicies," a detail which does not appear in Malory, Chester's main source in this portion of the story. The new interpretation of "Pendragon" apparently arises from the following phrase of Leland's in the *Assertio Arturii*:¹¹ "Utherius, rex Brittannorum, cognomine Pendraco, a serpentina, ut ego arbitror, prudentia sic dictus." Holinshed¹² first repeats the usual explanation of the name, the one given by Geoffrey of Monmouth, and then adds, "But others supposed he was so called of his wisdom and serpentine subtiltie, or for that he gaue the dragons head in his banner."

What appears to be a clear case of the direct use of Leland is a marginal reference which Chester makes to a certain "Valerius" as authority for Arthur's conquests. Leland quotes the same Valerius, who, otherwise, remains unidentified. The two passages are as follows:

Leland: Collect. V, 23.

Tantum in praesentia adjiciam,
Valerium quendam triginta regnorum
ab Arturio devictorum meminisse.
Nam eo seculo ingens regulorum turba
insulas una cum Gallia & Germania
sub ditione tenebant.

Loves Martyr: 47.

Valerius vvitnesseth that K. Arthur
cōquered thirty kingdomes, for as thē
a great cōpany of Gouvernors held
vnder their iurisdiction the Iland
together vvith France and Germanie.

¹⁰ *Collectanea*, V, 51.

¹¹ *Collectanea*, V, 18.

¹² P. 87, b. Grafton in his chronicle of 1569, I, 82, has a similar remark: "This man [Uter] was surnamed Pendragon. The cause thereof, as sayth the English Chronicle, was for that Merlyn lykened him vnto a Dragon vnder a starre apering in the firmament: Whereof there is made long processe in the story of Gaufride, but Layland a man in his tyme very skillfull in the antiquities of this Realme, thinketh this name was geuen him for his great prudence and wisdom wherein Serpents do excell."

These points of correspondence make it evident that Chester knew Leland's as well as Holinshed's writings.¹³

When Chester came to the account of Arthur's coronation, as has already been stated, he abandoned Holinshed as his source. The break in his narrative at this point is emphasized by the insertion of the following heading: "The Coronation of King Arthur, and the Solemnitie thereof: the proud message of the Romanes, and the whole resolution of King Arthur and his Nobles." For this material Chester turned back to early records of Arthur, most probably to Geoffrey of Monmouth, though Chester's account shows some variation. The following parallels are noteworthy:

Geof: bk. IX, ch. xiii, p. 133.¹⁴

Dubricius ergo, quoniam in sua dioecesi curia tenebatur, paratus ad celebrandum obsequium, hujus rei curam suscepit.

p. 133.

Rege tandem insignito, ad templum Metropolitanæ sedis ornate conducitur: dextro enim et a laevo latere duo Archipontifices ipsum tenebant. Quatuor autem reges, Albaniae videlicet atque Cornubiæ, Demetiae et Venedociae, quorum illud jus fuerat, quatuor aureos gladios ante ipsum ferentes, praeibant.

Loves Martyr: 49, st. 3.

Dubright (because the Court at that time lay

Within the compasse of his Dio-cesse)

In his own person on this Royall day,

Richly to furnish him he did addresse,

His loue vnto his King he did expresse,

And at his hands the King was dignified

p. 50, st. 1^{ff}.

This happie Coronation being ended,

The King was brought in sumptuous roialtie

To the Cathedrall church of that same See,

Being the *Metropolitall* in nobilitie,

On either hand did two Arch-bishops ride,

¹³ It may be added here that Chester's account of the cities of Britain and their founders, which precedes his story of Arthur, is also taken from Holinshed. Chester does not give the kings in chronological order. He begins with Alfred, whom he calls "King of Northumbers," and then goes back to "Leyre," continually putting sons before fathers. Chester's statement that Windsor was first built by Arviragus and finally finished by Arthur is not taken from Holinshed. Arthur is sometimes spoken of as the founder of that city; cf. Grafton I, 83.

¹⁴ San-Marte's edition, Halle, 1854.

Supporting *Arthur of Britania*,
 And foure Kings before him did
 abide,
Angisell King of stout *Albania*,
 And *Cadual* King of *Venedocia*,
Cador of *Cornewaile* mongst these
 Princes past,
 And *Sater* of *Demetia* was the
 last.

These foure attired in rich orna-
 ments,
 Foure golden Swords before the
 King did beare,

In Chester's account of the coronation the following points of variation from Geoffrey are to be noted: (1) the omission of any reference to the games and feasting which Geoffrey describes; (2) according to Chester four Roman ambassadors came to Arthur, whereas in Geoffrey their number is twelve; (3) the place of the coronation is designated by the Welsh name *Caerleon* as well as by the Latin *Urbs Legionum*; (4) the four kings who attended Arthur are mentioned by name as well as by title, though Chester could have taken these names from an earlier passage where Geoffrey records a list of nobles at Arthur's feast. In agreement with Geoffrey, on the other hand, Chester gives in full the letter from *Lucius Tiberius* and the orations of Arthur and his chiefs in reply, and allowing for the demands of verse form and rhetoric, his words closely parallel those of Geoffrey. These various resemblances warrant the conclusion that Chester used Geoffrey for this portion of his poem.

Besides *Holinshed*, *Leland*, and *Geoffrey*, Chester had other so-called historical sources of information concerning Arthur, for he incorporates in his account material not found in these works. Such, for instance, is the "true Pedigree of that famous VVorthie King Arthur, collected out of many learned Authors."

This follows closely a genealogy given in *John of Glastonbury*. The corresponding passages are as follows:—

¹⁵ Hearne's edition, Oxford, 1726. The genealogy is also quoted by *Skeat, Joseph of Arimathie*, E. E. T. S. orig. ser. 44, p. 71.

¹⁶ These four verses are not prefixed to the genealogy in *John of Glastonbury* but occur in an earlier passage.

Glastonbury: I, 53.¹⁵

Intrat aualloniā duodena caterua
vīrorum,

Flos armathie ioseph est primus
eorum:

Iosephes ex ioseph genitus patrem
comitatur;

Hiis aliisque decem ius glastonie
propriatur.¹⁶

p. 56.

Haec scriptura testatur, quod rex
Arthurus de stirpe Joseph descendit.

Helaius, nepos Joseph, genuit Iosue,
Iosue genuit Aminadab, Aminadab
genuit Castellors, Castellors genuit
Manael, Manael genuit Lambord &
Urlard, Lambord genuit filium qui
genuit ygernam, de qua rex Uterpen-
dragun genuit nobilem & famosum
regem Arthurum; per quod patet,
quod rex Arthurus de stirpe Joseph
descendit.

Loves Martyr: 76.

Twelue men in number entred the
vale of *Aualon*:

Ioseph of *Arimathea* was the chiefest
we confesse,

Iosue the sonne of *Ioseph* his father
did attend on,

With other ten, these *Glaston* did
possesse,

Hilarius the Nephew of *Ioseph* first
begate

Iosue the Wise: *Iosue Aminadab*,
Aminadab Castellors had by fate:
Castellors got *Manael* that louely
Lad,

And *Manael* by his wife had faire-
fac'd *Lambard*,

With another deare sonne surnamed
Vrlard;

And *Lambard* at the length begot a
sonne,

That had *Igrene* borne of his wife,
Of this *Igrene*, Vter the great *Pen-
dragon*

Begot King *Arthur* famous in his
life,

Where by the truth this Pedigree
doth end,

Arthur from *Iosephs* loynes did first
descend.

Both writers give a second genealogy which, starting with Peter, cousin of Joseph of Arimathea, comes down to the four sons of King Lot. The only differences in Chester's list are that the name of Arguth is omitted and the names of Lot's sons are spelled differently. A similar pedigree appears to have been added at the end of Robert of Avesbury's chronicle.¹⁷ Either one of these chronicles may have served as Chester's source.

A section of Chester's poem for which it is more difficult to find a definite source is the description of Arthur's arms. Though the chronicles and romances contain numerous references to Arthur's heraldic devices and banners, none of them entirely resembles that given by Chester,¹⁸ who describes the king's ensign as follows:¹⁸

¹⁷ Cf. Fletcher, *Arthurian Material in the Chronicles*, 189.

¹⁸ p. 60, st. 5.

Within his spreading Ensigne first he bore,
Allotted from his royall familie,
Three flying Dragons and three Crownes he wore,
Portraid *de Or*, the field of *Azure* die,
His fathers Coate, his mothers Countries grace,
His honors Badge, his cruell foes deface.

A single dragon was the emblem of Arthur's father, Uther, and according to the prose Merlin, Arthur, too, had a dragon standard of his own, made for him by Merlin.¹⁹ Hardyng describes one of the king's banners in this verse,²⁰

The syxte of goulis, a dragon of golde fyne.

The only discrepancy in Chester's account is that he assigns to Arthur three dragons in place of one.

With the line on the three crowns may be compared another verse from Hardyng's chronicle:²⁰

The fyfte baner of goulis. iii. crownes of gold.

In addition to these emblems Arthur

tooke to Armes proper to his desire,

.

A crosse of Siluer in a field of *Vert*,
A gracious *Embleame* to his great desert.

On the first quarter in this field was figured,
The image of our *Ladie* with her *Sonne*
Held in her armes

The cross is frequently mentioned as a device of the British kings. To quote from Hardyng²¹ again, King Arvigarus received from Joseph of Arimathea, " a shelde of siluer white, A crosse endlong and ouertwhart full perfect"; and Hardyng continues,

These armes were vsed through all Brytain
For a cōmon signe, eche māne to knowe his naciō
Frome enemies, whiche nowe we call, certain,
Saint Georges armes

¹⁹ II, 115.

²⁰ p. 122.

²¹ p. 85.

Similarly the image of the Virgin is associated with Arthur in the earliest records. Nennius²² mentions it in his report of the eighth of the twelve battles against the Saxons, "where Arthur bore the image of the Holy Virgin, mother of God, upon his shoulders." To this Geoffrey²³ adds some slight detail: "Humeris quoque suis clypeum vocabulo Priwen: in quo imago sanctae Mariae dei genitricis impicta, ipsam in memoriam ipsius saepissime revocabat." But by far the closest parallel to Chester's lines is found in John of Glastonbury: "Nam quae prius erant argentea, cum tribus leonibus rubeis, capita ad terga vertenibus, a tempore adventus Brutus usque ad iam dictam mutacionem regis Arthuri ob memoriam crucis cristallinae, sibi per beatam Mariam collatae, fecit esse viridia, cum cruce argentea, et super dextram brachium crucis, ob memoriam praedicti miraculi, collocavit imaginem beatae Mariae semper virginis, filium suum in ulnis tenentis." This is the only description, so far noted, that agrees with Chester's in detail.

The same difficulty in attempting to determine Chester's source is encountered in dealing with other traditional material in this section of the poem. Chester speaks in one place of the cross that was sent to "*Mercuries* delight, *Julian* the *Apostata's* onely losse."

The reference is to the alleged manner of Julian's death, the emperor having been stabbed, according to tradition, by Mercurius, a Christian knight who had suffered martyrdom under him. Several of the chronicles give the story and it is also frequently included among the miracles of the Virgin,²⁵ but none of these versions can be assigned definitely as the source used by Chester. Again, in describing the arms of France, Chester recalls the tradition that at the time of the conversion of Clovis the French device of the "three Toades" was changed for that of the fleur de lys. This information is likewise common property.²⁶ That Chester was following some authority in this section of the poem would be a natural inference from what we know of his method in the other sections of the story. His authority, in that case, is responsible for

²² Gile's édition, London, 1885, p. 408.

²³ Bk. IX, Ch. 4, p. 125.

²⁴ I, 80.

²⁵ Cf. Higden, *Polychronicon* V, 177. *Flores Historiarum* I, 167. Ward, *Cat. of Romances*, II, 602, 675, 702, etc.

²⁶ Chester, 59. Cf. Fabian, 72.

the general jumble of material in these stanzas; or it is possible that Chester himself caused the confusion by trying to condense his information at the expense of clearness.

The investigation of Chester's sources has brought to light several facts in regard to his literary equipment and his method of handling his material. Apparently he had access to abundant information concerning Arthur and he was at some pains to consult more than one authority for the "better gratulation" of his readers. Malory, Geoffrey of Monmouth, Leland, and Holinshed, were his chief sources; Caxton furnished part of the preface; John of Glastonbury supplied some details; and in addition to what these works contributed, traditional material and classical allusions from perhaps no definite source occur throughout the poem. This list indicates fairly wide and varied reading on the part of Chester.

Chester's literary methods are not difficult to detect. The investigation has shown that he appropriates the language as well as the subject-matter of his sources, writing, no doubt, with the books open before him. His Arthur story, consequently, is not an amalgamation of the materials he has gathered, but a piecing-together of selected passages. Although Chester fills out his borrowings with descriptive matter of his own, he does not succeed in covering over entirely the points of connection between one selection and another, a fact which, if somewhat detrimental to the unity of the poem, has the advantage at the present day of rendering much simpler the attempt to trace each section back to its original.

But little personal information about Chester can be gleaned from the Arthur poem. The inconsistency between his statements and the facts of the case in his use of Malory, for instance, and in the matter of Torquato Caeliano, have already been noted. But such characteristics as these that may be detected in his work throw no light on the question of who Chester was. On this latter point, however, one suggestion may be offered. Chester's zeal in defending Arthur's claims to honor against those who "thought no such mā euer to be liuing," is perhaps inspired by pride in the hero of his own country. Dr. Brown, in the monograph already referred to, has pointed out Chester's connection with Denbighshire.²⁷ Moreover, a phrase in Chester's preface to the Arthur story has rather a personal tone. Chester has just stated that Arthur owes

²⁷ p. L f.

remembrance of his deeds rather to foreigners than "to his own Countrymen," and then adds, "how shamelesse is it for some of vs to let slip the truth of this Monarch." This phrase may be a mere echo of Caxton, but it is not impossible that Chester's strong interest in Arthur and his championship of the king's fame were not borrowed sentiments, but sprang from the author's own connection with Wales.

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CONCERNING GLAPTHORNE'S WIT IN A CONSTABLE

The issue of *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* for April, 1914, contains (pages 299-304) an article entitled "Some Notes on Henry Glapthorne's *Wit in a Constable*," by Professor J. Q. Adams, Jr. Readers of Glapthorne will necessarily be interested in these notes, textual and miscellaneous, particularly in those of the textual notes which Professor Adams found in a copy of the first edition of this play and which he believes were entered by a contemporary who was familiar with the lines and possibly with the stage representation of the play.

By comparison of his first edition of *Wit in a Constable* with Pearson's reprint of Glapthorne, Professor Adams makes clear the untrustworthy character of Pearson's text. He also suggests several emendations of faulty passages that Pearson carelessly failed to better. Two of his emendations, however, are unhappily made. *In re* page 175, line 22, of Pearson's reprint, he would change "whose these?" to "who're these?" The former of these readings, which is equivalent to "who is these?", is presumably the correct reading, as it accords with Elizabethan grammar; compare "theres many varlets," p. 230, l. 8, and "theres those that can examine you," p. 230, l. 6. *In re* p. 223, l. 14, he would change the question, "How's that?", from Busie to Valentine. This emendation is obviously incorrect, because "How's that?" is a tag expression of Busie and is so used in every scene in which Busie has a part; see pages 200, 210, 211, 212, 218, 227, 228, 229, 231, 232, 235, 237, 238, 240, and the epilogue, 241.

Some other distinct mistakes in the text are not noted either by the early annotator quoted by Professor Adams or by the latter himself.

P. 206, l. 16, the stage direction, "Sings," should, for clearness, read "Formall sings."

P. 206, l. 16, the speech, "Tis very odoriferous," should be taken from Formall and run in with Covet's speech next following.

P. 209, l. 4, for "does needs" read "does need."

P. 216, l. 15, for "fright" read "frighted."

P. 218, l. 5, for "Bride" read "Bride's."

P. 225, l. 18, for "*Men. [dwell]* 3 *Wat. [ch]*" read "*Men. 2 Wat.*"

P. 225, l. 21, for "2 Wat." read "3 Wat."

P. 225, l. 22, for "Mandivell" read "Mendwell."

P. 229, l. 19, for "4 Wat. With all our hearts. Omnes," read "Omnes. With all our hearts."

P. 236, stage direction, for *Luce* read *Grace*.

P. 237, l. 22, for "when" read "whom."

P. 239, l. 6, for "Bid" read "But."

P. 239, l. 7, for "you" read "your."

P. 240, l. 6, after "at" supply "it."

Professor Adams's conjecture, among his miscellaneous notes, that Glapthorne was a Cambridge man is of only slight probability. That the minor character, Jeremy Holdfast, a gull, a hoodwinked lover, and an object of caustic satire, is a Cambridge student is evidence rather against than for such a conjecture. Moreover, the unfledged university man, unlearned in the ways of the world, is a stock figure in the Elizabethan comedy of manners; for example, in Middleton's *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside* and *Michaelmas Term*, Fletcher's *Wit at Several Weapons*, and Shirley's *The Lady of Pleasure* and *The Witty Fair One*. Glapthorne borrowed much from all three of his greater fellow-dramatists; he may well have borrowed this character also.

The closing decade of the Elizabethan drama was a time of eclecticism and a time of borrowing. Even in this period, Glapthorne was conspicuous as a borrower and combiner of dramatic devices and materials that had already won approval. Almost every important device and even almost every point of plot used in his plays can be found in earlier plays, usually those of Jonson, of Middleton, of Shirley, or of the Fletcher cycle. Probably no other contemporary dramatist shows so little inventive power.

Wit in a Constable is built on the same plan as Shirley's excellent comedy, *The Witty Fair One*. The plot is concerned mainly with the rivalry for two young women of a London alderman's household, in which the contestants are, on the one hand, two young gallants and, on the other, two wealthy gulls who have the support of the alderman. This motive was popular throughout the course of the Elizabethan comedy of manners. Shirley was especially given to the use of it as a central theme.¹ Glapthorne himself uses it in *The Hollander* and *The Lady Mother* as well as in *Wit in a Constable*. Again, the befooled gulls both in *Wit in a*

¹ See *The Witty Fair One*, *Love Tricks*, *Love in a Maze*, *The Brothers*.

Constable and *The Hollander*, contrary to their intention, marry women of lower station. This solution will be recognized as common in the realistic comedies of Middleton, Fletcher, Shirley, and their followers. Other familiar material is seen in the satirically treated figures of Busie, the constable, and his four Puritan watchmen. These characters seem to be lineal descendants of Dogberry and Verges, though satire of the city watch appears frequently in Elizabethan realistic comedy.

Glapthorne's poverty of invention is apparent not merely in his extensive borrowings but also in his repetitions. This characteristic may wholly or partly explain the striking repetition of characters and even of names that impressed Professor Adams in Glapthorne's different plots. Images and lines are also repeated from play to play. As Mr. A. H. Bullen has said,² "Anyone who has had the patience to read the plays of Glapthorne cannot fail to be amused with the bland persistence with which certain passages are reproduced in one play after another."

The satirical reference to Thomas Heywood, which Professor Adams has been the first to point out, and to Heywood's laudation of the Company of Drapers in 1639, is probably, in a measure, also imitated from earlier dramatists. It is a part of Glapthorne's general satire of the tradesman class of London citizens, in which he satirizes mercers, haberdashers, milliners, tailors, goldsmiths, and grocers, as well as drapers. Between *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, the *tour de force* of plays of this class, and parts of *Wit in a Constable*, there is a strong general similarity and there are apparently several definite links. The Beaumont and Fletcher play is directly mentioned on page 182, line 19, of *Wit in a Constable*. Heywood's plays, *The Four Prentices of London* and *The Life and Death of Sir Thos. Gresham, with the Building of the Royal Exchange* (the name used in *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* for *If you know not me you know nobody*, Pt. ii) are prominently satirized by Beaumont and Fletcher among the plays laudatory of the merchant class. Compare the following passage from *Wit in a Constable*, page 206:

"I never liked a Song, unlesse the Ballad
Oth' famous London Prentice, or the building
Of Britaines Burse."

² *Old English Plays*, Vol. ii, page 101.

In the few lines of burlesque romance that Glapthorne's play contains, pages 213-214, one finds expressions like "doughty knight," "squire oth' damsells," and "valiant Rosicleer" that may well have been suggested by *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*.

Wit in a Constable is probably the best of the dramatist's six extant plays; it is one of the two that were revived after the Restoration; and it has been called by Gifford³ an "excellent comedy." It illustrates clearly Glapthorne's habit of appropriating and somewhat successfully adapting the methods and themes of preceding playwrights.

D. L. THOMAS.

Centre College.

³ In a footnote to the induction to *Bartholomew Fair*.

GOLDING'S OVID IN ELIZABETHAN TIMES

In Elizabethan times the popular translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* was that of Arthur Golding, friend of the Earl of Leicester and Sir William Cecil. While visiting at Cecil House, he translated four books, publishing them in 1565 and completing the fifteen books in 1567. During the next forty-five years seven editions followed. It is difficult to say how widely "aged Arthur Golding" was read, but it is probable that many a playwright and poet pilfered from his voluminous pages. In his introduction to Greene's *Menaphon*, Thomas Nashe wrote disdainfully of those that "vaunt Ovid's and Plutarch's plumes as theyre owne," and of those "that feed on naught but the crums that fall from the Translators trencher." Nevertheless, Nashe seems to have been an offender himself. In his *Anatomy of Absurdity* (1589), he illustrates the perversity and inconsistency of womankind by a passage from the *Metamorphoses* in which he follows Golding rather than the original.

"What shall I say? They haue more shyfts than *Ioue* had sundry shapes, who in the shape of a Satyre inueigled *Antiope*; took *Amphitrios* forme, when on *Alcmena* he begat *Hercules*; to *Danae* he camè in a showre of gold; to *Io* like a Heyfer; to *Aegine* like a flame; to *Mnemosyne* like a Sheephearde; to *Proserpina* like a Serpent; to *Pasiphae* like a Bull; to the Nimph *Nonacris* in the likeness of *Apollo*.¹"

¹ R. W. McKerrow, *Works of Thomas Nashe* (1904), Vol. III, 312.

Golding translates the passage with his customary freedom.

(W. H. D. Rouse, *Golding's Metamorphoses* (1904), Book VI, 137-142.)

And how he took *Amphitrios* shape when in *Alcmenas* bed
He gate the worthie *Hercules*: and how he also came
To *Danae* like a shoure of golde, to *Aegine* like a flame,
A sheepeherd to *Mnemosyne*, and like a Serpent sly.
To *Proserpine*. She also made *Neptunus* leaping by
Upon a maide of *Aeolus* race in likeness of a Bull.

Cf. Ovid, Teubner text (1861). Book VI, 109-115.

Fecit olorinis Ledam recubare sub alis:
Addidit, ut Satyri celatus imagine pulchram
Juppiter implerit gemino Nyctēida foetu,
Amphitryon fuerit, cum te, Tīrynthia, cepit,
Aureus ut Danaë, Asopida luserit ignis,
Mnemosynen pastor, varius Deoīda serpens.

This special passage seems to have been a favorite of the time. Lyly used it first in his *Euphues*,² 1579, alluding to it later in *Campaspe*.³ Greene in *Pandosto* (1588), writes:

"And yet, Dorastus, shame not at thy shepherds weede; the heavenly Gods have sometime earthly thoughts; *Neptune* became a ram, *Jupiter* a Bul, *Apollo* a shepheard; they Gods, and yet in love; and thou a man appointed to love."⁴

Thomas Heywood touches upon the same subject in his *Golden Age*,⁵ which was probably acted as early as 1595.

The passages from the works of Heywood and Greene are too brief for consideration: Heywood was doubtless so familiar with the stories of Ovid as to have alluded to the metamorphoses of Jupiter and Neptune almost unconsciously; Greene was doubtless reminiscent of his friend Lyly and the *Euphues*. The passages from Lyly and Nashe, however, furnish good ground for belief that these two sound scholars of the time must have been reading Golding's translation.

A new proof of the influence of Golding's translation has come to my notice in connection with Miss Margaret L. Lee's edition of *Narcissus*, the *Twelfth Night Merriment* performed at St. John's College, Oxford, in 1602.⁶ Miss Lee calls attention to the fact that, as the prologue affirms, the play is "Ovid's owne Narcissus," and declares that "the resemblance to the Latin is in parts so close as necessarily to imply a knowledge of the language on the part of the writer." Miss Lee notes "one passage of literal and yet graceful translation which especially betokens a scholarly hand." A comparison with Golding's translation, however, dashes our confidence in this particular proof of the scholarship of the author. The lines are unmistakeably written after Golding. They are as follows:

"A well there was withouten mudd,
Of silver hue, with waters cleare,
Whom neither sheep that chawe the cudd,
Shepherds nor goats came ever neare;
Whom, truth to say, nor beast nor bird

² R. W. Bond, *Complete Works of John Lyly* (1902), Vol. I, 236.

³ Act. III, Sc. 3.

⁴ H. H. Furness, *The New Variorum Shakespeare* XI, 343.

⁵ Act. IV, Sc. 1. Cf. also *The Fair Maid of the Exchange*, II, 37.

⁶ M. L. Lee: *Narcissus, a Twelfth Night Merriment*, 1893.

Nor windfalls yet from trees had stirr'de,
 And round about it there was grasse,
 As learned lines of poets showe,
 Which by next water nourisht was;
 Neere to it too a wood did growe,
 To keep the place as well I wott,
 With too much sunne from being hott."⁷

Golding's translation reads:

"There was a Spring withouten mudde, as silver cleare and still,
 Which neyther Sheepeheirds, nor the goates that fed upon the hill,
 Nor other cattell troubled had, nor savage beast had styred,
 Nor braunch, nor sticke, nor leafe of tree, nor any foule nor byrd.
 The moysture fed and kept aye fresh the grasse that grew about,
 And with their leaves the trees did keepe the heate of *Phoebus* out."⁸

HARRIET MANNING BLAKE.

South Hadley, Mass.

⁷ *Narcissus*, p. 18.

⁸ Bk. III, 509-514. Cf. Ovid, Book III, 407-413.

Fons erat inlimis, nitidis argenteus undis,
 Quem neque pastores, neque pastae monte capellae
 Contigerant, aliudve pecus. Quem nulla volucris,
 Nec fera turbarat, nec lapsus ab arbore ramus.
 Gramen erat circa, quod proximus humor alebat,
 Silvaque sole locum passura tepescere nullo.

TWENTY-SIX UNEDITED LETTERS FROM THOMAS WARTON TO JONATHAN TOUP, JOHN PRICE, GEORGE STEEVENS, ISAAC REED, WILLIAM MAVOR, AND EDMOND MALONE.

In turning over material for a new life of Warton, the writer has collected twenty-six unpublished letters¹ from Warton to various other scholars, which are valuable for the glimpse they give into the workshop of an eighteenth century scholar. They show the wide range of knowledge and interest of their writer in an age when such knowledge was not to be easily obtained from histories of literature and conveniently accessible reprints, and such interest was rather the exception than the rule among indolent, well-fed Oxford dons. They help also to defend Warton's reputation for scholarship, which has suffered somewhat from the slights and condescensions of later scholars² who have overlooked the difficulties under which the first historian of English poetry worked. Warton's was a day when, if early editions of 'Venus and Adonis' were still sometimes to be met with in out of the way shops together with red herring and old iron, many of such treasures were inaccessible in private libraries; when public libraries were virtually uncatalogued and the great storehouse of such material, the British Museum, was only in its infancy. In such an age there was great need of literary coöperation; then frequently one learned through his friends of the existence and whereabouts of the materials he needed, and too often had to depend upon their descriptions and transcripts, or, under favourable circumstances, the loan of their books, for the basis of much of his work. Many of Warton's letters are records of such interchange of hints and bits of information. The originals of these letters are in the Bodleian and British Museum libraries; the first ten are in the Bodleian in various collections, the rest in the British Museum, Additional MSS. No. 30375.

¹ They were apparently not used by Sir Sidney Lee in his life of Warton for the Dictionary of National Biography.

² Hazlitt's preface to his edition of Warton's history is the most striking example of this attitude, from which others have taken their cue.

Practically the whole of Warton's life was spent at Trinity College, where he took the usual degrees, including the divinity degree, and became first tutor and then fellow, but where he devoted a large part of his time to literary pursuits. He is best known for his rehabilitation of Spenser¹ by a new critical method, his representation of a large part of early English literature in his *History*², and his scholarly and delightful edition of Milton's shorter poems³. These were the great achievements of a busy literary life in which larger plans were projected but only partly executed, and which was filled also with a multiplicity of minor works of a wide range of subject, classical, antiquarian, architectural, as well as purely literary.

Warton was elected professor of poetry at Oxford in 1757 and held the position for the usual term of ten years. During that time he devoted himself to classical poetry to the neglect of English literature. The most substantial outgrowth of his poetry professorship was his edition of his favourite classical poet, Theocritus, published at the Clarendon Press in 1770. To this work Jonathan Toup, a classical scholar whose ability Warton valued highly, contributed an 'Epistola'⁴ and a number of notes. Warton seems to have amply repaid Toup for his help with 'Theocritus' by seeing his edition of Longinus⁵ through the press, no slight service to render the isolated and somewhat exacting scholar, as the third letter to him indicates. The three letters which follow bear no address, but they were certainly written to Toup.⁶ The reverse of each page is covered with scribbled notes in Greek and Latin, apparently Warton's notes.

Clar. Pr. C. 14, fol. 162.

Dear Sir

I have received the Note, which is very curious and ingenious. If you please, as we are not yet got to the *Dioscouri*, I will insert it in its proper place,

¹ In the 'Observations on the Faerie Queen' 1754, second edition, two volumes, 1762.

² 'The History of English Poetry from the Close of the Eleventh Century to the Commencement of the Eighteenth Century.' 3 vols., 1774, 1778, 1781.

³ 'Poems upon Several Occasions . . . by John Milton,' 1785, second edition 'with many alterations, and large additions,' 1791.

⁴ 'Epistola Joannis Toupii de Syracusiis, ejusdem addenda in Theocritum, necnon collationes quindecim codicum,' title page.

⁵ Toup's edition of Longinus appeared in 1778.

⁶ Four letters from Toup to Warton, also concerning the 'Theocritus' and the

with due Acknowledgement as coming from you; as I have all along done with those *detached* Notes you have sent me, not belonging to the Epistola.

I shall be extremely glad to hear from you as often as possible, & am, Dear Sir,

With great Truth, yrs. very sincerely,

Oxon, Mar. 30, 1768.

T. WARTON.

Clar. Pr. C. 13, fol. 109.

Dear Sir

I will take care to make the alterations you mention. I am obliged to you greatly for the Emendations of the Scholiast. We are now printing the Notes of the XVth Idyllium; and as no sort of Interruption will intervene, the Work will be ready for Publication by or before Christmas next.¹ As (I think) I told you before, your Epistola is to succeed my Body of Notes. The World is in great Expectation of your Longinus; & I should be glad if you could inform me, when we are likely to be favoured with so valuable an accession to Grecian Literature. Perhaps you know that we are going to print at the University Press Xenophon's Hellenica² on Hutchinson's³ size & Plan.

I am, Dear Sir,

Yr. most affectionate Servant,

Trin. Coll. Oxon,

T. WARTON.

May 2, 1768.

Cl. Pr. 13, 83.

Dear Sir

In placing Rhunhinius's Notes *first*, we have acted according to your own Directions in a Letter which I inclose. If you mean to alter your first Design specified in this Letter, and to place your *own* Notes after the Text, two or three Sheets (now worked off) must be cancelled. I have stopped the Press till I hear from you on this Particular. The Cancelling will be attended with some little Expense & Delay; but if you chose to have it done, I will propose it to the Board. I am, Dear Sir,

Your most affectionate

Trin. Coll. Feb. 4, 1777.

humble servt

P. S. Please to return the Inclosed.

T. WARTON.

One of the closest of Warton's Oxford friends was John Price, the Bodleian Librarian. Price was very useful in transcribing

'Longinus' were published in Wooll's Memoirs of Joseph Warton, 1806, pp. 318, 319, 364, 377.

¹ It did not appear, however, until 1770.

² I can discover no such publication from the University Press, and am inclined to think it never appeared.

³ Thomas Hutchinson edited Xenophon's 'Cyropedia' in 1727 (repr. 1765) and 'Anabasis' in 1735 (repr. 1785) Bibl. Script. Classic. Englemann-Preuss.

manuscript and helping with research for the History of Poetry, as well as in admitting him 'behind the scenes'¹ when the library was closed; yet he felt himself greatly honoured by Warton's friendship, and removed from his own college, Jesus, to Trinity to be near him. He seems to have enjoyed a considerable degree of Warton's confidence; he was in frequent correspondence with him during Warton's summer tours and vacations at Winchester;² his name was the last word spoken by Warton. After his death, although Price could never sufficiently control his feelings to give much information about his friend's life, he put into the hands of Mant,³ Warton's biographer, a collection of the letters he had received from him. Mant printed parts of eight of these, the earliest of which he says was dated 1774, the last 1782. These letters have now been lost, but an earlier one to Price, dated 1773, was acquired for the Bodleian in 1895. This letter, written at Winchester, is, like those previously published, full of Warton's good-humoured interest in the lighter aspects of academic life, as well as of details of his antiquarian research for his history.

Auto. fol. 5 d. 4.

Dear Price,

What with Turtle-eating, Claret drinking, &c., &c., I was so dissipated & hurried when I left Oxford, that I had not time to call upon you, nor to do many other things which I ought to have attended to, before I came away. I am now recollecting my scattered Thoughts, & sitting down to complete the first volume of the *History of English Poetry*, which is to be published before next Christmas.⁴ Humphreys⁵ is well; and if any thing can be made of him Huntingford⁶ will do it, for he takes very great Pains with him. The Boy says he will write to you. It has left off all his crying fits, & I believe is now quite reconciled to his situation. In your Library at Jesus you have a Copy of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *British*

¹ See letter from Warton to Price, Sept. 30, 1774, in Mant's edition of Warton's Poetical Works with a Memoir, 2. vols. London 1802. I, lxxiv.

² Where his brother, Joseph, was master of the college.

³ Mant was a pupil of Joseph Warton at Winchester, and matriculated at Trinity College, Oxford, in 1793.

⁴ It was not published, however, until 1774.

⁵ Robert Meyrick Humphreys, a young Welsh lad of thirteen, from Price's county, Denbigh, who was 'first choice' after the two 'founder's kin' in the election for the year 1772, and who matriculated at Jesus College, Oxford, in 1778. Mr. Herbert Chitty, the Bursar and Secretary of Winchester College, kindly showed me the Register of Scholars of the College records at Winchester.

⁶ George Isaac Huntingford, at that time assistant master of Winchester College; he was subsequently bishop of Gloucester and of Hereford.

Original. I wish you would look whether it appears to be of great antiquity; for it is pretended that it is the very copy from which Geoffrey made his Latin translation. I think you & I examined it formerly, & I believe the edges of the leaves are cut too close. Pray compare and find out (take notice I am not sending you on a Search into that vile county *South-Wales*) whether or no there is not a 'Squire Davies' at Llanerk in Denbighshire, who has a very curious Library of Manuscripts; in which, as I am informed, there is a Copy of Geoffrey's original in the handwriting of Guttyn Owen a Welsh bard of 1470. By the way, Hall² I think showed me in the Bodleian some Notes of the tunes of the Welsh Bards when they played for the silver Harp. Ask him about this. The trouble I am giving you put me in mind of antiquarian Gough,³ who called here last Thursday, but I was out at Dinner with the Bishop of St. Asaph.⁴ What News or Nonsense have you stirring in Oxford? Are you at Northleigh⁵ or in Jesus Common Room? Write to me, I am, Dear Price, yrs. Sincerely,

T. WARTON.

Winton, Aug. 16, 1773.

To

The Reverend Mr. John Price
Bodleian Librarian
at Jesus College
Oxford

Two letters to George Steevens are typical of Warton's varied interests in literary history, and reflect his own literary pursuits. The first was written in 1782, the year in which Warton contributed to the Rowley controversy a pamphlet⁶ setting forth in greater detail the belief in their modernity, which he had been the first scholar definitely to assert.⁷ His correspondent, best known as a

¹ Probably a descendant of Robert Davies (1684-1728) a Welsh antiquary of Llanarch who had a valuable collection of Welsh MS. John Davies, son of another Robert Davies of Llanarch, Denbighshire, matriculated at Brasenose College in 1756, aged 16. Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*, II, 348.

² Probably John Hall, fellow of Magdalen, who had a fine library. Foster, *Alumni Oxon.* II, 588, and Nichols, *Lit. Anec.* III, 656.

³ Richard Gough, in this year, began his extensive labours in preparation of an edition of Camden's 'Britannia,' which he published seventeen years later.

⁴ Jonathan Shipley. Foster, *Alum. Oxon.*, IV, 1289.

⁵ Price was curate of Northleigh from 1766 to 1773.

⁶ 'An Enquiry into the Authenticity of the Poems attributed to Thomas Rowley, in which the arguments of the Dean of Exeter and Mr. Bryant are examined.' London, 1782.

⁷ In the 'History of English Poetry,' vol. II. Chap. VIII, and Emendations. 1778.

Shakespearian commentator, embittered the Chatterton quarrel with personal satire,¹ but made no important contribution to it after he became convinced that the poems were forgeries.² The second letter was written seven years later, when Warton had practically abandoned the history of poetry and was engaged on a second and corrected edition of Milton's minor poems, with the intention of adding to it a companion volume of the 'Paradise Regained' and 'Samson Agonistes'.³

Montague d/2. fol. 48.

Dear Sir

I am greatly obliged to you for your Information about the Author of the quarto Pamphlet⁴ written against me in two Letters, the first dated at Emmanuel College, the second at Hampstead. What a universal Caviller and Corrector! But surely, whatever may be done with a previous and separate piece of criticism, no bookseller will be found absurd enough to contract for a new Edition of Shakespeare after your's.⁵ I could disprove most of his objections were it a matter of any Consequence. To speak to one here, Dr. Farmer⁶ suggested to me the Calculation concerning the *Gesta Alexandri* printed by Corsellis, showing that the (MS. burnt) was completed at Priss on a Sunday.⁷ I (MS. burnt) told the Pamphlet⁸ makes some way at C(MS. burnt)ge, under the

¹ See 'Gent. Mag.' 1782, pp. 276, 288 and 'Notes and Queries,' 2nd ser. X, 282-3.

² Steevens assisted Tyrwhitt in the preparation of his edition of the poems, 1777, when both the editors believed in their authenticity. Tyrwhitt added the appendix to prove that they were not genuine to the third edition in 1778. See Nichols's Literary Illustrations I, 158, and Literary Anecdotes IX, 530, and Walpole's Letters, Toynbee ed., X, 263, 291.

³ Apparently Warton had done a large part of the work for this second volume, and had removed some notes from the first volume in order to insert them in the second. See Mant's biography of Warton prefixed to his edition of Warton's poems. Vol. I, p. xci.

⁴ Ritson's 'Observations on the three first volumes of the history of English Poetry in a letter to the author.' 4^o London, 1782, an unjustifiably severe attack on Warton's history.

⁵ In April, 1783, Steevens wrote to Warton, 'No less than six editions of Shakespeare (including Capell's notes, with Collins' prolegomena) are now in the mashtub.' Woolf's Memoirs of Joseph Warton, p. 398.

⁶ Master of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, a scholar and antiquary of considerable reputation. His only important published work was 'An Essay on the Learning of Shakespeare.' 1767.

⁷ History of English Poetry, 1st. ed. II, 8 n. h.

⁸ 'An Essay on the Evidence . . . relating to the Poems attributed to Rowley . . . by Thomas James Mathias.' 1783.

Auspices of Dr. Glyn(-)e.¹ But it (MS. burnt) is too heavy to move much. Wh(MS. burnt)ay, Dean Milles² was here in (MS. burnt), for a week. I found on my Table on my Return hither, a present of Ritson's Quarto 'with Compliments from the Author.' We will have your new Rowley Anecdotes when we meet in town after Xmas.

I am, Dear Sir, your most faithful humble servant,

Oxon, Nov. 8, 1782.

T. WARTON.

To George Steevens Esq³

At Hampstead Heath

Hampstead

Middlesex

Eng. Misc. C 1 fol. 86.

Dear Sir

You give me a most tempting Invitation to Cambridge. I am sorry it is out of my power to accept so much kindness—my engagements for visits and parties in September have been long ago formed. The Trinity manuscript⁴ will not be wanted till we arrive at the end of the present volume; I think with you, that I must [be] the Transcriber; and I will endeavour to arrange the matter so as to visit Cambridge at Christmas next, and to do the Business. My first volume,⁵ with many considerable alterations and accessions, is quite ready for Press; and the Copy of the second is in great forwardness, so that I believe I shall be out by next April.

I see that Milton's *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso* crept into Dryden's Miscellanies (vol. 1) edit. 1716, 4th edit. I am informed that Fenton superintended that edition. I should be glad to know the history of the progress of that Miscellany and what new Insertions were successively made. I am almost sure that those two poems were not in the earlier editions. Could Mr. Reed edify me in this point? Any hints you could gather from Dr. Farmer for my

¹ Dr. Robert Glynn, fellow of King's College, Cambridge, and enthusiastic Chattertonian. He became the owner of the original Chatterton forgeries before the death of Barrett in 1789 and bequeathed them to the British Museum.

² Jeremiah Milles, Dean of Exeter, who edited the Rowley Poems in 1782 and maintained their antiquity.

³ In the catalogue of MSS. at the Bodleian this letter is grouped with two others as to antiquarian Gough. Although it has been somewhat damaged by fire and mended by pasting on to another sheet, it is easy to read through it the address to Steevens.

⁴ The Milton autograph manuscript (Trinity, Western MSS. No. 583). It contains 'Comus,' 'Lycidas,' and other shorter poems. A description of it with many variant readings from it forms an appendix at the end of Warton's second edition of Milton. 1791, pp. 578-590.

⁵ The second edition of the first and only published volume of Warton's Milton. No doubt the publication of the second edition, here described as ready, was delayed that it might appear simultaneously with the intended second volume.

Notes would be highly acceptable. I wrote to Mr. Reed some months ago about *Editions of Milton's Poems*, but have not yet had the favour of an Answer. Dr. Farmer perhaps has got a thing called the *Cyprian Academy* by Robert Baron 1647, 12mo.¹ This author has pillaged very long passages from *Comus*,² &c. I have the Book. We have one, and but one, edition of Googe's *Palingenius*³ in the Bodleian. I am, Dear Sir, very faithfully yours,

Southampton, July 27th, 1789.

T. WARTON.

P. S. I am just now very loco-motive, but a Letter is sure to find me at Dr. Warton's, Winchester.

George Steevens Esq
At Hampstead-Heath
Hampstead
Middlesex.

Closely connected in subject with the last letter to Steevens, although before it in point of time, are two letters to Isaac Reed whom Warton has, by a very singular error, addressed as *John* Reed. These letters, however, were written while Warton was preparing the *first* edition of Milton's minor poems, and represent his search for the edition of Randolph with *Comus* annexed which was mentioned by Henry Wootton in a letter to the poet.⁴ Warton arrived at a conclusion which was borne out by his own experience of old English books, that the combination was made by the *binders*, and that they were not published together.⁵

Montague d. 2. fol. 51.

Sir

I should esteem it a great favour if you could lend me T. Randolph's Poems, printed at Oxford in 1637,⁶ not 1640, which is the second edition. Please

¹ The size of the volume must be an error; both the British Museum and Bodleian catalogues describe the 1647 edition of the 'Cyprian Academy' as an 8° vol.

² Warton was the first to point out Baron's extensive plagiarisms of Milton. 2nd. Ed. Milton, 1791, pp. 403-7.

³ Probably the edition of 1588, which is still there. But Warton gives a minute description of the first complete edition, 1565, in his History, 1st ed., III, 449-50, and refers to the Stationer's Register for the 1560 edition, which he supposed the original, III, 449, w.

⁴ See Warton's Milton, ed. 1791, pp. 119-121.

⁵ See Letter to Malone, Mar. 19, 1785.

⁶ Warton corrected this date to 1638 in his edition of Milton, p. 119.

to send it by one of the Oxford Coaches. I am too sensible how little I deserve such Favours, after keeping your Walpole's letter so long.

I am, Sir, your most obedient

humble servant

Trin. Coll. Oxon.

April 13, 1783.

To John [Isaac] Reed, Esq.

at Staple-Inn

London.

T. WARTON.

Montague d. 2 fol. 54.

Mr. Warton presents Comps. & many thanks to Mr. Reed—you were properly right in guessing why I wished to see this Book. I have been (with you) long searching for *Comus* at the end of this volume of Randolph. I shall make use (with due acknowledgement) of what you say about the *Old Wives Tale* & *Comus*, in your *Bibl. Dramatica*.¹ If you could communicate anything more on that Point, deserving notice, it would be most highly acceptable. I think Mr. Bowle² (Wilts) told me he saw a *Randolph*, with *Comus* annexed. I shall see him soon and will inquire, I hope with success. You may command me for anything at Oxford.

Trin. Coll. Oxon.

April 19th, 1783.

To John [Isaac] Reed Esq

Staple-inn

The next group of letters touches Warton's career as a clergyman of the Church of England, an aspect of his activity now almost altogether overlooked. Warton had easily fallen in with his father's plan for him of entering the church as the most honourable career open to a man of his family and parts, but neither his ambitions nor his abilities lay in the direction of clerical work. Although he seems to have been unusually faithful³ in those days of fox-hunting, port-drinking, and even more negligent parsons,

¹ 'Biographia Dramatica' 1782, II, 441, (ed. 1812, III, 97) cited by Warton, p. 135.

² John Bowle (1725-1788), the Spanish scholar, editor of 'Don Quixote,' and vicar of Idmiston, Wilts, had a valuable library of old English books. He contributed notes to Steevens's edition of Shakespeare, and to Warton's History. Nichols: Lit. Anecdotes, VI, 183 note. He also contributed notes for Warton's edition of Milton. Two letters from Bowle to Warton on the subject of 'Comus,' April 22, and May 18, 1783, are printed in Woolf's Memoirs of Joseph Warton, pp. 399-402.

³ Chalmers says, quoting Baldwin's Literary Journal, 1803, that Warton was long remembered by the people of Woodstock as one of the best clergymen who ever officiated there. XVIII, 84.

he neither sought nor gained advancement in the church. His only preferments were retired village churches, the curacy of Woodstock¹ and the small living of Kiddington,² in the vicinity of Oxford, which had at least the merit of not interrupting his residence there, nor interfering much with his literary pursuits. In spite, however, of his numerous other interests, and although he had never served his charges during the long vacations, which he habitually spent with his brother at Winchester, Warton seems to have been slow to avail himself of the customary assistance of a regular curate. The following letters to William Mavor,³ a young Scotch schoolmaster at Woodstock who had taken orders and who served the parish of Kiddington for some time before he became Warton's 'perpetual curate' there, were written not many years before Warton's death, when he was apparently relinquishing his parochial work.

Montague d. 18. f. 136.

Dear Sir

I beg the favour of you to continue your services for me at Kiddington till the second Sunday of February next, inclusive. After that time, if I should want a *perpetual* Curate at Kiddington (which I believe will be the case, and of which I will give you due Notice) I should wish to appoint *you* above all others. But I beg you to say nothing (at present) to the Family at Kiddington of my thoughts of a *perpetual* Curate. I shall see Mr. Gore very soon, which you may tell him; and that I have engaged you to attend the Church to the 2d Sunday in February, as above. If Bennet⁴ could call next Saturday, with your Account up to last Sunday, I will return the money by Him.

Dear Sir, your most obedient

Servt

T. WARTON.

¹ From April 1755 to April 1774 says Chalmers. The parish register for Woodstock does not show when Warton was appointed curate there, but there are records of marriages performed by him, 1 March, 1767 and 10 February, 1771.

² Modern Kidlington. This living was given Warton by George Henry, Earl of Lichfield, the Chancellor of the University, October 22, 1771. See Warton's 'History of Kiddington,' 2nd ed. 1783, p. 12. Two other small livings are ascribed to Warton, the vicarage of Shalfeld, Wilts., and Hill Farance, Somerset, the gift of his college. See Anderson's *British Poets*, XI, 1054, and Mant, lxxxii.

³ See Dict. Nat. Biog. and Notes and Queries, 3rd. Ser. XII, 505 and 5th. Ser. IV, 45. Mavor's connection with Warton seems not to have been noticed hitherto.

⁴ The parish clerk at Woodstock, a psalmist of some local reputation-father of John Bennet, journeyman shoemaker and small poet, who was en

P. S. Please to tell Mr. Gore, that he would have seen me before, but that I have been hindered by Illness, and by business which could not be deferred.
Oxon, Nov. 26, 1787.

Rev'd Mr. Mavor
At the Academy
At Woodstock
Oxfordshire.

Montague d. 18 f. 135.

Dear Sir

The Curacy of Kiddington is your's for the next twelve-months, and most probably will be so for a much longer time, as I have no thought at present of ever serving it myself. I presume you have no objection to the old Terms of Half a Guinea a Sunday. In case of a Burial on week days (a very rare Case) you will please to charge me a (MS. torn)[cro]wn each time. Fees for a Marriage,; &c., are to be your own. You will please to begin on next Sunday. Whenever you wish to settle, that business shall immediately be done.

I am, Dear Sir, your very faithful
humble servant

T. WARTON.

Oxon, Jan. 28th, 1788.

Rev'd Mr. Mavor
at the Academy
Woodstock
Oxfordshire

The last and largest group of letters cover the period from the publication of the third and last volume of the history of poetry to Warton's death (1781-1790), and partly reflect the variety of his interests during that period when the public was still expecting the completion of a work which was repeatedly promised.¹ Throughout his life Warton showed that typically 'romantic' characteristic of planning more work than it was possible to execute and of beginning new projects before the old were or could be completed. Very soon after the publication of the third volume of the history Warton must have begun the edition of Milton, which em-

couraged by Warton. Young Bennet published a small volume of 'Poems on Several Occasions' which received favourable notice in the *Critical Review*, June, 1774, XXXVII, 473.

¹ T. Warton to Price, Oct. 13, 1781. 'I have lately been working hard; have made some progress in my fourth volume.' Mant, lxxviii. Prince to Gough, Aug. 4, 1783, 'Mr. Warton's History of English Poetry will be at press again at Michaelmas Next.' Lit. Anec. III, 696. In the edition of Milton, 1785, the speedy publication of the 4th volume of the history was announced.

bodied material that he had been all his life collecting, part of which had appeared in the *Observations on the Fairy Queen* and part of which must have been intended for the last volume of his history. In 1785, the year in which his *Milton* was published, Warton was elected Camden Professor of History at Oxford and poet laureate. The former entailed no labour since he delivered no lectures after the first,¹ and the latter called for only a few pretty perfunctory odes; the *Milton* was fairly engrossing. At this time, as always, Warton was intensely interested in the literary labours of his friends, and as eager to help them as he was gracious in acknowledging their contributions to his own work. The letters to Malone are the record of this friendly literary give and take.

Warton's friendship with Malone was probably, at the beginning of their correspondence, fairly recent, for Malone, who was an Irish lawyer did not go to London to live until 1777. He rapidly became acquainted, however, with the most distinguished literary men, and became a member of the Literary Club in the same year that Warton did, 1782. From the time he settled in London he devoted himself largely to Shakespeare criticism, first as the ally and later as the rival of Steevens. His first publication was 'An Attempt to ascertain the Order in which the Plays of Shakespeare were written,' 1778, and this was followed by two supplements to Johnson's edition (1780 and 1783). In 1783 he announced and began work on his own edition of Shakespeare which appeared seven years later. It was for this work that Warton contributed the hints contained in the letters which follow.

Sir

I have searched in vain for Marlowe's *Dido*² with the *Elegy* among Tanner's Books³ which are squeezed into a most incommodious room, covered with dust, unclassed, and without a catalogue. Such is the confused and impracticable State of this Collection, that I have often been unable to find a book a second time which I have seen not half a year before. In the mean time there is much

¹ Mant, lxxxiv.

² 'The Tragedy of Dido,' 1594, by Marlowe and Nashe. Warton ascribed the elegy which was prefixed to it to Nashe. *Hist. Eng. Poetry*, 1st ed. III, 435, q. There is a copy in the Bodleian, but none in the British Museum.

³ Thomas Tanner (d. 1735) bishop of St. Asaph, antiquarian, bequeathed his valuable collection of books and manuscripts to the Bodleian. The manuscripts were arranged and catalogued by Thos. Toynbee of Balliol, about 1740-41. Madan, *Catalogue of Western MSS.* III, 81.

reason to suspect, that the Bishop's entire Study never came to the University. I am obliged to you for the Conjecture about *Tamburlain*.¹ I have pointed out to Mr. Downes a thin folio of manuscript miscellaneous poems, in which I believe are the pieces you wish him to transcribe. There is a good, I mean more correct Copy of Donne's Epitaph on Shakespeare.² And one or two pieces (a Sonnet & an Epitaph) signed W. *Shakespeare*. This Manuscript is about the time of Charles the First.³ If anything should occur concerning Dido and the Elegy I will take care to send it. My friend Mr. Price of the Bodleian talks of a Catalogue to Tanner's Books, but I fear it is at a distance. The Bodleian Copy of the Life of Scanderbeg⁴ has Spenser's Sonnet, and not a bad one.

I am, Sir, with great Respect,

your most faithful

Trin. Coll. Oxon.

Jun. 22d, 1781.

To Edmond Malone, Esq

Queen Anne's Street East

London

humble Servant

T. WARTON.

Trin. Coll. Oxon.

Mar. 19, 1785.

Dear Sir

By a coach of next Thursday you will receive the *Venus and Adonis*.⁵ It is bound up with many coeval small poets, the whole making a Dutch-built but dwarfish volume. Had I seen your Advertisement, I should have answered it immediately. Wright's *Preface*⁶ shall also be sent with Shakespeare's Poem. Our friend Dr. Farmer is too much in luck. I cannot decypher B. M.

¹ I do not find that Warton made any use of this 'conjecture,' but he acknowledges other suggestions about Marlowe's work received from Malone. Hist. Eng. Poetry, III, 413, 434-5.

² The famous poem by William Basse printed as Donne's in the first collected edition of the latter's poems, 1633.

³ Rawlinson MS. 14652 (now Rawl. poet. 161, Madan's Catalogue III, 317) written about 1640, in which 'Shakespeare's Epitaph' appears fol. 13. It is not clear whether Warton or Malone first discovered the real authorship of the poem. Malone also saw another MS. which belonged to antiquary Brander, in which the poem appears as by Basse. Ed. Shakespeare, 1790, I, 197.

⁴ The sonnet by Spenser beginning 'Wherefore doth vaine Antiquitie so vaunt' appeared as a dedicatory poem to 'The Historie of George Castriot, surnamed Scanderbeg, king of Albanie; translated out of French (by Lavandin) into English by Z. I.' 4° Lond. 1596.

⁵ The third edition, 1596, called the second by Malone in acknowledging the loan in the preface to his edition of Shakespeare, I, lxii.

⁶ Wright, James (1643-1713) 'Historia Histrionica: an Historical Account of the English Stage, shewing the Ancient Use, Improvement, and Perfection of Dramatick Representations in this Nation.' London, 1699, reprinted as preface to vol. XI of Dodsley's 'Old English Plays,' 1744.

I once saw Shakespeare's Sonnets, 1599.¹ in the hands of Mr. Thompson² of Queen's Oxon, a curious collector. I think Tom Davies³ bought his Books. I picked up my *Venus and Adonis* in a petty shop at Salisbury,⁴ where books, bacon, red-herring, and old iron were exposed to sale. If you could lend me B. Googe's 'Eglogs, epytaphes and Sonnets,' 8vo, 1563⁵ I shall be much obliged to you. I once had them. In my little volume (to be sent next Thursday) you will find the first edition of (Daniel's) "Tragedie of Cleopatra," 1594. See Mr. Steevens's Note, last edit. *Shakesp.* vol viii. p. 124. I have access to the Countess of Pembroke's 'Tragedie of Antonie,' 1595. 8vo. I have seen Lowin's⁶ picture:—Half length, large as life, a spreading band, dark cloaths, with a hand lifted up seemingly in the attitude of speaking. I can conceive it to be a likeness, for there is much comic character in the countenance. A small red beard. Picture marked on one side of head, 'Ætat. 64, A. D. 1640' on the staircase of Ashmole's Museum. Your commands will always be executed with the greatest pleasure, by, Dear Sir,

Your most

faithful humble servant

T. WARTON.

To Edmond Malone Esq.

Queen Anne's Street East,
London.

Oxon, March 30th., 1785.

Dear Sir

The Copy of Wright's *Country Conversations*⁷ which I have seen is in the Bodleian library. But I will procure a transcript of that part intitled *of the Modern Comedies*. Henry Chettle's *Kind Hart Dreame*, a thin quarto blacklettered, is at Winchester: but I shall be there the first week in May, and will send it

¹ Surely an error in date. The earliest known edition of the sonnets is 1609, 'Neuer before Imprinted.'

² William Thompson (1712?-1766?) poet and Spenserian imitator. His library was sold by Thomas Davies about 1768.

³ The bookseller who introduced Johnson and Boswell. He published in 1785 his *Dramatic Miscellanies*, consisting of critical observations on several plays of Shakespeare, etc.

⁴ On one of his vacation rambles among architectural ruins, I suppose, in the course of which he filled several copy-books with notes which he intended to embody in a history of Gothic architecture.

⁵ Only three copies are now known to exist, and they are described as 12mo. And Warton so describes this one in his *History*, III, 450, Note, y.

⁶ John Lowin, an actor who played with Shakespeare, Burbage, etc., mentioned in the 1623 folio. His portrait is in the Ashmolean Museum, and was engraved, in accordance with the account in these letters, for Malone's edition of Shakespeare. Vol. I, pt. II, p. 205.

⁷ James Wright, *Country Conversations: Being an Account of some Discourses that happen'd in a visit to the Country last Summer on Divers Subjects, chiefly of the 'Modern Comedies,' etc.* London, 1694, 8°.

you. Your new arrangement of Shakespeare's plays, I wish to see at your leisure. I have returned Milton's *Mask* to Mr. Read.¹ A good engraving of old Lowin will be a most proper and interesting ornament of your new Edition. The Custos of the Ashmolean is absent at present; but I fear, from the rules of the place, he cannot permit the Picture to be sent to Town. However, when he returns, I will make the strongest application to him for permission. He is Dr. Sheffield, Provost of Worcester College. In case we should not succeed in getting the picture to town, you have no other way but to send an engraver hither to take a Copy, which he might do in one of the Apartments, or *Studios* of the Museum. But I will talk the matter over thoroughly with Dr. Sheffield, and send you the result in a few days. I am sure it will make an excellent head. I will also enquire how the picture came there. I find one John Lowin (perhaps his relation) ejected from Christ-Church Oxon, in 1648, for his loyalty, by Cromwell's reforming Visitors.² Here is an edition of *Venus and Adonis* 12 mo., 1602. Perhaps a mere repetition of 1600. This, if you wish it, I will examine.

I am, Dear Sir, Your most
Faithful humble servant.

To
Edmond Malone Esq.
Queen Anne's Street East
London

T. WARTON.

Dear Sir

Excuse more last words. A notice relating to the subject of Shakespeare's pictures has been overlooked. (See Shew, (?) John J. vol. i. p. 213 seq.)

Dryden has an Epistle to Sir Godfrey Kneller, (*Epistles* in his *Orig. Poems* Glasg. vol. ii. 133) in which are these lines,

Shakespear, Thy Gift, I place before my sight,
With reverence look on his majestic face etc.

In the margin is Dryden's Note 'Shakespear's picture drawn by Sir Godfrey Kneller and given to the author.' From what picture of Shakespeare did Kneller make this copy?³ And where is Kneller's Copy? The Poem was written (as appears by the title) while Kneller was serjeant painter to King William.

¹ See letters to Reed.

² One of Warton's typical sarcastic references to Cromwell, whose zeal in demolishing specimens of Gothic ecclesiastical architecture he particularly abhorred.

³ In 1693 Sir Godfrey Kneller made a copy of the Chandos portrait as a gift for Dryden. D. N. B. Malone had no more information than Warton was able to give him. Ed. Shakespeare (1821, II, 513).

An inquiry into this matter might ascertain some points now but very imperfectly known. I am, Dr Sir, very faithfully yours.

T. WARTON.

Trin. Coll. Oxon.

May 27th, 1785.

To

Edmond Malone Esq.

Queen Anne's Street East

London

Dear Sir

I am at a friend's house in Hampshire with a small study of old fashioned Books. Here I find 'A Description of the Queens (Elizabeth) Entertainment in Progresse at Lord Hartford's at Elmtham in Hantshire, 1591. 4to. Lond. Bl. Lett.'¹ I have seen it before, but never inspected it carefully till now. Her Majesty, having been pestered a whole Afternoon with Speeches in verse from the Three Graces, Sylvanus, Wood Nymphs & Water Nymphs, is at length addressed by the Fairy Queen, who presents her Majesty with a chaplet. 'Given me by Auberon (Oberon) the fairie King.' I leave the Inferences, if any, to you. Lord Hartford's poet on this occasion was not a bad one, and I have seen some of the Copies in the Miscellanies of the times. Dear Sir, your most faithfull humble servant.

T. WARTON.

Odiham, Hants.

Jul. 29, 1787 (9?). Head-Quarters for a month at Winchester.

To Edmond Malone Esq.

Queen Anne's Street East

London

Dear Sir

I left Oxford more than a month ago, and am now at the House of a Relation near Portsmouth, where I am this moment favoured with your Letter. I am exceedingly sorry to be so far from Oxford, as to be hindered from accommodating you immediately with the *Venus and Adonis*.² If I should be at Oxford within three weeks, I will send it. Upon Recollection, Dr. Farmer has a Copy, who will undoubtedly lend it with pleasure. You flatter me much in your opinion of my last Ode.³ My Brother is here, and sends his best Compliments. He wishes to know if Mr. Boswell ever received from him, two of Dr.

¹ The honourable Entertainement given to the Queenes Maiestie in Progresse, at Elvetham in Hampshire, by the right Honorable the Earle of Hertford, 1591. Lond. 1591. 4^o.

² See letter to Malone, March 19, 1785.

³ 'On his Majesty's Birth-day, June 4th, 1787.'

Johnson's Letters about the Adventurer.¹ Thank you for your hint about the Megarion. I am, Dear Sir,

very sincerely yours.

T. WARTON.

Purbrook-Park

Near Portsmouth, Jul. 29th, 1787.

Edmond Malone, Esq

Queen Anne's Street

East

London.

Purbrook, Aug. 17th, 1787.

Dear Sir,

I am much obliged to you for the *Southampton Memoirs*,² which are curious, and were much wanted. I will look into Titchfield Church: if in the meantime I answer such of your Queries as I can at present. Titchfield is a very considerable village, almost approaching to the appearance of a little country town: a parish of itself. Mr. Delmé³ never lived at the House. The distance from thence to Beaulieu (crossing Southampton Water) cannot be more than ten or eleven miles. Beaulieu Abbey was granted to Thomas Wriothesley,⁴ the first Baron, as was Titchfield: he had other large grants of Abbey Land in Hampshire. At Beaulieu there are fine monastic remains: the Abbot's Hall is turned into the Parish Church. An old mansion house is formed out of the abbey buildings, perhaps by the said *Thomas*. I could be more particular, if you should think it necessary. For the evidence of the Grant of Beaulieu to Baron Thomas, see Tanner's *Notitia Monastica* under *Hampshire* edit. folio. The Earls of Southampton had an old House at Southampton, still remaining with most of its old Work about it, called Bugle-Hall, which I think was built by Baron Thomas; but as I am frequently at Southampton, I could give you the fullest intelligence about this house if wanted. Beaulieu is in the New Forest, near the shore of Southampton water, not far from Calshot-Castle. Look in Camden's map of *Hampshire*. I will write from Winchester next week with the Papers.

Many thanks for the hints for Milton. I think with you, that the Italian poetry made this great change with the story of *Venus and Adonis*. Nothing

¹ One of these written March 8, 1753, was printed in Boswell's Life of Johnson, Hill edition, I, 253.

² Probably substantially the same as the 'Memoirs of Henry Wriothesley, the Third Earl of Southampton,' published in Malone's Shakespeare. Warton seems to have contributed data for the memoir as it finally appeared. Boswell includes a letter from Warton to Malone which, though undated, seems posterior to the one here printed. See Boswell's edition of Malone's Shakespeare, 1821, XX, 433-5.

³ Peter Delmé was the owner of Lord Southampton's estate at Titchfield. Malone's Shakespeare, X, 7.

⁴ The grandfather of Henry Wriothesley, Shakespeare's patron.

occurs to me at present about it: but I will rummage when I gett to Oxford, if the Jaws of your Appendix¹ should remain open. What says Marino's voluminous Poem² on the subject? I know he is posteriour, but he might be examined. See if I have said any thing in the 30th Idyllium of Theocritus. Elmsley,³ and Tom Payne,⁴ have the book. All about Constable must unavoidably be deferred. I think I have something about your Earl Henry in the Titchfield Paper at Winchester. I just now learn, that Mr. Delmé's Titchfield Estate is 4000 £ p. annum.

Dear Sir, very faithfully yours,

T. WARTON.

P. S. Letters will find me at Winchester for a month or more.

To Edmond Malone Esq
Queen Anne's Street
East
London

Dear Sir

I have been returned to Oxford three or four Days, but could not write till I had seen the Provost of Worcester College, Dr Sheffield, who is Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum.

He is now come, and is willing to give you all the service in his Power with regard to Lowin's Portrait. As the Picture cannot be taken out of the Building, your artist must work in some of the Apartments of the Museum, and only from Eleven to Two. But I am in hopes of getting a greater Indulgence of Time. If he will call on me (whenever he arrives) in a morning between Nine and Eleven, I will take care to conduct him to Dr Sheffield, and to *plant* him in the Museum. Do you want my *little* Volume? I think the Sonnets by H. C. are Constable's. But the Initials H. C. sometimes mean Henry Chettle, a Poetaster of those Times, of whom I have spoken in my 3d. Volume⁵ And see Beauclerc's Catalogue.⁶

I am, Dear Sir, very faithfully yours.

Oxon. 27th. Oct. 1787.

T. WARTON.

Edmond Malone Esq
Queen Anne's Street East
London

¹ To the edition of Shakespeare which Malone had been preparing since 1783 and which appeared soon after Warton's death. (1790). Malone's Preface.

² Giambattista Marino (1569-1625) published a long poem, 'Adone' in 1623. See Warton's Milton, 2nd. edition, p. 537-9 note.

³ Peter Elmsley a prominent bookseller who belonged to the same group as Cadell and Dodsley.

⁴ 'Honest Tom Payne' whose bookshop, called the Literary Coffee-House, was frequented by Malone and Steevens among many others.

⁵ III, 290—2 note C.

⁶ 'Bibliotheca Beauclerkiana; auction catalogue of his large and valuable library.' Lond. 1781. Topham Beauclerk was a student at Trinity and a friend of Warton's.

Dear Sir

We have not a single edition of Fleckno's *Essays*¹ in the Bodleian. If the Edition you want is not to be found, you can do nothing but print your suspicions. But in searching, I fell upon one R. Flecknoe's *Epigrams*, written from 1635 to 1670, in four or five Books; one of which is called *Theatrical*, and which I went through with some Curiosity, but nothing occurred of any value or consequence. I fear I have nothing about old Scenery but what has already been thrown out in my *H. of English Poetry*.² Inigo Jones was certainly a great Improver in this business, and did much, as you know, in Jonson's *Masques*.

I am, Dear Sir, most faithfully yours,

Oxon. May 14th, 1789.

T. WARTON.

Edmond Malone Esq

Queen Anne's Street East

London

Dear Sir

I will examine Wood's Papers³ when I go to Oxford, but I think I told you all I found in them. Wood talked to his sister in a splenetic fit: you will find him in other places talking in high praise of poetry, though not always of poets. Beeston (whom I mention from Aubrey)⁴ was Dr. H. Beeston, Warden of New College.⁵ For Mr How (whom I mention as telling Aubrey something about Shakespeare) see my *Second Edition* of the Life of Sir T. Pope, at the end of the Preface.⁶ The *Bishops* lived at Brayles in Warwickshire, not far from Stratford. See Wood's *Ath. Oxon.* i. f pp. 488, 466, 727. edit. 1721. I have seen many of Basse's Poems, and have large Notices about him and them at Oxford. In my volume of Milton, you will see a defence of Aubrey's character, at pp. 432, 433.⁷ Not having my *Hist. of Engl. Poetry* here, I cannot at present speak about the 'Judicious French Writer.'⁸ I will examine Plutarch for the play you mention. I am deep in my Milton,⁹ and go to press with that work the

¹ No edition of *Essays* by Flecknoe is mentioned in either the Bodleian or British Museum catalogues. Perhaps Malone meant to inquire for the 'Short Discourse of the English Stage' attached to 'Love's Kingdom,' 1664, which is referred to in Malone's Shakespeare, I, pt. II, 58, note.

² See first edition II, 398-401, III, 327. Malone's Account of the Stage is full of quotations from Warton's History.

³ Anthony Wood's books and papers were bequeathed to the Ashmolean Museum. (They passed to the Bodleian in 1858.)

⁴ In the Life of Bathurst, p. 154.

⁵ And Master of Winchester. But see letter of 16 Dec. 1789.

⁶ 1780, p. xiii note f, from which quotations are made by Malone ed. Shakespeare, I, II, 176-7.

⁷ Second edition, 1791, p. 422.

⁸ Probably M. du Tilliot, author of 'Memoirs pour servir à l'histoire de la Fete de Foux,' 1741. Hist. Eng. Poetry, II, 368 and 367 note i.

⁹ The second edition already mentioned.

7th. of November. You shall have a full and exact Manuscript from Aubrey, with whom Wood was at variance. I find Mr Steevens meditates a new Shakespeare.¹

I am, Dear Sir, very faithfully yours.

T. WARTON.

Winton, Sept. 30th, 1789.

Edmond Malone Esq

Queen Anne's Street East

London

William Basse.

I have printed a recommendatory Poem to Basse in my *Life* of Dr. Bathurst, p. 288. I think I saw his Poems* in Mr Bowle's² study at Idminstone. He has a Poem in the *Annalia Dubrensia* or *Cotswold Games*.³ Something about him is in *Peirce's Ballads*, see Vol. iii. in the Additions of the Edition.

Aubrey's M. S. Lives

Dr Farmer is mistaken.⁴ Aubrey's intelligence from *Beeston* was about *Spenser* not *Shakespeare*. See *Life of Bathurst*, p. 154. That Wood used those Lives for his *Athenæ*, see *ibid* p. 153. Many of Wood's queries to Aubrey, about anecdotes, etc, appear in the Margin. How they came to the Ashmolean I know not: they are there with other papers of Aubrey.

Dear Sir, You shall have B. Jonson's *Life* soon. University Elections for the 2 last days have thrown everything into confusion.

Dear Sir, Very faithfully your's.

Oxon. 21st. Nov. 1789.

T. WARTON.

(*The Sword and Buckler etc. 1602.

Mr Bowle's copy is now in my collection: 1802. [Malone's note])

P. S. We are at press most rapidly with *Milton*.

Edmond Malone Esq

Queen Anne's Street

East

London

¹ Steevens's edition appeared in 1793 in 15 vols.

² See second letter to Reed and note. Bowle was a pretty close friend of Warton's, and no doubt Warton had seen Basse's poem there. At the sale of Bowle's library in 1790 the book probably passed to Steevens's collection and thence to Malone's. (See Malone's note.) It is therefore the one of the only two extant copies of the 1602 (first) edition of the 'Sword and Buckler' which was described by R. W. Bond, the first collector and editor of Basse's poems. London, 1893, see p. 1. The letter here printed shows that, although Warton knew nothing of Basse in 1761 when he published his *Life of Bathurst*, he deserves some of the credit that Bond gives altogether to Malone for discovering him by publishing his 'Elegy on Shakespeare' in his edition of Shakespeare. See Bond's edition of Basse, p. ix, and Malone's Shakespeare, I, pt. I, 197.

³ Published in 1636.

⁴ In his 'Essay on the Learning of Shakespeare,' 1767. See Malone's Shakespeare I, I, 166 and ed. Boswell, 1821, I, 346, where Farmer misquotes Warton, as indicated in this letter.

Dear Sir

There is such irregularity in opening the Ashmolean, that I have been more than once prevented from making the Transcript,¹ when I had set apart time for that purpose. You shall have it in the course of the week. What I have said about Abraham Wright,² I have had from Seniors of Saint Johns College Oxford many years ago, or from Wood, *Ath. Oxon* ii. 833. Saint John's was a famous College for Play-acting. A good work would be, a History of the Stage, (of Plays acted by the Scholars) in the Universities, to be called '*Theatrem Academicum* Or a etc. It might throw light on the History of the London Plays, etc. I avail myself, with many thanks, for your hints to my Milton. *John Wright* died in 1716. Hugh Peters was of Trinity College Cambridge.

I am, Dear Sir, very faithfully yours.

T. WARTON.

Oxon. Dec. 6, 1789.

Edmond Malone Esq

Queen Anne's Street

East

London

Dear Sir

I have lately been so much hurried by our College Audit, Milton's Proofs, and other literary Concerns, that I have not yet been able to find the Transcript of Jonson as I promised. But I have inspected Aubrey, in order that I might answer your last; and I find my Transcript of Shakespeare (in the Life of Bathurst)³ as far as the Epitaph which you have in my writing. However, the word *extemporary* or *extempory* I cannot clear, as the last Syllable is confused and abbreviated. Year 18 is unquestionably right. Long Crendon (or Grendon) is in Bucks, about thirteen miles from Oxford. Howe (Aubrey's Contemporary in this College) was an admirable scholar, a poet, and a most worthy character. I think I before referred you (for *Him*) to the end of my Preface of 2d Edition of Sir. T. *Pope's* Life. I give up Beeston as the Warden of N. College;⁴ and now think him (with you) to be the Theatrical man.⁵

¹ Probably the notes on Ben Jonson from the Wood MSS., mentioned in the preceding and following letters.

² In the edition of Milton, 2nd ed. pp. 602-8.

³ p. 154. See also letter of Nov. 21, 1789. Only the first line of the epitaph is printed in the Life of Bathurst. The whole, taken from Malone's papers, and, probably, from Warton's transcript, is printed in Malone's Shakespeare, vol. I, pt. II, p. 176-8.

⁴ It looks as if Warton or the printer may have omitted a line; at any rate, Malone quoting (Warton's transcript from) Aubrey, inserts after 'Stratford,' 'Mr. Combes, an old usurer, was to be buried.' I, II, 177.

⁵ See letter of Sept. 30, 1789.

⁶ Beeston, the theatrical manager, see Malone's Account of the English Stage. Ed. Shakespeare I, pt. II, 239 ff.

You have all about Shakespeare which is in Aubrey. I will find the Jonson soon, and am, Dear Sir, very faithfully yours.

T. WARTON.

Trin. Coll. Oxon.

16th. Dec. 1789.

Edmond Malone Esq

Queen Anne's Street East

London

Dear Sir.

The Inclosed is an accurate Transcript,¹ and preserves all the singularities of writing in the original. The dashes are what Tom Hearne would mark by *sic*. 'Epistle' is for *Ep. Dedicatory*.² Dr. Bathurst was born in Northamptonshire, bordering on *Warwickshire*; and intimate with many of Ben's old friends. It is more likely that Ben (being a Westminster Man) went to Trinity at Cambridge, than to Saint John's according to the biographers. Do you wish for any intelligence about the *Hoskin's*, Bishop Skinner and Jack Young? I leave this place on Tuesday, and return 27th Instant. A letter, during that time, will find me at *Edward Gore's Esq at Kiddington near Enstone Oxfordshire*. I hope to be in Town about the 10th of January. I am really ashamed to have kept back this Transcript so long, but I have been overwhelmed with a Variety of business.

I am, Dear Sir,

Very faithfully yours.

T. WARTON.

Trin. Coll. Oxon.

Decemb. 20th, 1789.

Edmond Malone Esq

Queen Anne's Street

East

London

Dear Sir

I returned to Oxford last Sunday, where I found the favour of your Letter. Unluckily this having been a Holiday Week, no access could be had to the Ashmolean. But by the assistance of a Pocket book now at Winchester (which I shall pass through tomorrow in my way to Southampton) I think I can settle many of your Queries about Aubrey. In the meantime see Mr Evelyn's (the great Naturalist) Letter to Aubrey, prefixed to Aubrey's *Surry*, in 5 vols, 8vo. Some other Prolegomena there, may perhaps help you. Evelyn's judgement of Aubrey has great weight. I should have written before, but was daily expecting the opening of the Ashmolean. I stay one week at Southampton (setting out this afternoon) at *Colonel Morgan's Above Bar*. Then to town,

¹ Probably the life of Jonson mentioned before.

Jan. 11th. at Prince of Wales's Coffee-house. I appear in the Papers, not only as an Esquire, but as the author of a New Years Ode which I never wrote.¹

I am Dear Sir very faithfully yours.

T. WARTON.

Oxon. 3rd. Jan. 1789²

Edmond Malone Esq

Queen Anne's Street

East

London

Dear Sir

I will immediately write to my Brother to know what he means to give to Dr Johnson's monument, for we shall most probably give alike; and will as soon as possible tell you his Answer.³

I think you need not be scrupulous about making my *Uncle Danvers* some older man (so as to hit on James first.) than I have suggested. In my life of *Sir Thos. Pope*, I have said something of *Danvers*, p. 444, 445. And there is a *Danvers*, and of this College, in Wood's *Life or Diary*. p. 311 Vol. ii. It is not, however, necessary, that the *Uncle Danvers* should be restricted to this College. Nothing occurs in the Aubrey Papers. But I observe in a Letter from Aubrey to Wood, dated 1694, that Aubrey complains, that Wood sent back the MS. *Lives* 40 Leaves short, cutt out, and kept by Wood. You will have *Davenant* soon

I am, Dear Sir, ever faithfully yours.

T. WARTON.

Oxon. Feb. 5th 1790.

Edmond Malone Esq

Queen Anne's Street East

London

CLARISSA RINAKER

University of Illinois

¹ Warton's last New Year's ode was written for the year 1788.

² This letter is dated by Warton 1789 but bears the postmark of JA. 4 1790.

³ Malone was active in promoting subscriptions for Dr Johnson's monument among the members of the Literary Club. Boswell's Johnson, Hill ed. IV, 423.

REVIEWS AND NOTES

EINFÜHRUNG IN DIE SYNTAX von Rudolf Blümel. Heidelberg, 1914. Carl Winters Universitätsbuchhandlung. Pp. 279.

This introduction to the study of syntax will render helpful service to many students of language. It also contains many remarks that will be valuable to mature scholars. Every part of the work betrays the influence of Professor Hermann Paul. Mr. Blümel ably defends certain theories of Professor Paul that in a number of recent writers have been discarded for more recent explanations.

On page 26 Mr. Blümel takes up the defence of Paul's theory that there are in every sentence two essential elements, even in sentences with seemingly only one element, as *Feuer!*, *Fritz!*, *Meinen Stock!*, etc. Attention is called to the fact that the one word *Fritz!* has two entirely different meanings according to the tone of the voice with which it is spoken. In one case it means: *come here!* In the other case it conveys censure. Likewise in case of *Feuer!* According to the tone of the voice or the connection this one word has two entirely different meanings—there is a fire or a command to fire. Mr. Blümel makes the point that if one word has two entirely different meanings there must be some element present that differentiates the thought. He sees in the tone of the voice the determining element. On p. 29 he expresses the view that there are always two elements in a sentence and that the second element is always expressed in some form.

Similarly on p. 24 and elsewhere Mr. Blümel calls attention to accent as an important form to indicate syntactical relations, as in "*Hagen sah sie nicht mehr,*" where "*Hagen*" has a quite different accent, according as it is felt as the subject or the object of the verb. The importance Mr. Blümel attaches to tone and accent as important syntactical forms is worthy of attention.

With the ardor of a young reformer Mr. Blümel at different points vigorously attacks old syntactical conceptions which he regards as erroneous. He is not fortunate, however, in all his attacks. Below an attempt is made to defend two of these old conceptions.

On p. 134 Mr. Blümel tries to show that the old conception of the relations of the members of an appositional group to each other is erroneous. In "*Wir feierten die Rückkehr unseres Freundes Heinrich*" the words "*unseres Freundes*" are usually regarded as standing in apposition with "*Heinrich.*" Mr. Blümel desires to reverse these relations and make "*unseres Freundes*" the basal element and "*Heinrich*" the appositive or modifying element.

He bases his conclusion upon the ending *es* in "Freundes," which according to his view indicates the relation of the appositional group to the governing word "Rückkehr," which stands outside of the group. The uninflected form "Heinrich," he thinks, indicates only a relationship within the group.

Mr. Blümel does not seem to understand the real principle involved in determining the place for inflection within such groups. The inflection must be indicated by that word in the appositional group which stands in immediate contact with the governing word that stands outside of the group: "Kaiser Wilhelm's Schloss," "das Schloss des Kaisers Wilhelm," or "das Schloss Kaisers Wilhelm." The word in the appositional group that does not stand in immediate contact with the governing word is now usually left uninflected, but in older usage both elements in the group were inflected: "der junge sun *froun Uoten*." This older usage survives where "Herr" is a member of the group: "der Hut *Herrn Schmidts*" or "*Herrn Schmidts Hut*." In both older and modern usage both members of the group may be considered as a unit which takes the inflection at the end of the unit: "das Schloss Kaiser Wilhelms." A mere glance at the facts of older and modern usage utterly destroys Mr. Blümel's theory of the value of inflection in determining which of the two elements in the appositional group is the appositive.

The meaning of the elements determines which is the appositive. In oldest English and German the appositive or descriptive element usually followed the basal element. Old English contains many examples: "to mailros tem mynstre" (Bede, E. H., p. 424) "to the monastery of Melrose"; "bi Temese streame" (*ibid.*, p. 282) "by the river Thames"; etc. This old type lives on in modern German: "die Húdsonbài" "Hudson Bay," etc. The order of the words is now in most German words reversed because in a modern group it is now more natural to place the stressed member last: "Kaiser Wílhelm," etc. In English the old order is often retained but the accent upon the second member, as in "Hudson Báy," indicates that the old group has been converted into a modern group. In such examples the first element, as "Hudson," was construed as an adjective, which naturally led to stressing it less than the following noun.

On p. 243 Mr. Blümel says: "Falsch ist die Anschauung, das Streben nach Deutlichkeit hätte zu Schaffung neuer Formen geführt. Wo wir nach Deutlichkeit streben, da können wir nur unter Vorhandenem wählen. Das ist aber schon Stilistik, und die gesprochene Sprache, auf der hauptsächlich die Entwicklung beruht, kennt kaum stilistische Rücksichten." These words indicate a sad lack of insight into the nature of language. Man has never ceased struggling to find a fuller expression for his thought and feeling. The humblest human being craves to be understood and strives to find a form that will convey his meaning.

When in accordance with phonetic law unstressed *e* disappeared in the plural after -el, -en, -er, the common man introduced mutation as a sign of the plural after the analogy of other mutated plurals known to him, so that the unclear plurals "Hammer," "Vogel," etc. became "Hämmer," "Vögel," etc. This craving for a new and clearer form is much stronger with the humbler classes than in the written language, as shown by such forms as "Wägen," "Mägen," "Krägen," etc. in popular speech, so that it is quite evident that a desire for more perfect expression is not confined to masters of style. Likewise modern English rests in all its essential features upon the dialects of the common people—a beautiful illustration of how deep-seated and spontaneous the sources of language are. These sources lie not so much in the artistic thinking of stylists as in the strong irrepressible desire of all men to say exactly what they think and feel.

GEORGE O. CURME.

Northwestern University.

DER ARME HEINRICH VON HARTMANN VON AUE.
 ÜBERLIEFERUNG UND HERSTELLUNG HERAUS-
 GEGEBEN VON ERICH GIERACH. Germanische Biblio-
 thek, herausgegeben von Wilhelm Streitberg. III Abteilung:
 Kritische Ausgaben altd deutscher Texte, herausgegeben von
 K. v. Kraus und K. Zwierzina. Bd. 3. Heidelberg, Winter,
 1913. Pp. XII + 106.

Upon the Wackernagel-Toischer edition of *Hartmann's Armer Heinrich*, reëdited only a few years ago, 1911, by Ernst Stadler, follows this publication of Gierach. Stadler had utilized well whatever results of Hartmann-investigation had become available since 1885, but in spite of the excellence of the new edition brought out by him, Gierach's work has by no means been superfluous. The latter's book offers no commentary; the object of the editor is simply to furnish in reliable form the source material for scientific investigation. Instead of following precedent by giving a restored text, based chiefly on MS A, with the variant readings at the bottom of the page, Gierach prints in parallel columns on the left-hand page MSS A and B^a, putting the St. Florian and the Indersdorf fragments in their proper places at the bottom, while the right-hand page brings the text as the editor restores it. This arrangement makes it possible to exhibit the relation of the various MSS to each other in a much clearer light than has hitherto been the case; and the diplomatic reprint of MS B^a, here given for the first time in running text, adds materially to the value of the edition. In the Introduction are found a brief description of the MSS and of the various editions that have come out since Müller for the first time published the text of A in Vol. I of the *Sammlung deutscher Gedichte aus dem XII, XIII und XIV Jahrhundert*, Berlin, 1784. An

appendix, in two chapters, offers 1. information regarding peculiarities of the different MSS (A being represented by Müller's text, with the corrections found in the Grimm edition), also a completelist of readings in which B^b differs from B^a, these being mostly purely orthographic; 2. a full exhibition of the cases in which the text as restored by Gierach differs from that of the other editors. Nothing needs be said about this purely objective presentation of the material, except perhaps that one would like to know the reason for the editor's supposition (p. 86) that the initial letter of each verse in A was small, not a capital as printed invariably by Müller, and, if possible, also some explanation of the peculiar use of the circumflex accent in B^a where it is employed not only over long vowels, but also over short ones, and occasionally even over consonants, especially r and n (cf. *Rosenhagen, Die Heidelberger Hs. cod. Pal. germ. 341*, p. XXXI).

Of particular interest is the restoration of the text which Gierach here attempts. That he does not follow a beaten path becomes evident from the fact that a catalog of the cases in which he differs from the other editors covers more than nine pages, and he enumerates his deviations from Grimm and Lachmann only where their readings seemed to him to deserve mention. That this somewhat drastic treatment of the text would call for explanation, Gierach anticipated and therefore promised, in a footnote to the Introduction, to give his reasons for the changes made in an article which was to appear in the *ZfdA*. This article has meanwhile been published, Vol. 54, 257-295: *Untersuchungen zum Armen Heinrich. I. Die bruchstücke des Armen Heinrich*. A careful examination of the differences between C (to the readings of which Gierach gives a decided preference) and A and B in regard to lexical and syntactical details, convinces Gierach of the relatively little value of B and the excellence of C. He discovers in the 37 lines of C (=61 vss. complete or fragmentary) 42 instances in which the MSS differ from each other, and he finds that four mistakes should be charged to C, 21 to A, and 36 to B. Gierach's judgment is naturally somewhat subjective, and a rigid application to A of the percentage of mistakes here revealed is hardly admissible, but the result obtained through this comparison gives the author good grounds to point out that the value of A is not enhanced by this showing. The rest of the article deals with the Indersdorf fragments, already printed by Keinz, *Germ.* 31, 80 ff., and refutes the view there expressed that we have in D the remains of an entirely independent manuscript. The investigation of Gierach goes to show that B and D have sprung from a common original which compared with A is of inferior value.

There are still a number of problems to be solved by future editors of the *Iwein* and the *Gregorius*, as Gierach himself admits, before it will be possible to get even an approximately correct text of the *AH*.; in fact, we may have to wait until new manuscript

material is discovered before the question of the original can receive a satisfactory solution; this, however, does not detract from the value of the distinct service which Gierach has rendered to the further study of Hartmann's works by this edition of the AH. and the explanatory article in the ZfdA., the second part of which is still to be published.

ERNST H. MENSEL.

Smith College.

A *BRIEF HISTORY OF MODERN PHILOSOPHY*, by Dr. Harold Höffding, Professor of Philosophy, at the University of Copenhagen, trans., by Charles Finley Sanders, Professor of Philosophy at Pennsylvania College, 1913, p. 324.

The translation of Professor Höffding's two volume work on the history of modern philosophy in 1900 was a noteworthy contribution to the philosophical literature of the English-reading world. Merz, in his latest volume on *The History of European Thought in the Nineteenth Century* says of this history "It is, so far, the only work on the subject written from an international point of view." This is but one of its merits. Another is due to Höffding's conviction that the natural method of learning what philosophy really is, is the study of its history. That the history of philosophy is "a part of the general history of culture"; that "philosophical ideas are symptoms of the direction in which the spiritual development of the age is tending"; that "the leading problems of modern philosophy are determined precisely by the fact that modern natural science has arisen";—are dominant conceptions, presented in a form which commands admiration for the comprehensive scholarship of the work, and which make the history of philosophy interesting reading.

The present volume is a translation of a briefer book on the subject, published in German in 1905, under the title *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neueren Philosophie*. In the preface of that edition, the author describes the book as "eine deutsche Bearbeitung einer kurzen Übersicht über die Geschichte der neueren Philosophie, die ich bei meinem propädeutischen Kursus an der hiesigen Universität gebrauche."

The treatment of the subject as regards outlines and divisions, titles of books and chapters, is much the same in both works. In both, also, the introduction is devoted to a brief statement of the four main problems of philosophy in which, as our author interprets it, all philosophical investigation centers—the problems of "knowledge," "existence," "estimation of worth," and "consciousness." A fuller explanation of Höffding's position with reference to these problems may be found in his *Problems of Philosophy*, published in 1905.

The briefer history is essentially the larger one condensed, with much omitted that makes the latter interesting. In fact, it may be characterized as a syllabus, and should serve as a convenient book of reference for names, dates and the leading conceptions in philosophical literature from Cusanus to William James. As a textbook, it is likely to be dry reading—as textbooks in the history of philosophy usually are.

A “chronology of the chief works in philosophy,” adds much to the usefulness of the book.

University of Illinois.

ARTHUR H. DANIELS.

*A RE-INTERPRETATION OF GERMANIC ANTIQUITY.**

In the ninth volume of this Journal (1910, pp. 269-278) I published a somewhat extensive discussion of Vilhelm Grønbech's first volume of the above series, expressing some anticipations with regard to the remaining volumes. Within an amazingly short time the three volumes announced have appeared which, considering only their bulk of together ca. 610 large pages, is an astonishing performance; but doubly remarkable through their closely reasoned and altogether original contents which entirely bear out the high expectations then entertained.

In letting pass before his mind the profusion of new ideas unfolded in these volumes your reviewer more than ever regrets that they will practically be beyond the reach of all but Scandinavian students of Germanic antiquity; the difficulty being not only their Danish dress, but also the curiously individual style—I may almost say, idiom—which betrays unmistakable influence, whether direct or indirect, of Søren Kierkegaard; still is entirely Grønbech's own. As was remarked concerning the first volume, nothing short of a complete translation could give a fair idea of the contents, for the reason that no *new* information is offered here, but rather the *interpretation* of things known but not sufficiently understood in their bearings, their emotional and ethnic contents. It is a subtle running commentary on the grievously misunderstood text of Germanic Antiquity. Nor is it conveniently summarized by chapter headings or by paragraphs, not being written as a textbook, or handbook, or any other kind of professorial schoolbook; but, rather, as a vast rumination, carried on with great breadth of vision, and backed up by an astounding learning. Let then what is said in the following be taken rather by way of suggestion than as a summary.

**Vor Folkeæt i Oldtiden. (Our race in Antiquity). Vilhelm Grønbech: V. Pio, Copenhagen. Udgivet med Understøttelse af Carlsberg-Fondet. Vol. I: Lykkemand Og Niding. (1909) Vol. II: Midgaard og Menneskelivet. (1912) Vol. III: Hellighed og Helligdom. (1912) Vol. IV: Menneskelivet og Guderne. (1912)*

Grönbech rightly protests against the attitude assumed by so many that the work of the Germanic scholar is done when the student of motif and source has unravelled the composition of the literary remains, when the literary historian has mapped them, and the ethnologist, archaeologist, jurist, folklorist each have shed light on this and that region of past life; when the historian has woven all into a connected story of how it was and how it came to be, and why—even after all is safely tucked away between the covers of a portly “Grundriss.” When all this is done; or, rather, notwithstanding all that has been done, it will require the sympathy and the creative imagination of the scholar-poet really to understand, i. e. to re-create, the past. This is a commonplace to poetry where, however, only the “Knotenpunkte” of history can, by the nature of the case, be considered worthy of treatment.* Grönbech is one of the first to see the necessity of the “poetic” treatment of the whole ethos of a race in a work laying claim to scholarly accuracy as well, in order to penetrate into the *spirit* of a civilization.

After saying so much in commendation of an enterprise carried out on such a grand scope it must be admitted that there is an element of weakness inherent in its very plan. It will be read, studied, discussed by all interested in Germanic Antiquity. It will be admired, enthusiastically acclaimed, perhaps, as a precursor of a new vision; but it is more than doubtful whether it will have that effect of revolutionizing our methods of interpretation which the author evidently expects. My criticism—which, for that matter, perhaps no one anticipates more surely than the author himself—is that the testimony of a thousand years is weighed in a balance where the weights themselves are unknown. G. sets out to determine the soul life of “our ancestors” without shrinking for a moment from the appalling difficulty of the undertaking. Who are the ancestors, we may ask; and when were they “at their best,” i. e. when is the diagnosis most reliable; and who is to be the judge? The first question offers the least difficulty; for, after all, the various Germanic tribes present throughout their history a very striking racial homogeneity which was, very likely, reflected in similar views and re-actions, however strongly they were affected by varying physical surroundings and the influences of contiguous southern and western civilizations. But when we come to the *when?* the necessity of a closer definition of time becomes at once apparent. Teutons of what time? Of the Migration Period, of the Viking Age, of the Prehistoric times? It is all very well to say that “in the civilization of nations hundreds of years frequently

*What I mean is that the poet is limited by his art to individual problems. At most he can treat of a small segment of history. He may creatively interpret the character, say, of Maria Stuart, but not the Elizabethan Age. The novelist is only apparently more free. Gobineau's and Burckhardt's books on the Renaissance are, each in its way, attempts in the same direction as Grönbech's, viz. to interpret a whole epoch.

are as one day," or that "feelings scarcely changed between the generations that subverted the Roman Empire and that of the Christian poet who interprets the words of Thomas to his Saxons." We hesitate when we consider the possible internal, spontaneous, economical, or spiritual changes of a thousand years! Moreover, the author must not be surprised if his views will not appeal to all, seeing that he makes himself the sole judge of the admissibility or weight of all testimony; when e. g. certain customs of 18th and 19th century rural Norway and Sweden, certain ceremonies of Mediæval guilds, certain survivals in Scandinavian laws are admitted as valuable testimony, whereas certain passages in, let us say, an Icelandic saga, in the Anglosaxon epics, are dismissed or discounted as not bearing the stamp of originality. In most cases we follow trustingly, willingly; but this ought not to blind us to the fact that we are citing instances that suit our theory,—which is based on those selfsame instances! G. has in his mind the Platonic "idea" of the Teuton and his typical reactions. It is the most convincing to me, personally, it has been so to most reviewers. Nevertheless, who shall say there is no other, or others, as justifiable?

There is still another aspect of the matter which forced itself on my attention. The idea is, not to explain the old ways of thinking by modern thought (as do the "learned men" for whom Grönbech shows a very round contempt); but, on the contrary, by entering fully and habitually into them, *sharing* them, in order finally to think them ourselves. Now it is remarkable to witness the extreme contortions of the speculatively reflective mind indulged in, in order to extract the secret of the child of nature's way of thinking. This is particularly true of the first chapters of the second volume, dealing with the materials and psychology of primitive poetry. Here the author seeks by means of the subtlest application of conscious thought to penetrate into the unconscious life of primitive man. And the results "arrived at" smack dangerously of our ultra civilization which understands the barbarian better than the barbarian understands himself—and appreciates him aesthetically. Then, there certainly is more system interpreted into the Teuton's conduct of life than he ever thought of putting into it.* Still, if the poet's line expands for whatever of meaning we can put into it we ought to grant that the traditions of centuries, however crude, are capable of an infinitude of interpretations.

Let it not be thought that the author's method is in any respect amateurish and loose; on the contrary, the subtly reasoning psychologist is everywhere carefully intrenched behind sources and references. In fact, not the least interesting feature of his work are the notes in which a huge mass of learned references now and then is conglomerated to an impressive effect. Never-

* Cf. e. g. sun and moon idea, vol. II, p. 63 ff.

theless, the author struggles with might and main not to write a textbook. The legions of articles, treatises, investigations, notes, etc., etc. previously written on kindred matters are simply ignored, except when drawing a sharp fire of irony.

It cannot be my purpose to state in a concise and definite way just what these volumes contain beyond reiterating that, in the main, it is a re-interpretation of Germanic ethos as manifested in Germanic life, manners, history, law, religion. A synopsis is not possible, partly because of the nature of the work, partly because of Grönbech's sovereign contempt of the textbook method. As already indicated, his form is as much *sui generis* as his style. The nonchalant chapter headings hardly reveal the nature of the contents—to put it mildly—and might in most cases be moved a dozen pages backward or forward *ad libitum*, without making any appreciable difference. Those of vol. II, e. g., are: (1) The World, (2) Life, (3) To Live, (4) Soul, (5) Birth and End of Life, (6) Death, (7) Who is Akin?—which is just a shade better than vol. I whose headings seemed to mock the trustful reader in a tantalizing manner. In fact, the chapter headings show a tendency to become more concrete as we go along.* As to the mysterious titles of the various volumes, any one will fit any other as well. One must not be pedantic!

If I understand the author aright he wishes to show forth the entire nervous system, as it were, of the ancient Germanic life by dwelling on the comparatively few main ganglia, and from these central stations trace the single nerves in their ramifications and thus detect their special functions. Such ganglia—it does not matter whether we are very precise—were, in vol. I, “honor” and its counterpart “good fortune,” “frith,” and “kin.” In the remaining volumes, Grönbech returns to the attack and the chapter headings cited may serve, with some repetitions and omissions, as indications of the points of view taken.

Like Socrates, G. is satisfied ever to say the same about the same. He does not tire of elaborating the primitive concepts, such as honor, kin, revenge. Again and again he records the results of his daring thought experiments undertaken to feel himself back, as it were, into his hypothetical attitude of the Past. Passionate seeker that he is he simply forces entrance into the consciousness of the Pre-Christian mind. If others have studied the Past to understand the Present he has certainly trained his lenses to bring the far away into our range of vision. Only, his chief means is his poetic vision.

*Those of Vol. iii are: (1) Treasure (2) The Sword of Victory (3) Naming and Inheriting (4) Exchange of Gifts, (5) Fellowship at Table (or of Food) (6) Holiness(!), Those of Vol. iv: (1) Temple (2) Around the Ale Bowl (3) Prayer and Sacrifice (4) Prosperity and Peace (*Til aar og fred*) (5) Play and Pledge (6) To Sacrifice (7) The Stillness and the Noise at the Feast.

The foregoing remarks will, it is hoped, make it plain that one of the strongest impressions left in the readers mind, after the perusal of these volumes, is that this re-interpretation of Germanic Antiquity would seem to deal a blow to those who, because of the same race, or as students of Germanic languages and literatures, or of some other segment of the ancient life of the Teutons, blandly imagine that they, eo ipso, have the necessary qualifications to understand the soul life of their ancestors of a thousand years ago, before the Renaissance, before the introduction of Christianity. To them, these volumes will be a much needed lesson in humility.

A few paragraphs illustrative of Grönbech's art may be welcome. They are freely translated. Even so, most of the flavor of the original will, I fear, have evaporated in the process.

'*Hamingja*' ("good-fortune") Combinations, Vol. II, p. 140 f. notwithstanding their thirst for fame and glory, most of the old Teutons had to go to their grave without leaving behind them any other monument for after times than, perhaps a mention in the family tree. To us, these rows of names are a rigmarole and nothing else; but for those who bore these names the register was in itself a history, or a heroic poem, and the portrayal of a family character, and we need no special commentary to re-experience something of the readiness of mind which made the rehearsing of the genealogical tree an earnest business and at the same time an edification for the family.

History knows little concerning king Penda of Mercia, and still less about his father, king Pybba. All we have is contained in a few church history notes, just about filling a paragraph, in the *Chronicles of Beda*, about a king who did what was evil in the sight of the Lord. Only one single trait of human character has been handed down to us: heathen though he was he used no other weapon against the Christians than scorn when they did what their faith commanded them—so we are told. And by this grimace of scorn one seems to recognize in him one of those "singular" characters who might by rights occupy a place by the side of such as Harold Hairfair, Earl Hakon, or Chlodevech, but even if Penda was the founder of an empire and one who like Harold erected a chieftainship into a kingdom, he was bound to perish with his race; nor did he fall because of the indignation of some fathers of the church. Civilization itself felled him with her irrevocable judgment as one who resisted the onward flow of progress. For in England, very differently from Scandinavia, the new times and the new faith were not built into the old, but each pile which was rammed down to support the new faith served also to tie down the old and prevent it from rising to the surface again. But if the Mercian empire remained standing even after the fall of its kings and its civilization; if it successfully weathered the crisis and thereupon again maintained itself as one of the great

powers of England, it was because these "wild" warriors, Penda and his kin, had also been resourceful men who had built a strong foundation for their royal hamingja. Their race had, like that of Halfdan in Norway and that of the Merovingians in France, understood to lead the fortunes of other races into their own. One of the surest signs of their ability to secure their growth in fortune by fetching some of it from elsewhere is seen in their affinity with the royal house of Wessex. We do not know how the relationship began; only so much is sure that Penda's sister was married to King Cænwealh of Wessex. And now we see that already one of Penda's brothers is called after the brother-in-law, being also called Cænwealh; and notwithstanding the fact that the peace soon was broken by the West Saxon king putting away his wife, Cænwealh's branch of the family continues with West-Saxon names only. Moreover the new hamingja is transplanted to two of Penda's grandsons: in Wulfhere's son Cœnred and in Æthelred's son Ceolred, notwithstanding the one's mother was Kentish and the other's Northumbrian.

The aspirations of the same family can be traced also in the North: Penda's stubborn fights with the Christian kings Oswald and Oswin of Northumberland in some way or other are connected with the fact that two of his sons were married to daughters of Oswin. And already in the same generation we find in the genealogical tree of the Mercian kings the characteristic Northumbrian names, bearing witness of a family proud of their gods. Penda's brother Eowa called his two sons Alwih and Osmod. Also the element *æthel*, occurring in one of Penda's own sons, Æthelred, is ancient in Northumberland but is not an unmistakable criterion of that family because of its rather general nature.

Another family of royal climbers whose names still bear witness to the possibility of enriching one's hamingja is that of the Merovingians. Their first historic name is Childeric. This king is most entitled to be regarded the unifier of the Franks. Like Harold Hairfair, the unifier of the realm of Norway, he derived part of his hamingja from a neighboring kingdom. We are told that he sojourned for sometime in Thuringia, with King Bisinus, and that Bisinus's queen followed him home out of admiration for his manhood, and became mother to the next great name in the race, Chlodevech. We know nothing of what this legend may mean; but we may gather its importance from the fact that Childeric's two daughters are called Audeflæda and Alboflæda; just as one elsewhere finds names in *alb* and *aud* which point to Thuringian origin. Later on, Chlodevech allied himself to Theodoric the Great by giving him one of his daughters in marriage. As one historian expressly notes, Chlodevech expected a good deal from this alliance. Therefore, he was not slow to incorporate the great king's hamingja in his family by calling his son Theodoric,—The ensuing generations are characterized by their alliance with the

Burgundian kings. Names in *-gunn-* such as Gunnthram, and in *chrote-* such as Chrotesind are witnesses of the new affinity.—We are not able to know with any certainty what new names that appear in the list, such as Ingomar, Chramn, Charibert may signify as to relationship; very possibly, however, they are revivals in the family tree of rival Frankish houses whose hamingja had been absorbed in the fortunes of the victorious line. These adopted names signify first of all of course relationship, but also an arrogation of hamingja, good fortune. After once having taken into itself as much “soul” of the Burgundians as had the Merovingians one could with good assurance occupy that stranger throne, without danger of one’s fortune proving insufficient in the new land.

Over against these old realists who re-vitalized stranger luck and stranger’s right in their own flesh and blood our weak conceptions of acquisition by marriage and of inherited traits prove altogether insufficient.

Leg og Løfte—Play and Pledge. (Most of Chapter 5, Vol. IV)

There is something else needed in a feast through which men strengthen themselves in their divinity than only sacrifice. After the meal the people rise to play. After having brought their companion to rest (tíl sæde) in his burial mound, and giving him the necessary implements to carry on his new existence, they will, perhaps, engage in foot-races and have the singers recite for them. And, whether now one motivates one’s desire to play by one’s reverence of the gods, or of the dead, or the living, it will all come to the one fact that the sport has the same effect as the banquet indoors,—it is a link, a part of the sacrifice.

We know that all kinds of athletics were befitting the gathering together of men in antiquity. Ball play, horse fights, wrestling, are very frequently mentioned in the sagas; for the simple reason that the blood of the Icelanders frequently became heated at such occasions and the after effects were to be felt for a long time in the district. We have especially good technical descriptions of the horse fights. We are told how the stallions were led forward by the owners, how they raised themselves on their hind legs and bit one another, whilst the owner egged his animal on and supported it with his staff. These fights were regarded as contests of honor. The owner was regarded as intimately one with his fighting horse, so that *its* victory was his, *its* defeat a loss in honor to him; and very frequently the results of the horse fight were tested afterwards by a more than accidental clash between the men. Nothing is said about any connection with worship. Apparently, but only apparently, the fight had become a popular amusement.

The Norwegian horse fights still preserve indications of an original connection with the ritual. These *skei*, as they were called, occurred once a year; in Sætersdalen in August, in Telemarken

on St. Bartholomew, thus plainly belonging to an old religious district feast. First there were horse fights; then came wild races on bare back. And as the saying goes: "when the horses fight well there will be a good year." In this double aspect of the games, both as test of men's fortune, and an assurance of success for the entire district, there lies the probability that this custom embodies a very old rite.

From the point of view of the historian of civilization it is very significant that in the Germanic languages the word for play may also mean sacrifice; it is as characteristic for the rites that the word offers itself also as a kenning for *fight*. "Hild's play" is not the ad hoc invention of a poet but contains a deeper necessity. They played much in those days, and always in earnest; but the roughness was due not only to their heavy hands. The connotation which now preponderates in our use of the word play, which is the abstraction from the realities of life, is in entire contradiction to what was the very soul of play in the olden days. It was to be earnest, or else there was no justification for it. The more doughtily the parties fought, the greater the pleasure they had themselves and also the spectators of the gathering. "Now they have entertained us, let us then entertain the others" said the Iclander, when "they"—i. e., two of the company—had belabored each other so thoroughly that one of them never required to go on the holm again. Once, during his period of outlawry, Grettir saw himself surrounded by grateful people. It was the time he stole down in disguise to the district where the people were assembled, and where he by his strength made the game more than ordinarily interesting. When he left the company they offered him their warm thanks for the entertainment.—The heavenly *Einherjar* who enjoy the happiness of being able to awake each day with the expectation of striking one another dead were created—as all which is perfect in this world—in times when it had become impossible to live life perfectly, whether in poetry or in prose, when one had to concentrate all one's power to realize the ideal; and the ideal of Valhalla betrays by its splendor that the very next chastening of the ideal will take all life out of it;—or, in other words, will cause us to see its aesthetic emptiness as coarseness. But if the *Einherjar* represent the Silver Age it is because they strive to attempt as an ideal what the Golden Age really did; which again affords us a glimpse of the civilization that created them.

When the doors of Valhalla were closed and the church set their seal on them, the *Einherjar* seem to have been turned out over Norway and Sweden and to have taken their bloody ceremonial with them. At any rate, the Scandinavian farmers' ways in their feasts have served during long times as a telling contrast of tastes to our more peaceful civilization. The men of one period celebrate their banquets with the generous use of knives and axes, they take along their shrouds to the feast, in order to reassure

the women, so they will not be disturbed by the thought that they may be compelled to hurry home with their husbands so as to get them ready for burial before they are altogether stiff and cold. They ask after the number of killed, before venturing an opinion on the success of a banquet.—Another race shudders when contemplating an existence where life seems so insecure that every little event threatens it. We are astonished at the equanimity of the farmer who is sowing his fields, all the while aware that his expectations of harvesting the crop himself depend altogether on whether his neighbor celebrated a wedding meanwhile.

There is something Einheri-like about the farmer who triumphantly drives to the banquet with his well-whetted knife at his side. And if we were required to reckon relationship after degree these farmers really would be nearer the *Einherjar* than those Teutons who lived before Othin had got the full number of his host. Peasant culture is as it were a retarded Silver Age, a long drawn out decadence.

The feast was to be an event; that was required formerly. Something to happen. For that reason people flocked about the narrator or singer who was able to let past deeds live again. Now these poor wretches of epic poets have to submit to being called delineators of character, for all they protest their innocence and in their simple way compel us to be satisfied with mere deeds and doers. When we modern readers are most naive and hasten to the end to see what is the outcome, the Ancients hold us back in descriptions of battle, as if to make comprehensible to us that the real enjoyment consists in the experience; when we hunt after ideas and leading thoughts, or after dramatic intensity, they heap all interest on the hero, his courage, his muscular strength, his ingenuity. To *experience* heroic deeds, to experience battles, experience victories, that was the pleasure of the listeners, that was the joy of the feast.

The greatest deed befitting the feast is the pledge. We encounter it in its most imposing form in the arvel, the feast in honor of the departed.

Indeed, nowhere is it as imperative that something should be *done*, for the banquet was the very expression for the rehabilitation of the family honor. The laws make this entirely plain in stating that the arvel is to be the lawful procedure to assure the position of the successor. The term "to inherit" has in it the force of two separate actions: to drink the arvel of somebody and to take up the deceased man's inheritance. From the narrative of the *Jónsvikinga saga* we gather quite unmistakably that the rehabilitation concentrates on the beaker drunk to the memory of the one deceased. In the moment when the bragarfull, or pledge horn, was brought out and the pledge made over it, in that moment happens the decisive turn by which the family again receives a head and the family life again pulsates normally. At the

beginning of the banquet the heir sat on the step before and below the high-seat; but as soon as he has made the pledge and emptied the beaker he was led up to the seat his father had occupied. As the laws have it: "Then was he entitled to inheritance"; or, "then had he come by goods and honor of the deceased, and not before."

This one step, from the footboard to the high seat, presupposes a deep-going change in things: nothing were able to lift the son up from the position on the floor to the seat between the consecrated pillars, if he himself had not performed a deed worthy of him. This deed is expressed in the Old Norse *bragarfull* and in the Anglosaxon *gip*; the former means just beaker of manhood or deed-cup; the latter has reference both to the pledge and the honor and respect the pledge has produced.

Undoubtedly there were idle pledges as well as true pledges. The latter are recognizable chiefly by their being a bodying forth of a past. As soon as the youth had pledged himself not to become *verrfedrungr* or person worse than his fathers, degenerate, he had taken up the fortune of his family and incorporated himself in its fortune. In pledging himself, he began to partake of all the fortunes his ancestors had laid in the drink that filled his beaker; he tasted the fortune of his race to hold great banquets, the fortune of his race to enjoy favorable winds at sea, to be victorious on the battle field; with this pledge he made all their banquets and all their victories his own. He himself was now the incarnation of his race and was regarded as he who had performed its deeds. Without boasting he might follow the example of Torkell Hak who had his ancestor's fight with an ogre carved on the pillars of his high seat and said: *that was I*.

Another point of view:

We who are born of a marriage between modern bourgeoisie and humanism, we cannot go from boxing to lyric poetry without spiritually changing our garments; and the trouble lies neither in our one-sided education nor in a lack of athletics. So soon as one no longer secures a rank in society by one's agility or strength the very possibility for giving athletics an organic place in civilization has disappeared. However great the enthusiasm we feel for a sound mind in a sound body, it will not help any one a whit to understand a man who from tender youth on trains his muscles with the purpose of securing a seat in the pantheon of his people; nor either to understand a man like Eindride who gained confidence in the new faith by seeing King Olaf Tryggvason passing along the oars of a ship in motion or playing with three swords at once. This young chieftain looked at the king when he, after his exploit stepped back on deck again; he looked at him and was silent whilst he searched in the very bottom of his soul to find the certainty that in his own faith there were no gods or angels who would bear up a man in the air. As to the first of the two

men we have but a polite wonder left us, and we betray it in a naive enough fashion by our eagerness to get beauty and other abstract notions into our speech. And as to the latter—? We may be fortunate if the word jugglery does not escape us.

A place by its own right will be won by athletics only in that society where any division line between bodily and mental accomplishments is not known. And there it will never degrade the respect for poetry. Among the Teutons, as among other nations on the same level of civilization, poems and narrative gathered about the trial of strength, as in a place of acknowledged equality. The literature of the Icelanders began with their athletic contests at the feasts, and there was laid the foundation for their mastership in telling of the past. There also was cultivated that art-poetry which finally died of its own ornateness.

In *Béowulf* these forms of life are reproduced in ideal form, at the moment when the victory over the ogre has excited the people to festive jubilation. In the midst of their praises of *Béowulf* as the hero above all others, the horsemen start off on a horse race over the fields, and a king's man who has his mind richly stored with old lore and songs begins to compose a poem of praise, quickly joining word to word, telling of Sigmund the Volsung's wanderings, of his fights with beasts and giants, he who gained glory immortal and robbed the dragon's hoard of gold.

There was honor in hearing songs or tales about oneself or one's family; and this honor was of the same kind as all rehabilitation: it entered the soul and made a man more sound and strong. Egill received new courage to live through composing his *Sonartorek* ("Son's loss") about his last son; he had wanted to die, but now his vital spirits rose once more and he ascended the high seat again. Men were in a very real manner consoled for the departed kinsmen by hearing their praises sung. Thus Volustein's son Egill once came to Gest Olleifsson, a highly respected sage, and asked him whether he knew any counsel to lessen his father's crushing sorrow after Ogmund's death. Thereupon Gest composed the beginning of his *Ogmundsdrapa*.

The importance of gifts, vol. iii, p. 66.

The evening before King *Æthelstan* fought his decisive battle against the Norwegians, near *Brunanburh*,—thus the English historian William of Malmesbury—a stranger harpist had come to the English camp who seated himself by the entrance to the king's tent and played so beautifully that the king commanded him to play to please the company during the meal. After the meal, when the council of war was to be held, the harp player was sent away with a gift; but one of the men, who must have had his own reasons for watching the stranger closely, saw that he concealed the gold in the earth before leaving; and he advised King *Æthelstan* to remove his tent since the guest was none else but *Olaf Sigtrysson* the king of the Norwegians. . . .

Now, of course, William does not comprehend Olaf's motif for doing as he did; he thinks his action must have had as cause the Norwegian king's contempt for the gift. And possibly Olaf himself would have found it somewhat difficult to explain his action; but he undoubtedly felt that, in case he should let the stranger will (i. e. the force inherent in the gift) cling to him he would have to be prepared to have it turn against him, aye even that his own will and insight would betray him so as not only to hinder his progress but also directly to contribute to his ruin. A man like the astute Frank Chlodevech knew well how to make use of the power of inanimate things to bind the souls. He had in all secrecy sent gifts to the Burgundian princess Chrotilde; but when he, later on, officially asked for her hand, he was curtly refused by her uncle. Then the Burgundians exclaimed: Find out, first, whether or no gifts from him have been received secretly, lest he will be given the opportunity to fall upon you; or else you will not be victorious by the justice of your cause, "for terrible is Chlodevech's heathen rage," as the poor chronicler fashions the reply in order to put as much meaning into it as possible.

This distrust of gifts—on account of all they implied—stayed for a long time with the Mediæval mind. In the Danish ballad of Marsk Stig the royal lady-killer by no means speaks veiledly when he addresses the lady: "Here sittest thou, beautiful lady Ingeborg, and if you wilt show me favor, then sew me a shirt and adorn it with red gold." Ingeborg makes answer: "And if I should sew you a shirt and adorn it with gold, then know for sooth, lord king, I should not be true to sir Marsk Stig." If she had done the king's will she would have been more than merely inadvertent, she would have thereby yielded herself altogether to him.—In the Icelandic saga, the woman's reply immediately assumes the malignance of revenge: Early one morning, Kormak rode from his ship and went to find Steingerd. He engaged her in conversation and asked her to sew him a shirt. She answered that he might as well have stayed away; for neither Thorvald, her husband, nor her kinsmen would let such an affront remain unavenged.

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THE POEMS OF JOHN DONNE. Edited from the Old Editions and Numerous Manuscripts, with Introductions and a Commentary, by Herbert J. C. Grierson. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1912. 2 Vols., pp. xxiv and 474, cliii and 275.

Professor Grierson's chapter on Donne in the fourth volume of the *Cambridge History of English Literature* showed a scholarship, an insight, and a sympathy with his subject that augured well for his promised edition of the poet. Probably there is no seventeenth

century poet of equal significance who so much needed the offices of a competent editor as Donne. Of the three editions put forth in the latter part of the nineteenth century, Grosart's, Norton's, and Chambers's, the first two are practically inaccessible to many students, and Grosart's is ill-judged and fantastic beyond even his wont; while Mr. Chambers's edition, though within the reach of all and based upon the early printed editions, which give a better text than the MSS, contains a vexatious number of errors (mostly of pointing, a vital matter in Donne) and of unilluminated *tenebrae* in the text, and in the canon it lacks of course the valuable items that Mr. Gosse was later able to add from his Westmoreland MS. Professor Grierson has given us at last an edition worthy to stand beside Mr. Gosse's admirable *Life and Letters* of Donne.

The task of the editor of Donne's poems is threefold. He must establish (1) the canon, which involves weighing the evidence of a great number of MSS as well as of the early editions; (2) the text, and the interpretation thereof; and (3), so far as may be, the dates of the poems and the personal relations implied in them. I shall give a brief account of Professor Grierson's work under these three heads.

With a few exceptions, of which the two *Anniversaries* are the chief, Donne's poems were not printed until after his death. But many of the best and most characteristic were written more than a quarter of a century earlier, and were widely known. Professor Grierson gives a list of nearly forty MSS more or less worthy of consideration, many of them compiled in the poet's lifetime and many of them practically MS editions of his poetry up to the time of compilation. The first collected edition in print appeared in 1633, two years after Donne's death, and without any indication of the source or authority of the text more definite than 'publique authority and private friends.' The editor, therefore, in establishing the canon of Donne's poetry, must determine the relative weight of the several MSS and of the early prints (1633, 1635, 1650, 1669). Grosart, as Professor Grierson says, 'printed now from one manuscript, now from another,' and 'corrected the errors of the manuscript by one or another of the editions,' but 'made no estimate of the relative value of either manuscripts or editions, nor used them in any systematic fashion.' Norton's edition followed that of 1633 as far as it went, and for additional poems the later prints in which they first appeared. Mr. Chambers made 'an eclectic use of all the seventeenth century editions, supplemented by an occasional reference to one or another of the manuscript collections,' and added an appendix of 'Doubtful Poems' and another of 'Poems Hitherto Uncollected' that might with more or less probability be assigned to Donne. Professor Grierson is the first to undertake a thorough-going classification and evaluation of the MSS and to ascertain the relation of the MSS to the printed editions and the provenience of the latter. The result of these investigations, an essay of nearly

one hundred pages on 'The Text and Canon of Donne's Poems,' is a most valuable addition to our knowledge not only of Donne's poetry, but also of his fame, and of the literary habits of the seventeenth century. It shows how, more than a hundred years after the establishment of the art of printing in England, poetry could be effectively published and widely read without the intervention of print.¹ In regard to the canon this study led to some important changes and to the formation, one may say, of a new and striking if hypothetical personality.

The changes in the canon can most conveniently be given by comparison with Mr. Chambers's edition. As he has an 'Appendix A. Doubtful Poems' and an 'Appendix B. Poems Hitherto Uncollected,' so Professor Grierson has an 'Appendix B. Poems which have been attributed to John Donne in the old editions and the principal MS collections' (his Appendix A is the Latin Poems) and an 'Appendix C. A collection of poems which frequently accompany poems by John Donne in MS collections or have been ascribed to him by modern editors.' Of Mr. Chambers's accepted canon the following are removed from Professor Grierson's: The stanza 'Stay, O sweet, and do not rise,' (Chambers I, 22), which Mr. Chambers himself recognized as probably Dowland's and which Professor Grierson so assigns in his Appendix B; the *Dialogue Between Sir Henry Wotton and Mr. Donne* (Chambers I, 79), which appears in Professor Grierson's Appendix B as *A Dialogue* with the parts assigned to the Earl of Pembroke and Benjamin Rudyer, on the strength both of the 1660 edition of Pembroke and Rudyer's *Poems* and of several MSS; *Elegy XII*, 'Come, Fates, I fear you not' (Chambers I, 125), which Professor Grierson removes to Appendix B and assigns to Sir John Roe; the lines *To Ben Jonson*, 9 Nov., 1603 (Chambers II, 64) and those *To Sir Thomas Roe* (Chambers II, 65), both transferred by Professor Grierson to

¹Incidentally, it prompts the suggestion that we maintain an attitude of caution toward the claim of surreptitious and pirated editions of popular works in those days. Few poets have had greater vogue in their own lifetime than John Donne: his poems circulated in unnumbered MS copies not only among his private friends but among his friends' friends, for more than twenty years; yet they were not printed till after his death. Why? Not, surely, because it was not worth while for some publisher to issue them. They would certainly have been as profitable a venture as the sonnets that T. T. published in 1609. They were not published simply because their author, at first for prudential and afterwards for prudential and religious reasons, preferred that they should not be. The printing of the *Anniversaries* in 1611 and 1612 accords perfectly with this explanation. Those remarkable performances were executed to feed the vanity of Sir Robert Drury, and had not fulfilled their purpose until they were set forth in public print for all the world to see. We may take Donne's word for it, found in two of his letters, that the publication was a thing 'against my own opinion' and one for which 'I . . . do not pardon myself;' and we may safely infer that Drury, just then Donne's chief patron, practically insisted upon their publication. But most of Donne's noble friends preferred the more delicate flattery of a circulation in MS, which accorded with his own tastes and scruples.

Appendix B and assigned to Roe; *Satires VI and VII* (Chambers II, 203 and 205), likewise assigned by Professor Grierson to Roe; the *Elegy on Mistress Boulstred* (Chambers II, 92), which Professor Grierson transfers to Appendix B and assigns tentatively to the Countess of Bedford; the verse-letter *To the Countess of Huntington* (Chambers II, 48), which Professor Grierson, 'for the time being' and with considerable hesitation, also relegates to Appendix B.

Professor Grierson admits to the canon the following items not included by Mr. Chambers: *Love's War* ('Till I have peace with thee, war other men,' printed by Mr. Chambers among the 'Doubtful Poems,' II, 250), which Professor Grierson prints as *Elegy XX*; three *Epigrams* from the Westmoreland MS; the macaronic lines on *Coryat's Crudities* (Chambers Appendix B, II, 290); a verse-letter to *H. W. in Hiber. belligeranti* from the Burley MS; four short verse-letters, three of them to *R. W.* and one to *E. G.*, from the Westmoreland MS (two of them had been published by Mr. Gosse in the *Life and Letters*); and three *Holy Sonnets*, likewise from the Westmoreland MS. Of these additions only the three sonnets which Mr. Gosse had already printed in the *Life and Letters* are of much poetical importance.

Professor Grierson's reasons for assigning such vigorous writing as 'Come, Fates, I fear you not' and the two satires (VI and VII in Chambers) away from Donne are composite, and not easily to be weighed by one who has not given long study to the character of the MSS, the veracity of MS ascriptions, and the fine distinctions of style in the occasional verse of the period. The arguments on which he bases his Roe canon² are briefly these: That the lines to Ben Jonson, 6 January, 1603, are Roe's by Jonson's own account to Drummond of Hawthornden; that this and some of the others, notably *Satire VII*, are signed 'J. R.' or 'By Sir John Roe' in certain trustworthy MSS; that even where they are not so signed they commonly constitute a group in the MSS; and that they 'have a strong family resemblance, and very little resemblance to Donne's work' (II, cxxxii). This last judgment finds support, in regard to *Satire VI* at least, in Mr. Gosse's feeling that the verse is too regular for Donne (*Life and Letters*, I, 43). The new ascription may be more readily accepted for all the others than for the *Elegy* 'Come, Fates, I fear you not,' which in temper, and still more in certain peculiarities of rhythm and verse-rhetoric, seems to me to carry the unmistakable mint-mark of Donne. If all these poems are Roe's, we have to reckon with a new poet of satiric power second only to that of Jonson and of Donne himself, though hitherto so little

² Besides the five pieces mentioned above he assigns to Roe four others, viz.: 'Shall I go force an elegy?' given by Mr. Chambers among the *Doubtful Poems* (II, 260) under the title *To Mrs. Boulstred* and shown by him to be probably Roe's; *To Ben Jonson, 6 Jan. 1603*, listed as Roe's by Mr. Chambers, but not printed, in his Appendix C; 'Dear Love, continue nice and chaste,' similarly listed by Mr. Chambers; and 'True Love finds wit,' which Mr. Chambers prints among the *Doubtful Poems*, II, 272.

known that his discoverer has to construct an identifying biography for him.

The ascription of the Elegy on Mrs. Boulstred ('Death, be not proud') to Lady Bedford, though a second thought on Professor Grierson's part, since in the *Cambridge History of English Literature*, IV, 216, he had explained it as Donne's own answer to his 'Death, I recant,' is clearly a happy one.³ 'Death, be not proud' has little of Donne in it, yet it is just such a piece as a pious lady who was at once Cecilia Boulstred's friend and Donne's admiring patroness might be expected to produce under the stimulus of Donne's elegy on the same theme.

The removal from the canon of the verse-letter *To the Countess of Huntington* (Chambers, II, 48) Professor Grierson himself almost apologizes for. The considerations that led to its removal were that it was first introduced into the text of Donne's poems in the second (1635) edition, along with 'four other spurious poems'; that MSS of the two major groups do not contain it; and that in the two inferior MSS in which it does occur it is headed 'Sir Walter Ashton (or Aston) to the Countesse of Huntingtone.' To these were added, apparently, the difficulty of accommodating the contents of the poem to what Donne says in an undated letter to Goodyere, which has been unfortunately supposed to refer to the Countess of Huntington (Gosse, *Life and Letters*, II, 77). If this letter was written in 1615, and if the first 'countess' spoken of in it is the Countess of Huntington, then there are difficulties in the way of accepting the poem as Donne's. But neither supposition is necessary; indeed, as Professor Grierson later points out in his notes (II, 177), it is rather more likely that the 'countess' in the letter to Goodyere is the Countess of Salisbury, to whom Donne addressed a verse-letter that much better fits what he says to Goodyere. The poem *To the Countess of Huntington* cannot be the verses therein referred to, whether the letter be dated 1605 or 1615. The poem is clearly written from somewhere in the outskirts of civilization, among savages, and therefore, if it is Donne's, must date from the period of his travels, i. e., before 1600. But it is not until that year that Elizabeth Stanley (Countess of Huntington after 1603), through her mother's marriage to Egerton, is likely to have come within Donne's ken; and it is certain that Donne was not in the tropics or in the New World after 1600. The difficulty really is not so much in admitting the poem to be Donne's as in understanding how he could ever have addressed it to Elizabeth Stanley, either before or after she became Countess of Huntington. 'Would Donne,' Professor Grierson asks, 'at any time of his life write to the Countess of Huntington in the vein of' such lines as these?

³ It seems to be approved by Mr. Chambers, *Mod. Lang. Rev.* IX, 271.

Who strives through woman's scorne, women to know,
 Is lost, and seekes his shadow to outgoe;
 It must be sicknesse, after one disdaine,
 Though he be call'd aloud, to looke againe.
 Let others sigh, and grieve; one cunning sleight
 Shall freeze my Love to Christall in a night.

And if not to her, then to whom? For the lines are addressed to some lady who is as far above him as he is above the 'wits mere Atomi,' the half-naked savages he sees about him. It is an extremely puzzling question. One glimpses the possibility of some early amour (for if the poem is Donne's it belongs, as Professor Grierson says, to the time of the *Elegies* and the *Satires*, not to the years of his courtier-like subtle epistles to Mrs. Herbert and Lady Bedford), half passion and half intrigue, half jealous pride and half intellectual exaltation, with some woman of the world above him—perhaps Elizabeth Stanley, more likely another—finding expression in lines which were afterwards allowed to creep about in MS with misleading ascription until, when the 1635 edition was being prepared, some one came forward with the information that they were Donne's and the suggestion that they had been addressed to Lady Huntington in the poet's adventurous youth. But this is a very shadowy possibility. We must apparently leave the poem where Professor Grierson has left it, 'that it may challenge the attention it deserves'; only remarking that not only 'its metaphysical wit and strain of high-flown, rarified compliment' but also its diction and rhythm 'suggest that only he could have written it.'

The text adheres closely to the 1633 edition for the poems that appeared therein. A careful study of the MSS has confirmed for Professor Grierson the general excellence of that print. Only occasionally, when good MSS or the other editions or both point to an inherently likelier reading, does he depart from the 1633 text. In estimating the value of variant reading he acts upon the rules for textual emendation formulated by Moore for his work upon the text of Dante, which Professor Grierson summarizes as follows: '(1) That is the best reading which best explains the erroneous readings (2) Generally speaking, "Difficilior lectio potior," the more difficult reading is the more likely to be the original. This applies forcibly in the case of a subtle and difficult author like Donne (3) Three minor considerations may be added These are (a) the consistency of the reading with sentiments expressed by the author elsewhere (b) The relation of the reading to the probable source of the poet's thought (c) The relation of a reading to historical fact.' Applying rules 3 (a) and (b) he cites frequently in his notes from Donne's *Sermons* and from Augustine and Thomas Aquinas, often with convincing effect. The application of Moore's tests leads him to the conclusion that '1633 is, taken all over, far and away superior to any other single edition, and, I

may add at once, to any *single* manuscript.' The variant readings of the more significant MSS, of the seventeenth century editions, and often of Grosart, Chambers, and Norton are recorded at the foot of the page, and where another reading is preferred to that of 1633 the matter is discussed at length in the notes. In spelling, capitalization, and the use of italics he follows 1633, and also, with certain exceptions generally discussed and defended in the notes, in punctuation. The result of his conservatism in the last particular is a text that much annoys the modern reader, at least at first. Professor Grierson has satisfied himself that there is a certain method and consistency in seventeenth century pointing and that relations of thought and syntax may be indicated by it that cannot be brought out by our modern punctuation. This may be true. Probably no other English poet so taxes the capacity of our pointing system, and there are passages in Donne the meaning of which is certain but which simply cannot be satisfactorily pointed by modern rules. But, on the other hand, there is no poetry that so much needs all the help punctuation can give, that leans so heavily on punctuation for its right understanding; and it hardly seems worth while to have our sense of the logic of punctuation outraged on every page for the sake of occasional passages where this to us illogical pointing may seem—with the help of explanation and paraphrase in the notes—to indicate a little more accurately the relation of the thought. The exceptional punctuation might better be reserved for these passages, which are confessedly beyond the scope of our current system and would in any case need annotation.

Whether or no we approve Professor Grierson's retention of the old punctuation, we must be grateful for his close study of it, which more often than anything else has led him to improvements in the interpretation of Donne. Some of the more noteworthy are:

Sat. II, ll. 14-16. Mr. Chambers, by changing the full stop at the end of l. 16 to a comma, attaches the image of the puppet-show to what follows. Clearly it refers to the dramatist of ll. 11-14. Accordingly, Professor Grierson retains the full stop after l. 16, and changes the full stop of l. 14 to a semicolon.

To the Countess of Bedford (Chambers, II, 17) ll. 1-3. Mr. Chambers, with no mention of variants, prints:

You have refined me, and to worthiest things—
Virtue, art, beauty, fortune. Now I see
Rareness or use, not nature, value brings;

but Professor Grierson prints:

You have refin'd mee, and to worthyest things
(Vertue, Art, Beauty, Fortune,) now I see
Rarenesse, or use, not nature value brings,

pointing out in his notes that the lines, thus construed, strike 'the keynote of the poem. "You have refined and sharpened my judgment, and now I see that the worthiest things owe their value

to rareness or use." ' A study of the whole poem will, I think, convince anyone that this is the right reading. But one is somewhat surprised, after reading in the note that this stanza was 'carefully and correctly printed in the 1633 edition,' to find upon reference to the variants given under the text itself that the marks of parenthesis are after all the present editor's own addition.

To Sir Edward Herbert . . . at the *Siege of Juliers*, l. 36. The phrase 'greater than due' Professor Grierson rightly construes with 'form,' not with 'show.' In order to do so he has to amend the punctuation of all editions down to 1654 inclusive.

The Canonization, ll. 37-45. This is a good example of the way in which Professor Grierson's study of the punctuation has helped his understanding of Donne's intricate sentence-structure. 'Countries, towns, courts' in l. 44 he construes as objects of 'drove,' and 'beg' as imperative, not indicative. The metaphor of the interceding saints, begun with the word 'canonized' in l. 36, is sustained in a fashion 'pedantically accurate' to the end of the poem. And here again he finds it necessary to supplement the pointing of the early editions.

Some other difficulties that previous editors left untouched or unsolved are less convincingly dealt with:

Satire II, ll. 71 ff. This passage, which is unintelligible (and unexplained) in Chambers, is given a meaning by hyphenating 'bearing like'—'Bearing-like Asses'=the patient Catholic gentry whom Coscus hales into court to pay fines for their recusancy. But 'bearing-like' is a preposterously un-English and so far as I know un-Donnian coinage.

Farewell to Love, ll. 21-30. This stanza, unintelligible in earlier editions, is provided with a meaning by changing 'eager, desires' in the last line to 'eagers desire.' But this is unsatisfactory because it is surely the act of love, not human life, that is 'short, And only for a minute made to be.'

To Mr. T. W. (Chambers, II, 32; Professor Grierson, on the strength of certain MSS and the temper of the poem, changes the initials, quite convincingly, to T. W., i. e., Thomas Woodward) ll. 13-16. Supplementing the punctuation of the Westmoreland MS, Professor Grierson prints thus:

But care not for mee: I that ever was
In Natures, and in Fortunes gifts, alas,
(Before thy grace got in the Muses schoole
A monster and a begger) am now a foole.

and explains: 'I, who was ever the Almsman of Nature and Fortune (till thy grace begot me, a monster and a beggar, in the Muses' school), am now a fool.' Apart from the highly questionable meaning assigned to 'gifts'—not convincingly supported by the citation from *N. E. D.*—this destroys the characteristic Donnian antithesis and leaves the bearing of the 'almsman' idea uncertain. Does it mean that he was poor of nature and poor in fortune, or

rich? If the former, there is no sufficient contrast between what precedes 'before' and what follows it; if the latter, 'alas' is misplaced, and the antithesis between being in nature's and in fortune's gifts and being a fool is not apparent. Former editors were almost certainly right in connecting 'nature's' with 'monster' and 'fortune's' with 'beggar.' I would suggest that the 1633 edition (the copies that read 'Before' in line 15, not those that read 'Before by') presents the passage correctly by bracketing 'Alas schoole' and that 'before' here means 'in the presence of,' i. e., 'in comparison with' (cf. *N. E. D. s. v.* 'Before' B. 4 and 12): 'I that hav ever been, in comparison with the graces the Muses have conferred on you, a monster in nature and a beggar in fortune, am now [by his marriage, as Professor Grierson suggests] that third and more wretched thing, a fool.' The brackets of 1633 merely emphasize what would without them be a natural interpretation of the Westmoreland MS reading as given by Professor Grierson:

But care not for mee: I yt ever was
In natures & in fortunes gifts alas
Before thy grace got in the Muses schoole
A monster & a begger, am now a foole.

Epithalamium Made at Lincoln's Inn, third stanza. The principle *difficilior lectio potior* has here, I think, clouded Professor Grierson's judgment. L. 26 he prints thus:

Sonns of these Senators wealths deep oceans,

following 1633 and several good MSS as against 1635-69 and the Westmoreland MS. 'Senators' he takes to be possessive plural, and 'wealths' possessive singular. 'The "frolique Patricians,"' he says in his note, 'are of course not the sons of "these Senators" by birth,' but 'the young noblemen who are accompanying their friend on his wedding day. They are, or are willing to be, the sons, by marriage not by blood, of "these Senators," or rather of their money-bags.' 'The sons of wealthy citizens might grow idle and extravagant; they could not be styled "Patricians."' As sons of senators they could not well be styled anything else by so good a Latinist as Donne. If Donne really meant to use here his favorite play upon the words 'sun' and 'son,' to intimate that the frolic patricians would dry up the senators' oceans of wealth, he had ample warrant for it in the extravagance and social ambition of the sons of wealthy business men in London. But it is doubtful if he had here any such intention. The preceding stanza openly celebrates the bridesmaids in their quality of London heiresses; this stanza as clearly describes the groom's companions, under four heads: first, sons of wealthy citizens; second, courtiers; third, country gentlemen; fourth, students of Lincoln's Inn, of which the bridegroom himself is a member. No doubt the first three are included in the fourth; Donne himself belonged to the first⁴ and fourth, and prob-

⁴ In some degree at least—his father having been a member of the Ironmongers Company, and apparently a man of some means.

ably was already planning to enter the second; but it is no more reasonable to identify the 'patricians' with the 'courtiers' than it would be to identify the 'courtiers' with the 'country men.'

The Curse, l. 3. Professor Grierson is unquestionably right in following here the reading of all the editions down to 1654 inclusive and practically all the MSS, instead of the 1669 reading adopted by Mr. Chambers; but his note contains what I suppose to be a slip. Ll. 3-5 read as follows:

His only, and only his purse
May some dull heart to love dispose
And she yeeld then to all that are his foes;

and his explanatory paraphrase: 'What is to dispose "some dull heart to love" is his *only* purse and *his* alone, no one's but his.' Obviously the meaning is 'his *only* purse and his *purse* only—nothing but his money and all of that.' The poet prays that his enemy may procure a mistress at the cost of all his purse contains and then have her faithless to him with the men he hates.

In the difficult matter of assigning dates and identifying allusions and addresses Professor Grierson is at once painstaking and conservative. His judgments seem to me almost invariably sound, and in two or three instances he has discovered evidence or offers suggestions that clear up serious difficulties. He objects to Mr. Gosse's date for *The Autumnall* (ca. 1625) on the ground that 'Donne would have been startled to hear that in 1625 he had spent any time in such a vain amusement as composing a secular elegy.' Walton's dating is, he acknowledges, 'hopelessly confused,' since he puts the composition of this poem at the time when Mrs. Herbert was at Oxford (not later than 1600), and when Donne was about forty years old (i. e., about 1613). Professor Grierson thinks, however, that Walton was right as to the general period, and striking a balance between the two dates suggests 1607-9, when Donne was at Mitcham and Mrs. Herbert in London, shortly before she married Danvers. For this conclusion he finds support in what he thinks to be an allusion to Donne's poem in Jonson's *Silent Woman*, 1610. The *Satires*, which by the construction of his Roe canon he has reduced to five, he dates from about 1594⁵ to about 1599. *Satire II* he thinks is aimed not at Davies's *Gulling Sonnets* as Grosart imagined but rather at the sonneteer that Davies also parodied, the author of the anonymous *Zepheria*, 1594. The mention in *Satire V* of 'the great Carrick,' which Mr. Chambers relied on for his date of 1602-3, Professor Grierson shows to be rather an allusion to a ship so called that was captured and brought to England in 1592. The fact that the poet is evidently in Egerton's service fixes the date (as Mr. Gosse had observed) earlier than February 1601-2, and his evident enthusiasm for Egerton's work

⁵ The date 1593 in MS Harl. 5110 is not in the same handwriting as the poems.

suggests an early period of his service, probably 1598-9. Most of the Verse-letters he thinks fall between 1596-7 and 1607-8, the remainder (addressed mostly to Donne's group of great court ladies) in 'the next six years.' The *Elegy on the L. C.*, which has commonly been taken as a tribute to Egerton, he gives cogent reasons, drawn chiefly from its position and the way it is headed in certain MSS which can be dated with some confidence, for assigning to an earlier date. He believes it 'was an early and tentative experiment in this kind of poetry.'

Of all the changes of date proposed, that for *La Corona* is the most welcome. No attentive reader of Donne can help feeling a great difference in temper and in technique between *La Corona* and the *Holy Sonnets*; I have long been convinced that they proceeded from different periods in the poet's career; yet since Grosart pointed out that the verse-letter *To E. of D. with six holy Sonnets* was evidently written to accompany a copy of six of the *La Corona* series, and interpreted 'E. of D.' to mean James Hay, Viscount Doncaster from 1618 to 1622, 1618 has been generally accepted as the *terminus a quo* for dating *La Corona*. Professor Grierson shows convincingly that 'E. of D.' is very unlikely to mean Hay; that on the other hand it may with much probability be explained as standing for Richard Sackville, who became Earl of Dorset in February, 1609, and who in the same month married Anne Clifford, first cousin of that Earl of Bedford whose wife Lucy was at this very time Donne's chief patroness; and that the 'holy hymns and sonnets' which Donne sent to Mrs. Herbert on St. Mary Magdalen's day in 1607 were probably the same *La Corona* series. We thus have good external grounds for placing *La Corona* where on internal evidence it unquestionably belongs, in the time of the later verse-letters and before Donne's 'conversion.'

There are a few vexatious errors of cross-reference in the discussion of the Roe canon, II, cxxix-xxx. On p. cxxix, last line but one, for 408 read 418; p. cxxx, l. 14, for 410 read 416; l. 10 from the bottom, for 406 read 412. 'Third' in l. 14 of this page refers to the series 15-16-17 at the top of the preceding page; 'first' in l. 20 refers to the poems as printed in Appendix B. 'Seventh' in l. 21 should be 'sixth' (cf. textual notes, I, 401). 'Some' in l. 6 should apparently be 'one,' since in the textual notes only one MS is adduced as having this poem initialed 'J. R.' On p. xcvi the 1635 edition is said to contain twenty-eight new poems, on p. lxiii to contain twenty-eight or twenty-nine (one piece having been printed twice in different places); but on p. lxiv they are counted as 'fifteen,' 'three or four,' and 'the remaining eleven,' making twenty-nine or thirty. Counting the epitaph 'On Himself' and the accompanying epistle to Lady Bedford as one item, there are in fact twenty-eight new poems in the 1635 edition.

I cannot close this notice without quoting a few sentences from the penetrating, tonic, and corrective essay on 'The Poetry of

Donne' with which the second volume opens. Already in the *Cambridge History of English Literature* Professor Grierson had given the orientation necessary for a right estimate of Donne as a poet—had shown his relation to the great school of the *dolce stil nuovo* on the one hand and to the pagan renaissance on the other, and noted the sharp realism that distinguishes him from the Elizabethan Petrarchists. Here he goes more closely into the problem of the essential poetry of Donne's work, its quality as the expression of a subtle and passionate personality. He sets out with an acknowledgment of Mr. Courthope's 'well-informed and judicious' exposition of the historical significance of Donne's 'wit'⁶—that quality which drew down upon him Dr. Johnson's condemnation in the *Life of Cowley*. But Courthope's criticism 'leaves unexplained and undefined . . . the interest which Donne's poetry still has for us, not as an historical phenomenon, but as poetry'; and it is to this explanation and definition that Professor Grierson addresses himself. After an admirable analysis of Donne's 'wit' in its various manifestations (including a correction of Swinburne's hyperboles about the *Second Anniversary*), he declares that 'if we wish to estimate the poet simply in Donne, we must examine his love-poetry and his religious poetry.' The difficulty here has been that most critics cannot understand how poetry can be 'at once passionate and ingenious, sincere in feeling and witty,—packed with thought, and that subtle and abstract thought, scholastic dialectic.' It is the failure to grasp this fact that vitiates so much of Sir Sidney Lee's otherwise valuable work on the Elizabethan sonneteers. 'Poetry,' Professor Grierson wisely remarks, 'is the language of passion, but the passion which moves the poet must constantly be the delight of making poetry, and very little is sufficient to quicken the imagination to its congenial task. Our soberer minds are apt to think that there must be an actual, particular experience behind every sincere poem. But history refutes the idea of such a simple relation between experience and art. No poet will sing of love convincingly who has never loved, but that experience will suffice him for many and diverse webs of song and drama.' 'Whether we can accept in its entirety the history of Donne's early amours which Mr. Gosse has gathered from the poems or not, there can be no doubt that actual experiences do lie behind these poems as behind Shakespeare's sonnets. In the one case as in the other, to recognize a literary model is not to exclude the probability of a source in actual experience.' '. . . it is not true . . . that the thought and imagery of love-poetry must be of the simple, obvious kind . . . , that any

⁶ In Mr. Courthope's discussion of this matter, he says, 'Gongora and Du Bartas are alike passed over in silence.' The mention of Du Bartas is a quiet rebuke to Sir Sidney Lee's ill-advised attempt in his *French Renaissance in England* to derive the peculiarities of Donne's style from the *Divine Weeks and Works*.

display of dialectical subtlety, any scintillation of wit, must be fatal to the impression of sincerity and feeling, or on the other hand that love is always a beautiful emotion naturally expressing itself in delicate and beautiful language. To some natures love comes as above all things a force quickening the mind, intensifying its purely intellectual energy, opening new vistas of thought abstract and subtle, making the soul "intensely, wonderfully alive." Of such were Donne and Browning. A love-poem like "Come into the Garden, Maud" suspends thought and fills the mind with a succession of picturesque and voluptuous images in harmony with the dominant mood. A poem such as *The Anniversarie* [in *Songs and Sonnets*—not *The Anatomy*] or *The Extasie*, *The Last Ride Together* or *Too Late*, is a record of intense, rapid thinking, expressed in the simplest, most appropriate language—and it is a no whit less natural utterance of passion. Even the abstractness of the thought is no necessary implication of want of feeling. It has been said of St. Augustine "that his most profound thoughts regarding the first and last things arose out of prayer concentration of his whole being in prayer led to the most abstract observation." So it may be with love-poetry—so it was with Dante in the *Vita Nuova*, and so, on a lower scale, and allowing for the time that the passion is a more earthly and sensual one, the thought more capricious and unruly, with Donne. The *Nocturnall upon S. Lucies Day* is not less passionate because that passion finds expression in abstract and subtle thought.' And similarly, after quoting from some of the *Holy Sonnets*, he comments: 'This passionate penitence, this beating as it were against the bars of self in the desire to break through to a fuller apprehension of the mercy and love of God, is the intensely human note of these latest poems.' Donne's poetry, he says, in conclusion, is 'a poetry of an extraordinarily arresting and haunting quality, passionate, thoughtful, and with a deep melody of its own.'

One could wish that Professor Grierson had given us an analysis of this 'melody'—a study of Donne's highly idiosyncratic metric and verse-rhetoric. Probably the subject seemed too technical and would have taken too much space. In every other respect 'The Poetry of Donne' is the best appreciation yet written of the most intense and thought-compelling personality—after Shakespeare, whose *Sonnets* are the only things comparable in poetic subtlety and power with the best of Donne's work—in the English renaissance.

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*FESTSCHRIFT FÜR LORENZ MORSBACH, DARGE-
BRACHT VON FREUNDEN UND SCHÜLERN.* Redi-
giert von F. Holthausen und H. Spies. Halle; Niemeyer.
1913. Pp. v, 722. (Studien zur englischen Philologie,
Heft L).

*ANNIVERSARY PAPERS BY COLLEAGUES AND PUPILS
OF GEORGE LYMAN KITTREDGE.* Presented on the
Completion of his Twenty-fifth Year of Teaching in Harvard
University, June, MCMXIII. Boston; Ginn & Co., 1913.
Pp. vii, 462.

With two such volumes to its credit the year 1913 will be marked with a red letter in the annals of English scholarship. The first volume offers a likeness of Morsbach, the second offers one of Kittredge. Never having seen Morsbach, I can not estimate the resemblance; the face is friendly but a trifle heavy. Kittredge's likeness is better done; yet, to one who knows the original, this counterfeit presentment does not convey an adequate sense of its power and incisiveness.

Placed side by side, the two volumes afford not merely evidences of loyal and zealous scholarship but also a pleasing contrast in aim and method. Of course I know that a memorial volume can never exhibit real method. Each contributor goes his own gait and the volume as a whole merely reflects from many angles the personality of the one commemorated. Nevertheless the Morsbach volume as a whole may be contrasted with the Kittredge; the one is predominantly linguistic, the other is predominantly literary.

To one familiar with *Festschriften* the Morsbach volume offers nothing unusual in its composition. Stress falls upon the historical study of the English language. The *pièce de résistance* is easily Max Förster's "Der Vercelli Codex CXVII," 160 pp. Here for the first time we get a thorough discussion of this famous manuscript, its origin and discovery, its age, its linguistic features, its contents, the text of five of the homilies with notes and a glossary supplementing Napier's "Contributions." In truth, Förster's paper is an exhaustive monograph and should be circulated freely in reprint. No student of Old English can afford to be without it. The entire manuscript, we learn, is to be published in photographic facsimile by Danesi, Via dei Bagni 36, Rome. Björkman, who has done so much for the study of the Scandinavian element in English, offers a study of the *festermen*, "sureties," of Aelfric, Archbishop of York. In a sense, Björkman presents nothing wholly new, but he supplements and corrects at many points the work of George Stephens and Jón Stefánsson. Holthausen's study of the OE Rime Poem is most helpful. Whoever has struggled with this puzzle will be grateful. Only I should not say, with Holthausen, p. 199, note to 45, that MS *feor* for *þeor* is "entstellt." Rather let us regard it as one more specimen of spirant shifting, like *fengel-enþgel*, *sæcel-*

paecel. Cornelius's paper on Place Names in *-wick*, *-wich* has been to me at least a most cheering glimpse into what is after all the great crux of our phonology, palatalization. Concerning Bülbring's investigation of ME metre, a paper almost as long as Förster's on the Vercelli manuscript, I am less enthusiastic. Of all the German investigators of ME metre Luick alone seems to have a true ear for verse-flow. The German school is bent apparently on setting up a rigorous scheme of *Hebung* and *Senkung*, almost as rigorous as the scansion of a Greek tragedy chorus. Every syllable is to be accounted for. Whereas, to my ear, the only possible rendering of ME metre is to admit a very free play of *Hebung* and *Senkung*, a still freer play of inverted and hovering stress, and for the rest a willingness to let the line run *wie es Gott gefällt*. Undoubtedly our mediæval poetasters wrote in that spirit of resignation. Boerner's full, perhaps exhaustive, investigation of the rime-values of long *e* in Robert of Brunne promises to bring us much nearer to the solution of a difficult problem in our phonology. Wildhagen, with wonted thoroughness, elucidates the history of the Roman Psalter in (Old) England and the Northumbrian, Mercian, West Saxon glosses. The paper is at once a guide and an inspiration. To discuss Deutschbein's brief remarks on Beowulf would lead us too far into the misty land of Anglo-Scandinavian tradition.

Passing to the literary contributions, I would note Hecht's study of R. L. Stevenson's "Deacon Brodie." Even to those who know and love their Robert Louis this study will be welcome as evidence of their favorite's naturalization in the Fatherland. Hecht has caught the spirit of his author. By the way, p. 203, "thieves' ken" must be a misprint for "thieves' den." Mühe's treatment of Love in Thackeray is correct enough but does not add much to our knowledge of the novelist. Hoops offers a *Kultur-historische* study of Virginia in the colonial period. The paper is historical rather than literary, and evinces wide reading. Yet the author is not quite up to the task of handling American history. Apart from his failure to note, in his remarks upon tobacco-planting, the evil effect of the plant in exhausting the soil, we note with amazement, p. 506. the following:

"Unter den puritanischen Geistlichen, die an der Gründung der Neu England-Staaten hervorragenden Anteil hatten, begegnet man einer Reihe gelehrter, fein gebildeter und weitsichtiger Männer, wie John Cotton, die Mathers, Roger Williams, William Penn u. a."

What, in the name of American liberty, had William Penn to do with the founding of New England? Anyhow, the paper is haunted throughout by the old Cavalier-Puritan *Spuk*. Every German historian should exorcise the *Spuk* once for all and recognize in the American colonies, both before and after the Revolution, an extraordinary *mixtum compositum*. There were the Dutch along the Hudson, the Germans along the Mohawk, the Swedes along the Delaware, the Roman Catholics of Maryland, the Scotch

Highlanders of North Carolina, the Huguenots of South Carolina. The one great marvel of our Revolution was the coöperation of such heterogeneous elements. Spies labors to prove that Chaucer was fundamentally religious and that the "Parson's Tale" is a genuine work of Chaucer's. No one will deny that Chaucer must have had some religion in his make-up. But was it not of the most tolerant, easy-going sort, with a shrug and a sigh and a smile at the weaknesses of man? That the author of "Troilus and Cressida" could have penned the "Parson's Tale" as we have it looks like a psychological impossibility. What has become of Chaucer's innate *esprit* and *Schalkheit*? Manly, in his "What is the Parliament of Fowles," is a Chaucerian of another temper, practical, keen, daring. His paper is a bomb, like that hurled at the conventional expounders of "Piers Plowman." He rejects all connection between the "Parlement" and the wooing of Anne of Bohemia by Richard II and rates the poem as a mere conventional love-vision, a Valentine poem. Much ink will be shed, of course, over this novel interpretation. It has, I admit, my sympathy. But I am not going to fight in Manly's behalf; he is abundantly able to take care of himself.

In the matter of typography, I would ask why the pages of the volume are without running titles.

The Kittredge volume is not easy to review. The difficulty is due for the most part to the structure of the book, which is emphatically a collection of short articles. There are 45 papers in 456 pages; only two papers are fifteen pages in length. The general effect of the volume is that of fragmentariness; the individual writer is not able to discuss his topic thoroughly, the reader is hurried from topic to topic. Doubtless the general editors, wishing to include the greatest possible number of Kittredge's pupils and friends, set very narrow limits. Yet this very "hustle and bustle" is fresh evidence of Kittredge's many-sidedness. Occasionally a paper such as Noyes's on "The Essential Elements in Tolstoy's Ethical System" looks remote from Kittredge's personality; but the volume as a whole is—to coin a word—distinctively Kittredgian; it is also Harvardian. Many of the writers are members of the Harvard faculty; even those who write from the far Pacific, for example W. M. Hart, wear their pedigree on their foreheads. And an honorable pedigree it is, all the more noteworthy for its newness. We are not to forget that this volume commemorates the twenty-five years of Kittredge's professorship. Before 1888 there was no well-organized graduate department of English in Harvard. True, there were a few workers, notably the one to whom we all look up with veneration, Francis J. Child. The start was already made, but it remained for Kittredge to formulate aim and method and supply the driving force.

What, then, is the Harvard school? To sum it up in a phrase is quite impossible. I can only describe it loosely as a school of

comparative literature; primarily of mediæval literature, secondarily of modern. It is not a school of linguistics. In all these 456 pages there is not one which demonstrates that the writer is fundamentally interested in the problems of English phonology and morphology.*

This, it seems to me, is the fairest estimate of the school. It "concretizes" what we all knew or suspected privately, namely, that the Harvard school, with Kittredge at the head, is *facile princeps* in the study of our literature. But for the study of our language it is not the equal of the Johns Hopkins, Chicago, Yale, or —*absit oratio pro domo*—Cornell.

Thus we are dealing with excellence of a very high order, but with excellence limited, restricted. To call it one-sided would be harsh and unjust.

In its literary studies the Harvard school aims to get at the bottom of things, to explain relations, to trace an author in his borrowings, to lay bare the influences under which he wrote. To mere æsthetic evaluation Kittredge and his disciples turn a deaf ear.

For all this we Americans should be deeply thankful. We live in a land where everybody wishes to know *what* to think. There are reviewers and even professors who groan over "philology," who clamor for courses in æsthetics, who recognize only soul-values and denounce every thing that is dry and hard. It is well, then, that our oldest university should bend its efforts to teaching its students *how* to think, how to explore and verify and discover.

One example will suffice for illustration. The Prologue to the Canterbury Tales has always been admired as an exhibition of Chaucer at his best. The bringing together of this motley troop bent on a pious pilgrimage, the part played by Harry Bailey, in fact the whole framework has been valued as purely English, as distinctively Chaucerian. Is it? A few critics have tried to establish an analogue in the Decameron, but the resemblance is too far-fetched. Now, however, Karl Young, pp. 405-417, points out several striking resemblances between the Prologue and the *Novelle* of Sercambini, some ten years earlier. In these *Novelle* we find a motley assembly forgathered in the church of Santa Maria, Lucca, for a pilgrimage to Pisa, Naples, Genoa and many other places. One of the number, Aluisi, proposes that they choose a director, *proposto*, whereupon they choose Aluisi himself. Like Harry Bailey, Aluisi calls upon his companions for stories by the way. I am not giving even the briefest résumé of Young's paper, I merely touch upon the most salient points. But even these are enough to warrant the inference that Chaucer got more than a hint from Sercambini. Will our admiration of Chaucer be diminished thereby? Scarcely. We admire Shakespeare none the less for our

*Possibly Carleton Brown's "Caiaphas" may be admitted as an exception. But it is a very minor exception.

knowing that his *Merchant of Venice* is a genial amalgamation of three mediæval stories.

One other feature of the volume is worth noting, namely, the number of papers on Celtic themes; there are no less than four. In examining Maynadier's "Merlin and Ambrosius," which is very readable, I observe that he does not mention the Irish Book of Nennius. True, this translation, as a whole, is quite late, of the fourteenth or fifteenth century. One fragment, however, printed by Todd in his Preface, is found also in the *Lebor na h'Uidhre*, an Irish manuscript compiled about 1100 A.D. but containing material much older, and this fragment gives the story of Ambrose and the dragons. The Irish version can scarcely be much later than our Latin Nennius.

In the line of minor criticism, I would say that a little training in the history of English sounds would have saved Copeland, p. 59, from characterizing Johnson's *poonsh*, for *punch*, as "Lichfield accent." Lawrence, in his "Breca Episode," p. 366, cites Müllenhoff's *bauni* "whale," as if the word were an actuality; its existence is still to be proved. Greenough calls Nicholas Breton a "quadrumaniac" because of his "strange passion for arranging his ideas in sets of four," p. 354. The term *quadrumana* for animals with four hands is common English. But *quadrumaniac*, a maniac in terms of four? Perhaps the term may become current; certainly I will not denounce it. Rather let me hope that Greenough may coin a similar term for those writers, distressingly common, who arrange their ideas in sets of three.

The five pages of Bibliography, pp. 457-462, give one a quickened sense of Kittredge's versatility. It is to be regretted that the Morsbach volume has not a similar bibliography.

To all friends of scholarly work the *Nation* review, September 11, 1913, must have come as a shock. The review is flippant, petulant and shallow. The reviewer begins by depicting an imaginary Kittredge sitting down to the volume and digesting the forty-five papers and ticketing each with its exact value; all between curfew and cockcrow! Such style is nothing if not "smart"; it may be available for discussing Bernard Shaw or George Moore, but sounds vulgar when applied to sober scholarship. When the reviewer professes inability to recall anyone who is indebted to Kittredge for a love of good literature, he is visualizing a Kittredge of his own creation. A Harvard graduate is made to admit that his chief gain from the Harvard seminars was "to verify my references and to transcribe quoted passages with punctilious accuracy." Probably the young man learned a good deal more than this modicum; but even the modicum was in itself worth striving for. We who have taught know how hard, how well-nigh impossible, it is to bring even our best students up to the sticking point of scrupulous accuracy. A little of Kittredge training both in and out of university would have spared the world many an atrocious blunder. Thus Richard

Garnett, in his *Life of Carlyle*, p. 69, introduces the following quotation [!] from *Faust*:

Ich sitz' an die säuselnde Webstuhl der Zeit
Und wirke des Gottes lebendiges Kleid.

Even the *Nation*, in its review of "Pickett and his Men," August 21, 1913, murdered a famous line in Wordsworth and thereby murdered also the review itself. The poet wrote:

Whom neither shape of danger can dismay
Nor thought of tender happiness betray.

Whereas the reviewer makes it "*sinful* happiness"! Poor Pickett must have turned in his grave.

When Kittredge's critic writes glibly of "philologist," "linguistic science," "the present sterilizing divorce of philology from general ideas," he makes one feel that he knows nothing of philology or linguistic science or general ideas; in modern philology and linguistic science there are many general ideas which he would be quite unable to grasp. In general, the *Nation* reviewer is a man who wishes Kittredge to be something different, something more like himself, ready to sacrifice fact to style.

Were the *Nation* an ordinary periodical, one might ignore its aberration. But in its rôle of universal arbiter it should measure out justice. We have a right to demand of it philosophic moderation. We grow weary of this persistent sneering at the Ph.D., at research, we yearn for less of platitudinous "culture."

J. M. HART.

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MOLIÈRE EN ANGLETERRE 1660-1670, par J. E. Gillet;
Paris: Honoré Champion, 1913; pp. 240.

This reprint from the publications of the Royal Academy of Belgium adds to the long series of treatises on Molière's influence upon English comedy a contribution that has little of novelty, but is amply justified by its consistent scholarly attitude and the finality of treatment given to its limited field. It invites comparison with the recent work of Dr. D. H. Miles, *The Influence of Molière on Restoration Comedy*, although the two studies are essentially different in their angle of approach, the extent of the material considered, and the type of reading public to which they are directed. The later book might better have antedated the other, as its author suggests: "Il fallait étudier Molière en Angleterre avant d'étudier l'Angleterre sous l'influence de Molière." It makes no pretense to other than a severely technical interest, avoids large generalizations, and keeps strictly to its ideals of accuracy and completeness within its prescribed limits.

In a subject upon which so much scholarly research has been expended, the student is naturally first concerned with the history

and results of that scholarship. Mr. Miles, frankly dependent upon the labors of his predecessors and willing enough to acknowledge obligations, was criticised somewhat for his failure to indicate in any systematic way the genesis of this phase of Molière investigation. M. Gillet, in addition to the carefully compiled lists of primary and secondary sources in his appendix, devotes ten pages of introduction to an analysis of preliminary work on the subject, and then discards the secondary sources altogether, giving his entire attention to a first-hand study of twelve English plays in the first decade after the Restoration, more or less clearly marked by the influence of Molière.

Of M. Gillet's elaborate presentation of detail there can be only unqualified commendation. It is certainly adequate; frequently more than adequate. Every assumption of parallelism in the body of the book is substantiated in the fifty pages of parallel texts found in the appendix. Matters of biography, stage history, and critical comment are presented in the same thoroughgoing fashion, even when their connection with the immediate problem is not particularly apparent. It is difficult, for example, to explain the advisability of outlining, for each play discussed, all available critical dicta from Dryden and Pepys to Professor Gosse and the *Dictionary of National Biography*. The attention of a reviewer may be directed more profitably to certain generalizations on which there is considerable current controversy, with the two latest "Molierists" by no means in agreement.

Mr. Miles maintained, with a somewhat unfortunate display of evidence, the conventional theory of a distinct gulf—moral, social, and literary—between the Restoration court and the populace. The playhouse audience he considered homogeneous, but only because this populace had no representation in it. The European author denies this emphatically (p. 16), insisting that the king understood his people and maintained himself in their good will despite all his excesses; and that the populace of the city was corrupt only in a less degree than the court. Although he feels compelled at once to qualify these statements with a group of possible exceptions, his position is only strengthened in the process, for every addition to our knowledge of the Restoration public increases the impression of its complexity and removes it farther from the possibilities of categorical treatment. Pepys has testified frequently enough to the popularity of playhouses among the citizens, and the emulation of courtly excesses by gay young clerks. The variety of Elizabethan plays revived, and the various things perpetrated upon them in these revivals, as well as the diversity of critical opinions expressed in the period, serve to indicate that Restoration England, moved by the curiosity which M. Gillet notes as her really dominating characteristic, was all things to all men until such a time as fixed national traits could once more assert themselves.

The national literary tradition, though, had not been broken. On this point both our authors seem to have been unnecessarily strict, in their zeal for the French influence which was their chief concern.¹ M. Gillet takes particular pains to confine this national tradition to the humor comedies of Jonson, whom he recognizes as dividing with Molière the formative responsibility for later English comedy. It is difficult, however, to improve upon the soundness of Professor Nettleton's position, several times reiterated in his recent *English Drama of the Restoration and Eighteenth Century*: "Blurred and imperfect as was the Restoration vision, it was never blind to Elizabethan achievement. The interregnum had weakened, but not broken, the continuous chain of English drama" (p. 36).

According to Mr. Miles (p. 61f.), "the two men who introduced the influence of Molière into Restoration comedy were Sir George Etherege and William Wycherley." M. Gillet allows full credit to Etherege, as an initiator if not as a permanent source of influence. Wycherley, whose first contribution falls out of his period anyhow, he disposes of summarily. He "appartient notoirement à un groupe autre que celui des *importateurs*" (p. 10); the really significant figure in grafting the delicate human sympathies of Molière upon the traditional abnormalities of Jonson was Thomas Shadwell, whose *Sullen Lovers* was first acted in the spring of 1668.

"La première pièce de Shadwell fut reçue avec bienveillance, mais la vogue de l'auteur ne fit que croître dès ce moment, en même temps que se reformait la conscience nationale. Sans Shadwell le mouvement moliériste eût probablement cessé en même temps que l'engouement pour la France. Heureusement le disciple de Ben Jonson sut incorporer à l'œuvre de Molière un élément de la tradition indigène. On ne reconnut pas Alceste et Oronte, Philinte et Panchrace sous leurs habits anglais et on les accueillit comme des compatriotes" (p. 80).

While the interpretation of Restoration comedy as the resultant of two forces—the native influence of Jonson and the foreign one from Molière—has in it nothing of novelty, M. Gillet gives a new turn to the conception through this significance attributed to Shadwell. His treatment is as convincing here as in the more mechanical portions of the book, and leaves one with the feeling that the slight construction he has attempted for his large accumulation of fact is as reliable as it is cautious.

After all, however, it is not as critic or interpreter, but as a research scholar, that M. Gillet has approached his carefully defined task, and the results of his investigation are presented with a clearness and completeness that leave little to be desired.

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¹ Miles, p. 59: "This spirit of reaction, furthered by a genuine liking for French taste, was in the drama tempered by the force of no strong national literary tradition." But cf. p. 220: "It may be admitted at once that the

LITERARY INFLUENCES IN COLONIAL NEWSPAPERS, 1704-1750. By Elizabeth Christine Cook, Ph. D. Pp. xi + 279. New York: Columbia University Press, 1912.

Dr. Cook's monograph continues the well-known series of "Studies in English and Comparative Literature" from Columbia University. Her work was done under the special direction of Professor William P. Trent, whose guiding hand is evident on many of its pages. However, the research involved could not have been completed at any one institution or in one city. The author has labored long and profitably over rare newspaper files in Boston, Philadelphia, Charleston, and other cities, obtaining thereby a wider knowledge of the entire subject than is ordinarily met with. As a result her work not only gains in authority, but is full of human interest in that it touches what is largely a virgin field. The limitations of the study can in no wise be attributed to narrowness of vision, but rather to lack of intensity. It will probably suggest more questions than it answers, and as pioneer work many of the conclusions reached on minor matters cannot be regarded as final.

Proceeding on the justifiable assumption that men of letters did not exist in the American colonies during the first half of the eighteenth century, and that such literature as was produced by ecclesiastics or by practical men of affairs has already been examined by the historians, Dr. Cook has delved into a new channel for marks of literary influence. In a few colonial centers, such as Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Annapolis, Williamsburg, and Charleston, were published, particularly in the second quarter of the eighteenth century, certain small, ill-printed weekly newspapers whose contents were often of more than ephemeral interest. The very fact that these journals faced extreme difficulty in gathering colonial or foreign news until the matter was months old, practically forced the editors to provide their readers with other forms of literary entertainment. Some of them reprinted articles from English encyclopædias, others contained moral instruction in one form or another, but many of them fell into the habit of presenting anew essays and poems by Addison, Steele, Pope, and Swift; whole plays were sometimes reprinted; Latin verses were translated not infrequently; and then more versatile geniuses fell to imitating the work of Addison and Pope in brief essays or verses particularly adapted to local situations. To describe typical literary efforts and to analyze typical literary influences in these newspapers, is the task set for herself by Miss Cook.

Restoration would have produced a comedy not much different from the actual product, even had Molière never lived."

Gillet, p. 17: "Ensuite, la tradition littéraire s'était moins bien conservée à la Cour que dans le peuple."

Ibid., p. 136: "Je crois que tels critiques, qui attribuent à Fletcher et à Shirley le mérite d'avoir rendu possible la transition du théâtre élizabéthan à celui de la Restauration, se trompent grossièrement."

The bare story of the newspapers' struggles for existence is no dull tale. Benjamin Franklin and his brother, as might be expected, play a large part in this act; but realizing that Franklin's essays have already been studied in detail, Dr. Cook passes over them lightly to show that Franklin's zeal for Addison was shared by his contemporaries, and that in both matter and form his imitations of *The Spectator* closely resemble similar essays found in other colonial newspapers. Even in combining the offices of postmaster and printer, Franklin was but following precedent. John Campbell, proprietor of *The Boston News-Letter* from 1704 on, was postmaster and bookseller; and as soon as he gave up the postoffice to William Brooker, the latter set up a rival journal, *The Boston Gazette*, printed by James Franklin. After forty numbers the *Gazette* passed into the hands of a new postmaster, James Musgrave, who would not employ Franklin to print it. Then it was that the elder Franklin began publishing *The New England Courant*, whose staff soon earned the distinctive appellation of "The Hell-Fire Club."

This name, of course, was due to Franklin's somewhat unorthodox views on religious subjects, and the irreverent attitude assumed by him toward conservative ecclesiastical leaders. The next newspaper to be founded, *The New England Weekly Journal*, beginning in 1727, was in a sense the organ of this ecclesiastical party, attracting to it such men as Mather Byles and Thomas Prince, both of them Harvard graduates and pronounced theologians. Meanwhile Benjamin Franklin had journeyed to Philadelphia, where in 1729 he began contributing to Andrew Bradford's *American Mercury* a series of essays entitled, "The Busy-Body," and modeled after *The Spectator*. Shortly afterwards he purchased a competing journal, rechristened it *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, and made it a bitter rival of *The Mercury*. A similar competition went on in New York between William Bradford's *New York Gazette* and John Peter Zenger's more democratic *New York Weekly Journal*, the editor of which was finally tried for libel and triumphantly acquitted. William Parks, of whom little is known, founded in 1727 *The Maryland Gazette*, and later *The Virginia Gazette*, while a partner of Benjamin Franklin established *The South Carolina Gazette* in 1732.

But in the history of the making and the unmaking of newspapers Dr. Cook is not primarily interested. What she brings out in each case is the prevailing admiration for Addison and Steele, and the constant citation of their names as sufficient to put an end to all further controversy; the excuses offered for reprinting whole numbers of *The Spectator*, *The Tatler*, or *The Guardian*; the similar acknowledgment of Pope and Gay's authority in verse-making, with close imitations of all these authors as occasion serves. To one who imagines that contemporary English literature had little influence on the early colonists, it is disconcerting to find so universal a custom of begging "leave to publish my Dislike of [calumny]

in the words of that great and good man, Mr. Addison." This is not all. Advertisements from these newspapers show frequent performances of Addison's *Cato*, and plays by Congreve, Farquhar, and Lillo, at least, in the theatres of Williamsburg and Charleston. Other advertisements throw light on the reading of these early Americans. Books of devotion are somewhat more prominent than secular volumes, but the works of Locke, Milton, Dryden, Voltaire, Pope, Gay, Addison, and Steele abound.

To the least known of all these newspapers, *The South Carolina Gazette*, one may pardonably devote special attention. Of this journal from its foundation in 1732 to its death in 1801, the Charleston Library Society possesses a practically unbroken file; but because few copies are found in the larger American libraries, the periodical has never been adequately examined. Dr. Cook's concluding chapter of some thirty-five pages is given over to this subject, showing the *Gazette's* inheritance from Franklin at its very foundation; its continuous reprinting of *The Spectator*, and constant imitation of Addison in essays and letters, even to an account of the "Meddlers' Club," to which Sir Roger might have belonged; some gentle satire on the local custom, existing to the present day, of strolling on "the Bay" or "the Battery" in the evening; numerous notices of Charleston play-houses and early performances therein; advertisements of the booksellers; and finally some illuminating comment on the essays and poems written for and against the Reverend George Whitefield.

In discussing Charleston theatres Dr. Cook falls into several more or less serious errors due to the absence of sufficient perspective. For example, on pp. 244-245, runs the sentence: "Charleston had its theatrical season as a matter of course, and plays were given in two theaters, the Dock Street Theater and the Queen Street Theater, as well as occasionally in the Court Room." Now a closer examination of these notices would have shown that the Court Room performances noted—five, altogether—occur during the months of January, February, and March, 1734-5; that a prologue from which Dr. Cook quotes at length, belongs to the first play recorded in Charleston and so intimates; that only twice—both times in connection with this play on February 12, 1735-6—is the "New Theater in Dock Street" mentioned, while immediately and ever afterwards we find advertised "the New Theater in Queen Street"; and finally examination of other local records would have quickly proved that Dock Street and Queen Street are one and the same. That is to say, the earliest recorded plays were acted in "the Court Room" for a few weeks during the winter of 1734-5; the very next year a permanent theater was built on Queen Street, and there all the other performances took place.

Again Dr. Cook, quoting from an "occasional epilogue" certain words concerning "pale Ghosts arising slow", infers, p. 247, that *Hamlet* was then "often acted in Charleston." If so, it antedates the

first known American performance of a Shakespearian play by at least fifteen years. Careful study of these lines will convince even Dr. Cook that the poet intends them for prophecy, not history, and prophecy distinctly conditioned on what "haply your continu'd smiles produce."¹ A more positive error occurs on p. 248, where Miss Cook states, "Only the last performance of *The London Merchant* is announced in the *Gazette*," and then quotes an advertisement from the issue of March 13, 1735-6. But in the *Gazette* for March 6, 1735-6 is advertised an earlier performance of *The London Merchant* for "TUESDAY next," i. e., March 9. One more mistake, and that a slight one, occurs in the list of books copied on p. 252 from an advertisement, where not only Bradley's *Botanical Dictionary* but also a "*Dictionaricum Botanical 2 V.*," should have been included. Each one of these slips may be set down to the wide extent of the acreage which Dr. Cook has attempted to plough, and probably, also, to shortened hours of labor in Charleston. The want of complete accuracy, however, is an invitation to other scholars to try the tillage in the same borders.

The volume is written in a clear, easy style, is provided with a full index and bibliographies, and bears evidence of much careful scholarship. Its general conclusions are established beyond cavil.

ROBERT ADGER LAW.

University of Texas.

¹ For further discussion of this and similar points see *The Nation* (New York), Vol. xcvi, pp. 463-464 (April 23, 1914); and Vol. xcix, pp. 278-279 (September 3, 1914).

NOTES

In the thirty-sixth volume of Hoop's *Anglistische Forschungen* Professor John Koch has published a detailed comparison of the eight manuscripts of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* which have been completely printed by the Chaucer Society. The expense attending the publication of Professor Koch's work has necessitated the omission from it of "all details of minor importance," the introduction of "a number of abbreviations," and the substitution of "frequent references instead of giving in full the passage in question." In spite of these abridgments the book contains 422 pages, only nine of which are used by the Introduction.

The manuscripts, in accordance with Koch's previous researches fall, into two groups, designated the A-Type and the B-Type. In the former are notably the Ellesmere, Hengwit, Cambridge Gg. and Cambridge Dd.; in the second, apart from the codices from which only extracts have been printed, the Corpus Christi, the Petworth, the Lansdowne, and Harleian 7334. In his classification Koch has disregarded "the subdivisions into which the MSS. of each of the two Types, according to the 'Specimens, etc.,' ought to be classed, because only part of the codices come here into consideration." For instance, he includes Petworth with Corpus and Lansdowne in his *Cogr* group. That work of the kind undertaken by Koch requires something more than accuracy in tabulation will appear in his declaration of principles. He reminds us that if all sorts of variants in the manuscripts under consideration had been noted his book would have swelled "into enormous dimensions." Accordingly he has as a rule "neglected mere differences in spelling or dialect," carefully registering, however, all cases which he believed to be "relevant for the decision whether there exists a closer or remoter connection of certain MSS. with each other." He has registered also minor details, orthographic peculiarities, which seemed to be characteristic of some of them"; and "side-notes, glosses, headings, and colophons have occasionally been mentioned."

Of the two types distinguished by Koch, A is characterized as being by far the better. "To explain the many deviations of the B-Type from the other, we must assume that its common original was a badly and carelessly written MS., and that its later copyists, not understanding or misreading certain passages, thought themselves obliged to alter them, so that they might give at least some sense, or to fill up gaps by lines of their own—often poor enough—invention." Among other conclusions to which Professor Koch's study of the MSS. has led, we may note the following:- 1. Not one of the eight leading MSS. can be the direct source of the other. 2. Ellesmere, though not faultless, contains the best text of all, being the most complete, and representing very nearly the poet's language. 3. Not one scribe understands exactly the poet's metrical rules, though some of them may now and then have tried to restore defective verses. 4. Not one of the MSS. treated here is the poet's original or directly connected with it, as there are some passages in which all known texts are evidently wrong. 5. The supposition of some scholars that the single Fragments may have circulated before the (relative) completion of the whole poem is not borne out by the appearance of the MSS.

* * * * *

Students of ballad poetry are under great obligation to the late Professor Jewett for her admirable *Folk-Ballads of Southern Europe, Translated into English Verse* (Putnam, 1913). We have here represented many dialects: Roumanian, Gascon, Piedmontese, Catalan, etc., and the editor has in each case printed—what the title of her book does not clearly indicate—the text of the originals. The translations are, of course, not mere rule of thumb renderings. That for Miss Jewett was happily impossible. Her Introduction and her Notes, though in each case brief, will be of special service to those who wish to compare the English and Scottish ballads with those of Southern origin.

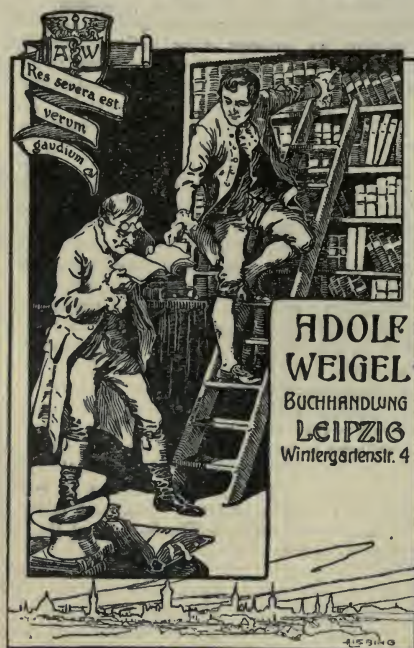
Volume I, Part II, Number 2 of the *Washington University Studies* contains nine articles, five of which may be specifically denominated literary. These are George Reeves Throop's *The Lives and Verse of Roman Erotic Writers*, Max Diez's *Über die Naturschilderung in dem Romanen Sealsfields*, Garnett Gladwin Sedgewick's *A Note on Some Critics of Wordsworth, 1798-1820*, Clinton Joseph Masseck's *Richard Jefferies: An Attempt at an Estimate*, and Rudolf Rieder's *Stilistische Untersuchungen zur Kapuzinerpredigt in Schiller's Wallensteins Lager*. Only the last of these is at all technical, the others being thoroughly readable essays. To the list might be added Winthrop Holt Chevery's *The Ecclesiastical Element in the Romanic Language: A Study in Semantic*.

* * * * *

For the Pitt Press Series, Miss Lilian Winstanley has edited the second book of the *Faerie Queene* (Cambridge: at the University Press, 1914). The editor in her more than sixty pages of introduction sets forth in considerable detail general and special influences. In what she has to say of Spenser's *Puritanism* we find no mention of the work of Professor Padelford, who has dealt with this subject in several important articles. Under the heading *Literary Sources of Book II* she distinguishes Mediæval, Classical, and Italian influences, and furnishes many parallel passages. The editor lays special claim to originality in the essay on Spenser and Aristotle, which constitutes section four of her Introduction. Here she takes issue with Mr. Jusserand (*Modern Philology* 1906) in evaluating the direct Aristotelian influences upon Spenser's twelve moral virtues. For instance, "Spenser's Holiness really does correspond to *ἀνδρεία*, though in the Platonic rather than the Aristotelian sense of the term." Besides its Introduction, the volume is provided with a considerable body of notes. In her preface the editor expresses her indebtedness to the Modern Language Association of America and especially to the essays of Professor Dodge and Professor Buck that have been published by the Association. She has also "freely employed" Miss C. A. Harper's *The Sources of the British Chronicle History in Spenser's Faerie Queene*.

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ADOLF WEIGEL

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN GROUPSTRESS IN GERMAN AND ENGLISH II.*

Just as a number of syllables may by a strong accent be bound together in a higher unit called a word, a number of words may by a strong accent be bound together in a higher unit called a group. Such accents are more or less mechanical in their nature and merely serve to mark the identity of the different words and groups. These accents are vital to the thought, for if they are arbitrarily misplaced the thought is at once impaired.

The oldest form of a Germanic group known to us is found in old compounds and groupwords as already explained in the first part of this treatise. The stress was invariably upon the first member of the group. The first member is invariably the grammatically dependent member and, though uninflected, indicates all the varied syntactical relations that are later more clearly expressed by inflectional forms: (subject) "*fótswýle*" *swelling of the foot*; (object) "*fótþwéal*" *washing the feet*; (adverb) "*níwtýrwed*" *freshly tarred*; (prepositional phrase) "*heáfodbeðrht*" *bright as to his head*; "*heáfodwund*" *wound in the head*; "*flétsittend*" *sitting in the hall*; etc. Some such device as this fixed wordorder with the dependent member in the first place was absolutely necessary to indicate the grammatical relations. Perhaps the oldest Germanic wordorder, which requires the verb at the end with all its modifiers before it, is a survival of this oldest order of things. As the stress in all the old groups given above is quite uniformly on the first syllable and the dependent word always has the first place the stress and the wordorder must be more or less mechanical. When for logical reasons it was desired to emphasize some other member than the first the stress was probably placed on the emphatic member, as is found in many simple modern forms of expression that have come down to our day: *dóorknòb*, *doórlòck*, but *the doòrknòb*, not *the doòrlòck*.

The remarkable thing about mechanical groupstress is that in the following centuries it did not, in general, shift from the word on which it originally rested. Later when the modern group required the stress to rest upon the last member the word that

* The first part of this article appeared in vol. XIII, pp. 493-498.

was originally in the first place and was stressed simply moved to the last place retaining its original strong stress: (Old English) *hærlôcc*, now *lôck of haîr*. This simple principle will help us in studying the development of modern groups.

While the old groups were fairly well understood without the inflection of the first member the rise of inflectional forms often prompted the desire to employ the new inflectional form to indicate more clearly the syntactical relations. In Beowulf the old groups are still freely used on every page, but the younger groups with inflection are already much more common. They differ from the older groups only in the inflection of the first member, the wordorder usually remaining unchanged, i. e., the dependent member usually preceding its governing word. "þonne *fôrstes bænd* faeder onlaeteð" (1611) "when Father frees the *fètters of the frôst*." In Beowulf the number of stressed genitives that thus stand in the first place is very large. Later these stressed genitives that were once so common in the position before the governing noun gradually assumed the last place, thus following the governing noun. As described by the writer in Modern Philology vol. XI, in his article "The Development of the Genitive in Germanic," the movement of the stressed genitive from the first place in the group to the last place became so common in the course of Old English that in certain categories the genitive is rarely found *before* the governing noun at the close of the period. This great fondness of the stressed genitive for the last place indicates clearly that it was felt as its normal position and the stress was a mere mechanical groupstress.

What effected this change of order? When did it take place? In a number of cases in Beowulf there is a stressed genitive that stands *after* the governing noun: "Déna lând" (l. 1904) *lând of the Dânes*, but "lând Déna" in l. 242, which runs "þe on land Dena laðra nænig." Authors of metrical treatises usually stress *land* in the second example because it alliterates with *laðra* in the same line while *Dena* does not. This theory is absolutely without a basis of fact, indeed it is diametrically opposed to all the facts of English and German development. Germanic poets have never distinguished between principal and secondary stress. It is perfectly plain that *Dena* in both of the above examples has the stress. It had the stress in Beowulf when it preceded the noun and it kept its stress when it moved to the position after the noun and it has

retained it to this very day. The writer has long sought for the force that was operative in moving the stressed genitive from the position before the governing noun to the place after it. This change seems in large measure to have resulted from the influence of other groups that were beginning in the early Old English period to become more common: *sè áldor* (369) *thè prince*; *tò séle* (l. 323) *tò the háll*; *he hæfde mód* (1167) *he hàd courage*. Originally the noun had no article. Little by little the unstressed article established itself before the stressed noun. Prepositional groups with the stress upon the last member became more and more common. The stressed object and adverb which used to precede the less stressed verb became established after the verb. Thus a type of group was becoming fixed that was the very opposite of that found in the oldest groups. The stressed genitives in accordance with the new principle of groupstress gradually became established in the last place. The manifold changes of position that took place in the course of the Old English period can in large measure be explained by the steady operation of the new groupstress. In earlier years the writer was often inclined to seek for intricate psychological forces to explain these changes, while, today, the operation of this simple mechanical groupstress is to him a sufficient explanation for most cases.

It seems also probable that this same power—the new groupstress—was a potent factor in dissolving the old groupwords like “*eágwùnd*” *wound in the éye*, “*fótswýle*” *swelling of the foót*, etc. They long resisted the dissolution into modern groups on account of their greater firmness of form and greater oneness of meaning, but later conformed to the new type. In German, however, they are well preserved.

In addition to the influences cited above as factors in bringing about the new type of groupstress it is probable that the influence of groups containing an adjective was a potent force. In the oldest groups the attributive adjective was invariably in the first place, as in such modern survivals as *bláckbèrry*. Gradually the stress of the adjective became less prominent and the noun assumed the principal stress, as found in *bláck báss*, *Bláck Prince*, etc. The indications of the weaker stress of the adjective are already to be observed in *Beowulf*, where this is sometimes clearly indicated by placing the adjective after the noun, as in “*mód micel*” (1167) *grèat courage*. Here *mod* precedes *micel* in accordance with the

principle that the important word comes first, just as an important object could precede the verb. We have a few survivals of this type in modern English, as in *móther deàr*. This type showed some signs of life in Beowulf but did not become common because it was opposed to the new growing type with the stress upon the last member. It was found more natural to conform the old type with the adjective before the noun, to the new type by simply transferring the stress from the adjective to the noun without disturbing the old historical wordorder, *bláck shèep* becoming *blàck sheép*. To the feeling of the writer many adjectives in Beowulf, as in "hàlig gód" (381) *our hòly Gód*, have less stress than the following noun. If the adjective before the noun were really stressed in Beowulf we would find in the course of Old English a strong tendency to place the stressed adjective after the more weakly accented noun to conform to the new growing groupstress, but there are no cases of the kind to be observed anywhere in Old English.

It seems quite clear that the adjective lost its stress quite early in the Old English period. As its position before the noun had become fixed or functional, it lost its stress as the group naturally conformed to the new groupstress. This is the only case where the historic stress of a member has been disturbed. It is easily explained by the fact that the stress of an adjective is even today very irregular. It often takes a strong logical accent, as in "The *lóng* pèncil has the *sóftest* lèad," and again often has a rather weak accent conforming to the modern mechanical groupstress, as in *a hòt potáto*, *a frìed égg*, etc. The same condition probably existed in Old English. As the adjective often had weak stress it never developed a tendency to take a place after the noun as it would have done had it had a uniformly strong accent. In the few cases where the adjective stands after the noun in Old English it is to indicate weak stress as explained above.

Although, as we have seen, different forces were for centuries busily at work removing the stressed genitive from the first place to the last, stressed genitives are still often found in the first place: *Jóhn's* books not *William's*. What has preserved this type? It seems quite clear that the accent is here very strong, not a mere mechanical stress. The strong stress upon the first element is in harmony with the principle also found elsewhere that the first position is the proper place for words that have a strong logical

stress. Thus in Old English and German only those stressed words that had a lighter, more mechanical stress moved away from the first to the last place: the books of Jónh and his older bróther. On account of the loss of inflection English has to use here the analytical genitive instead of the syntactical genitive found in Old English. German still preserves the older form: Luther steht grammatisch der mittelhochdeutschen Periode näher als der neuhochdeutschen; die *Sprache Ópitzens und seiner Fréunde* ist neuhochdeutsch. The use of the logically stressed genitive before the noun is also quite limited in English on account of the lack of inflectional forms. We say "the children's hats," "the wómen's hats," "mén's clothing," but "the hàts of the girls," etc. In German there is here free use of the logically stressed genitive before the noun: Wilhelms Bücher, nicht méine. Germans prefer here the form of a groupword instead of a modern group wherever the genitive is not modified by an adjective: gegen eine Wélt-herrschaftspolitik, gegenseitige Freúndschaftsversicherungen, im Augenblicke des Kriegsausbrúches, Studéntenkrèise, etc. Often also in the older form of the groupword without inflection of the first member: nach Stúckzähl (=der Stúcke Zähl), Kópzfählung, etc. Often also preserved in English in certain set expressions: stúdent circles, éyebrows, etc. Quite different from this logical stress is the mechanical stress often found upon the genitive in German poetry: O Kolchis! o du meiner Väter lánd! (Grillparzer's Medea, 1)=Lánd meiner Väter. This is the survival of Old German usage, also very common in Beowulf as mentioned above. Of course, if the genitive is not stressed it must precede the genitive to conform to modern groupstress: William's boóks, Wilhelms Bücher.

In the oldest groups the first member was always a grammatically dependent element. A fixed wordorder was necessary to keep the syntactical relations clear. The governing word could never be put in the first place even under strong stress. After the introduction of inflection the governing word could also for emphasis, in accordance with the principle of accentuation found elsewhere, be put in the first place, as the syntactical relations were clearly expressed by inflectional forms: (logical stress) hátost heaðoswata (B. l. 1667) *hótest of wàrriorbloods*; (mechanical stress) cwén Hrððgares (613) *Hrðthgar's wífe*. The weaker mechanical

stress on the first member later yielded to the newer mechanical stress upon the last member as seen by the modern translation of the second example. This tendency to conform to the new mechanical groupstress is already found in *Beowulf*, as explained above by the example *lând Dēna* (242).

A careful study of this article will reveal the fact that the simple laws of logical and mechanical groupstress of our own time were already felt in early Old English, as yet not well differentiated but slowly unfolding.

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ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS OF GOETHE'S WERTHER.

A consideration of the English translations of *Werther* may well be prefaced by an account of certain influences and ideas which were prevalent at the time of its introduction.

Goethe was first brought to the attention of the English public in 1779 through a translation of *Werther*. From that year until the end of the century, it is no exaggeration to say that his fame in England rested exclusively upon that work. While *Werther* was widely read and admired, it caused much agitation. In England, as in Germany, there were those who saw nothing in it but an apology for suicide,¹ and proceeded to oppose the general reception of the book on the grounds that it was immoral and could exert only an evil influence. Much of the reason for this interpretation may be accounted for by the temper of the eighteenth century English mind.

Goethe, in discussing the general character of *Werther*² and the unfavorable reception which it was accorded, calls attention to the unusual number of English poems in the eighteenth century which present a gloomy weariness of life. He makes special mention of Young's *Night Thoughts*, Gray's *Elegy*, and the poetry of Thomas Warton³ and of Ossian, all of which, according to Goethe, are pervaded with a spirit of melancholy and gloom that had exerted its influence on the public. Thus, as he tells us, "this feeling was so general that *Werther* produced its great effect precisely because it struck a chord everywhere, and openly and intelligibly exhibited the internal nature of a morbid delusion." Goethe seems to have hit upon a phase of mind which manifested itself in interest in self-destruction. That a feeling toward England akin to Goethe's became rather general, may be seen in several references in the course of the century.

¹ Cf. Appell, *Werther u. seine Zeit*; Braun, *Goethe im Urtheile seiner Zeitgenossen*, I.

² *Dichtung u. Wahrheit*, Book XIII.

³ A part of Warton's poem, *The Suicide*, is quoted, showing "how accurately the English were acquainted with this spirit before the appearance of *Werther*."

Montesquieu, in his *Esprit des Lois*,⁴ says: "les Anglaises se tuent sans qu'on puisse imaginer aucune raison qui les détermine; ils se tuent dans le sein même du bonheur;" and in England attempts were made by David Hume and others to defend suicide.

During a large part of the century suicide must have been of common occurrence,⁵ for when the first English version of *Werther* appeared, the author stated in his preface that the design of the book was to "exhibit a picture of that disordered state of mind too common in our own country;" and similarly, the author of the second English version in discussing *Werther* said: "You see him in that distracted state of mind so common to our own country, that we are proverbially the jest and pity of foreign nations."

The general character of *Werther*, then, dealing so conspicuously with the theme of suicide, seems to have renewed interest in a subject with which readers were generally familiar. Although in England only one case of suicide is recorded which was apparently caused by the influence of *Werther*,⁶ the growing acquaintance with the book undoubtedly furnished an impetus to frequent discussion of the subject.

In 1790 Charles Moore published in two volumes *A Full Inquiry into the Subject of Suicide*, which was reviewed with extracts in the *Analytical Review*⁷ of that year. In the course of his discussion Moore cited the evil tendencies of *Werther*. He also attacked men like Hume, who had defended the practice of suicide, and argued that the defenders of the act were deserving of more censure than those who practiced it. He further stated: "The practice of suicide in this island has been so much to exceed that in other

⁴ Book XIV, Chapter 12.

⁵ As early as 1745, Gresset, in his three-act comedy, *Sidnei*, ridiculed the practice of suicide in England. The hero, an Englishman named Sidnei, attempts to poison himself, but is foiled in his efforts by his servant who substitutes a harmless potion. Cf. Erich Schmidt, *Richardson, Rousseau and Goethe*. Cf. also Lessing, *Hamburgische Dramaturgie*, XVII.

⁶ The *Gentleman's Magazine* in November, 1784, published under its obituary the following notice: "Suddenly at the Chaceside, Southgate, Miss Glover, daughter of the late Mr. G., formerly an eminent dancing master. The *Sorrows of Werter* were found under her pillow, a circumstance which deserves to be known, in order, if possible, to defeat the evil tendency of that pernicious work." *Gent. Mag.* LIV, p. 876.

⁷ *Anal. Rev.* (1790) VI, p. 402; VIII, p. 517.

nations, as to have made the English almost proverbially noted for their giving away to so horrid a custom."

In 1791 the *European Magazine*⁸ gave a long review of and extracts from M. Zimmermann's *Solitude considered with respect to its Influence on the Mind and Heart*. In the course of the review the author wrote: "The short introduction to a work of uncommon merit would be deficient if we did not conclude it with a declaration that it is the best preservative against suicide, that epidemic disease before hinted at, which, unfortunately, from the frequent instances of it amongst us, is denominated throughout the continent of Europe, *The English Malady*.—O my countrymen, for heaven's sake! wipe out this foul national reproach, let it not any longer be a melancholy truth that foreign writers, whether divines, philosophers, or historians of the present century, especially of late years, when treating of the horrid crime of suicide, refer their readers to England."

The *Monthly Mirror*⁹ in 1796, in a lengthy discussion of suicide, stated: "The frequent suicides which fill the daily journals, occasioned by other motives than those of patriotism and charity, but despoiled love, must shock the mind of every reflecting reader and call forth the most acute sensation of pity and contempt of the boasted reason and wisdom of mankind."

From these extracts it will be seen that suicide was a matter of more or less common discussion among English writers, particularly in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, and it seems reasonable to suppose that, since Goethe's novel, which was in many quarters taken as an apology for suicide, was first translated in 1779, and since previously to that date self-destruction had not figured largely in contributions to English magazines, the aggravation of interest was occasioned by the *Sorrows of Werther*.

Before its appearance in England three French versions¹⁰ of the novel had been published, and the general favor in which

⁸ *Europ. Mag.* (1791) XX, p. 184.

⁹ *Month. Mirror* (1796) II, p. 329.

¹⁰ The first known French translation of *Werther* appeared at Erlangen in 1776, by B. S. d. S. (Baron S. de Seckendorff) under the title: *Les Souffrances du jeune Werther, en deux Parties*. A second translation, *Werther, traduit de l'Allemande*, by G. Deyverdun, appeared at Maestricht in 1776, and a third, *Les Passions du jeune Werther*, by M. Aubry, appeared at Manheim in 1777. Besides these the British Museum Catalogue mentions an earlier version,

the work was held in France recommended it to the English public. Moreover, the book appeared in England at a time of demand for the sentimental works of Richardson and Rousseau, and naturally the literary conditions which prevailed were such as to favor the introduction of a work of its character. This is attested by the fact that during the last two decades of the century no other German production was translated so frequently and called forth so many imitations.

Thus, in spite of the deprecation of suicide in which many writers indulge, *Werther* with its "horrid" ending took such a hold upon the reading public that the following editions were necessary to supply the demand:

The Sorrows of Werter, a German Story founded on Fact. London, 1779.

Werter and Charlotte. A German Story. Translated from the last Leipsic edition. Illustrated with notes. London, 1786.

The Sorrows of Werter. A German Story. Translated from the genuine French edition of M. Aubry, by John Gifford, Esq. London, 1789.

The Letters of Werter. Ludlow, 1799.

The Sorrows of Werter, translated from the German of Baron Goethe, by William Render, D. D. London, 1801.

The Sorrows of Werter, translated from the German of Baron Goethe. By Frederick Gotzberg, assisted by an English literary Gentleman. London, 1802.

The Sorrows of Werter. From the German of Baron Goethe. A new translation revised and compared with all the former editions. The second edition. By Dr. Pratt. London, 1809.

The Sorrows of Young Werther. Translated by R. Dillon Boylan. London, 1854.¹¹

Werther, traduit de l'Allemande, Paris, 1774, of which nothing seems to be known. Cf. Goedeke, *Grundriss*, IV, 3; Baldensperger, *Goethe en France*; Suepfe, *Goethes Literarischer Einfluss auf Frankreich*, *Goethe Jahrbuch*, VIII.

¹¹ Goedeke, *Grundriss*, IV, 3, gives the most complete list of these translations. Cf. also Oswald, *Goethe in England and America*, *Publ. Eng. Goethe Soc.*, XI, and Appell, *Werter u. seine Zeit*. Goedeke records another translation, "*The Sorrows of Werter*; a pathetic story. Translated from the German of Baron Goethe. London, Dean & Munday, 1816." This translation is not listed by any other accessible authority, and is apparently not to be had.

Attention may also be called to George Ticknor's translation of *Werther*. Ticknor, (*Life, Letters, and Journals of George Ticknor*, Boston, 1826, I, p. 11), in describing the difficulties he had in learning German, states: "I also obtained a copy of Goethe's *Werther* in German (through Mr. William Shaw's connivance) from amongst Mr. J. Q. Adam's books, deposited by him on going to Europe, in the Athenaeum, under Mr. Shaw's care, but without giving him permission to use them. I got so far as to write a translation of *Werther*, but no farther." After an investigation of Ticknor's available manuscripts, I have not been able to find his translation.

The first translation was published anonymously in 1779¹², but has been ascribed to Daniel Malthus.¹³ Not a great deal is known concerning the life and writings of Malthus. The *Dictionary of National Biography* mentions him only in an account of the life of his son, Thomas Robert Malthus, the political economist. He was born in 1730, wrote some useful but anonymous books, was an ardent believer in the perfectibility of mankind as expounded by Condorcet and Godevin; and some peculiar opinions about education were perhaps derived from Rousseau's *Emile*. No mention is made of his translation of *Werther*.

In determining the authorship of this translation a statement by Malthus's son, Thomas Robert Malthus, has generally been overlooked. The *Gentleman's Magazine*,¹⁴ in March, 1800, printed the following: "We feel pleasure in correcting our own errors as well as those of others, and shall make no apology for transcribing from the *Monthly Magazine* of March last, the following letter respecting the character, etc., of Daniel Malthus Esq. 'Sir, I shall esteem it a particular favour, if you will allow me to correct an erroneous paragraph which appeared in your obituary for last month. Daniel Malthus Esq. is there mentioned as the translator of some pieces from the German and French. I can say from certain knowledge that he did not translate them. The turn of his mind very little disposed him to imitation, or to the copying in any way the works of others. Whatever he wrote was drawn from the original source of his own fine understanding and genius; but from his singular, unostentatious, and retired character, and his constant desire to shun everything that might attract notice, will probably never be known as his.—T. Robert Malthus.'"

While this statement does not preclude a translation of *Werther*, it leaves one in doubt as to the authorship of the first English version.

¹² R. G. Alford, *Publ. Eng. Goethe Society*, VII, p. 9, is in error when he gives 1780 as the year of the first translation of *Werther*.

¹³ The *Dictionary of Anonymous and Pseudonymous Literature of Great Britain* (Hackett & Laing, III, p. 245) records this translation by Malthus in 1779. The *Gentleman's Magazine*, in February, 1800, states: "Mr. Malthus was the admired though hitherto unknown translator of the *Sorrows of Werter*. "Cf. also Goodnight, *German Literature in American Magazines prior to 1846*, p. 24.

¹⁴ *Gent. Mag.* LXX, (1800), p. 177.

The author of this first translation published the following preface: "Those who expect a novel will be disappointed in this work, which contains few characters and few events; and the design of which is to exhibit a picture of that disordered state of mind too common in our own country. It is drawn from the masterly hand of Mr. Goethe, and is perhaps little more than a relation of a fact which happened within his knowledge. It went through several editions in German, and soon made its way into France. About two years since, the English translator met with it; and, being struck with the uncommon genius and originality of the thoughts, and the energy with which they are expressed, translated some of the letters from the French; and led on by the beauty of the work, which increased in proportion as it was attended to, the whole was insensibly finished; and, as no translation from the German has hitherto appeared, it is now offered to the public.

"Among the number of pamphlets which this little work gave occasion to, there were not wanting some which censured it; and Mr. Goethe has been called the apologist of suicide by those, who, not distinguishing the author from the work, very absurdly ascribed to him the erroneous sentiments which he has given to his principal character—a method of criticism which would equally affect all the epic and tragic writers that ever existed.

"Werter appears to have been strongly impressed with sentiments of religion; and it is not to be wondered at, that in his state of mind they should take an irregular form, and sometimes border upon extravagance. A few expressions which had this appearance have been omitted in the French, and a few more by the English translator, as they might possibly give offence in a work of this nature."

From the author's preface it becomes clear that *Werther* was introduced to the English public through the French, "ein Beweis mehr," says Appell,¹⁵ "wie selten die Kenntniss des Deutschen damals noch in England anzutreffen war." Malthus made the translation from the French version, *Les Passions du jeune Werther*, which, as Suepfle¹⁶ points out, perhaps accounts for *Sorrows* in

¹⁵ Appell, p. 12.

¹⁶ Suepfle, *Beiträge zur Gesch. der d. Lit. in England, Ztscht. für Vergleich. Littgesch.*, VI, p. 311.

the English title for *Leiden*.¹⁷ Aubry's French version is, on the whole, a fairly accurate and faithful rendering of the original. With the exception of the greater part of the passage from Ossian, there are practically no serious omissions of the text. However, it is to be regretted that *Werther* was first introduced to the English through Malthus's version from the French. Naturally one would not expect Goethe's meaning to be conveyed with the same richness of expression by a foreigner, even in translating directly from the German; but coming through the medium of the French, an unusual lack of the force of the original is inevitable. Then, Malthus injured Goethe's novel as a work of art and also his reputation as a translator by mutilating the text. For instance, one letter¹⁸ is omitted entirely, which contains the story of Frau M. and her stingy husband who has confined her to a very small weekly allowance. There is no obvious reason why this letter should have been omitted, for there is apparently no bit of sentiment attached which should warrant its omission, and no serious difficulties are presented in interpreting it, though slight variations are met with on comparing several translations. Of course, it may be possible that Malthus thought this letter had no intimate connection with the main thread of the story, or that Frau M's reference to confessing before her "eternal judge" was too "extravagant." The anonymous translators of 1786 and of 1799, and Gifford omitted this letter, but all other translators included it.

Another serious omission is the account of Werther's meeting with Charlotte and her sisters at the spring, of the crying child, of Charlotte's motherly care, and of Werther's report of the incident to a friend, all of which constitutes the greater part of one letter.¹⁹ Remembering Malthus's statement in the preface concerning Werther's "sentiments of religion," we may surmise his reason for omitting this part of the story. He very likely thought it tended, partially at least, to "border upon extravagance," and may have wished to exclude it from his readers. He may have regarded the tone of Werther's words as repugnant to English feelings, thinking that Goethe speaks too lightly of things divine.

¹⁷ Cf. Crabb Robinson, *Conversations with Goethe in August 1829*, (Diary, II, p. 493). "He was surprised when I told him that the Sorrows of Werther was a mistranslation—*sorrow* being *Kummer*—*Leiden* is *sufferings*."

¹⁸ Book I, July 11.

¹⁹ Book I, July 6.

It is also possible that he did not understand Goethe's meaning sufficiently to give an intelligent translation. The anonymous translators of 1786 and of 1799 also omitted this part of the story.

There are several other omissions in the story, most of them brief and not especially serious, but they are apparently excuseless, and the author's liberty with the text can scarcely be justified. One may judge from his preface and from the general character of the parts omitted that *Werther* became partially an ethical problem to Malthus more through consideration for the public than for himself. Nearly all of the passage from Ossian is omitted, though Malthus gives more of it than does Aubry, who explains in a note that he did not attempt to translate Ossian because of his respect for Goethe, and because he regarded it as an interruption in the main thread of the story. Malthus naturally follows the English version of Ossian.²⁰

Numerous passages in Malthus's version show how he struggled with the text. Sometimes he fails to give an adequate rendering of the meaning, as the following specimen will show:

"Denn man rede von Selbständigkeit was man will, den will ich sehn der dulden kann, dass Schurken über ihn reden, wenn sie eine Prise über ihn haben. Wenn ihr Geschwätz leer ist, ach! da kann man sie leicht lassen."

"Qu'on dise ce qu'on voudra de la modération, je voudrais voir celui qui peut souffrir que des gredins glosent sur son compte, lorsqu'ils ont sur lui quelque prise. Quand leurs propos sont sans fondement, ah! l'on peut alors ne pas s'en mettre en peine."

"Say what you will of philosophy and fortitude: one may laugh at nonsense that has no foundation, but how is it possible to endure that these paltry rascals should have any hold of one?"²¹

At times he also amplifies the original, as in the following:

"Ich möchte mir oft die Brust zerreißen und das Gehirn einstossen, dass man einander so wenig sein kann."

"Je me déchirerois le sein, je me brûlerois la cervelle, quand je vois combien peu les hommes trouvent de ressources les uns dans les autres."

"I could tear open my bosom. I could beat my head against the wall, when I see how difficult it is to communicate our ideas, our sensations to others to make them enter entirely into our feelings."²²

²⁰ The passage begins with "Alone on the sea-beat rock" etc., and is given in full with the final words in the English version, "Will none of you speak in pity? They do not regard their father. I am sad, O Carmor! Nor small my cause of woe!" which Goethe did not translate.

²¹ Book II, March 15.

²² Book II, Oct. 27.

On the other hand, one finds many parts of the novel translated rather successfully; and, though much of the form and spirit of the original is lost, when one considers that this was the first attempt to translate *Werther* into English, and that no previous translation existed by which the author might be guided, the work, on the whole, is to be commended. This may be said in spite of Carlyle's and Appell's severe criticisms.²³

Goethe praised this translation in a letter to Frau von Stein in 1783,²⁴ and so far as we know it is the only statement of his on record regarding any English version of *Werther*.

Malthus's translation did much to make *Werther* and Goethe known in England. It passed through several editions²⁵ and was reprinted oftener than any of the other English versions of *Werther*, a testimony, perhaps, to the popularity of the story rather than to the merits of the translation. Several of the letters were published in the *Hibernian Magazine*²⁶ in 1780 and in 1783. It was through this translation that *Werther* first became known to any degree in America, where at least three reprints were published between 1784 and 1798.²⁷ Until the appearance of other English versions of *Werther* here in 1807, it seems very probable that this was the only medium of acquaintance with Goethe's novel.

Several of the leading magazines reviewed this translation, but they were principally concerned with the character of the story which they criticised severely. Perhaps the author of the translation foresaw so much condemnation of the story and preferred to publish his work anonymously.

The second translation appeared anonymously in 1786 with the author's preface:

"That an original loses by translation, is obvious to every one who reads two languages; and, that this should be the particular case with the present work, is not wonderful, when we find the

²³ Carlyle, *Critical & Miscellaneous Essays*, London, 1899, I; p. 212; Appell, p. 12.

²⁴ Cf. Hans Graef, *Goethe über seine Dichtungen*, II, p. 546.

²⁵ Cf. Goedeke, *Grundriss*, IV, 3, pp. 196 f. for the most complete list of reprints which extend as late as 1852.

²⁶ *Hib. Mag.* X, pp. 308, 311; XIII, p. 305.

²⁷ Cf. Wilkens, *Early Influence of Ger. Lit. in America, Americana-Germanica*, III, p. 136. Cf. also F. W. C. Lieder, *Goethe in England and America, Journal of Eng. and Germ. Phil.* X, p. 550.

translator own himself ignorant of the original language it was written in. It is, we find, to a French copy we are indebted for the version which has been so long and so justly admired. The German has never been consulted before the present; therefore, many particulars have been omitted, according to the caprice of the two translators, which will be found to throw light upon this most affecting story. Besides leaving out whole letters, the Ode, written by Werter, and some verses which occur in other places, have been totally forgotten; perhaps, from a want of poetical imagination, to transfuse the untangible idea, inspired by the phrensy of poetical enthusiasm.

"Mr. Goethe, the author of this work, has given us little more than the particulars of a fact, which actually happened a few years since; and, as he informs us, within the circle of his own observation. It was read with applause in Germany and France; and, in short space, was many times printed. The uncommon simplicity of the story occasions it essentially to differ from a common novel, which always contains more characters, more events, and raises the expectation of the reader in proportion as the catastrophe approaches his eye. On the contrary, here is but one correspondent: it is Werter alone. You see him in that distracted situation of mind, so common to our countrymen, that we are proverbially the jest and pity of foreign nations.

"Many have supposed, and some have asserted, that Mr. Goethe was an apologist for suicide; and that his work was an attempt to vindicate what is, in itself, indefensible; but these did not distinguish the writer from his book, absurdly ascribing to him the errors and follies of his hero. By this parity of argument, we might with equal propriety arraign dramatic and epic writers for the foibles they represent in the characters they exhibit: a mode of reasoning as weak as it is fallacious.

"Bossu, a celebrated French critic, in enumerating the several requisites necessary for the formation of a hero, omits every qualification but those which constitute a handsome intelligent being. Achilles, according to Homer, is wrathful. The Devil is reputed the hero of Milton's *Paradise Lost*; and Count Fathom is a being which most honest folks would wish to shun. But is Homer, Milton, or Smollett, to be indicted for the crimes perpetrated by the heroes of their own creation or contrivance?

"From the foregoing observation, it is not to be wondered at, if we sometimes meet with irregular ideas and sentiments of religion tinctured with extravagance. Religion had made a deep impression in the bosom of Werter; but perfection is not the lot of humanity. Nature had infused too strong a proportion of passion in his compassion: his feelings, like those of our Chatterton, were too fine to support the load of accumulated distress; and like him, his diapason closed in death. Reader! take not offence at his expressions, but return thanks to Heaven for having placed in thee a mind less susceptible of frailty, and more passive to be the behest and intent of thy Creator."

As stated in the preface, this is the first translation made directly from the German. The author has observed the first version made from the French, and besides criticising the work of his predecessor, he praises his own efforts by endeavoring to convince his readers that his version contains some particulars previously omitted which properly belong to the story. But an acquaintance with his work shows that he practically omits the same parts of the novel as Malthus, and proceeds to impose upon his readers with frequent insertions in prose and verse which he adds according to his own fancy. Like Malthus, he endeavors to suppress the belief that Goethe is an apologist of suicide, and at the same time, he is careful at the close of his preface to sound a note of warning against Werther's fate. This, together with his many moralizing footnotes and other insertions, shows that the novel was to him, as it was to many others, largely an ethical question.

The author's knowledge of German was apparently limited, for there are many instances where he fails entirely to bring out the meaning. Then, he finds difficulty in confining himself to the simplicity of Werther's language. A few specimens will serve to show the general character of his translation:

"Ubrigens find ich mich hier gar wohl. Die Einsamkeit ist meinem Herzen köstlicher Balsam in dieser paradiesischen Gegend, und diese Jahreszeit der Jugend wärmt mit aller Fülle mein oft schauerndes Herz. Jeder Baum, jede Hecke ist ein Straus von Blüten, und man möchte zur Mayenkäfer werden, um in dem Meer von Wohlgerüchen herumschweben, und alle seine Nahrung darin finden zu können."

"Nothing can be more charming to me than my situation here. Solitude has always been courted by the great and wise, and in this terrestrial paradise it is a medicine to my mind. In this soft season of the year, when the sun,

like a lusty bridegroom returns to the embraces of his bride, all nature rejoices, and every field looks gay. The zephyrs waft a balm which rejoices the heart of man, and revigorates his soul. The blithe tenants of the woods renew their matin songs, and in the evening Philomel sings a requiem to the departing day."²⁸

"Als ich jünger war, sagte sie, liebte ich nichts so sehr als die Romanen. Weiss Gott wie wohl mir's war, mich so Sonntags in ein Eckgen zu setzen, und mit ganzem Herzen an dem Glücke und Unstern einer Miss Jenny Theil zu nehmen. Ich läugne auch nicht, dass die Art noch einige Reize für mich hat. Doch da ich so selten an ein Buch komme, so müssen sie auch recht nach meinem Geschmacke seyn. Und der Autor ist mir der liebste, in dem ich meine Welt wieder finde, bey dem's zugeht wie um mich, und dessen Geschichte mir so interessant so herzlich wird, als mein eigen häuslich Leben, das freilich kein Paradies, aber doch im Ganzen eine Quelle unsäglichcr Glückseligkeit ist."

"When I was young, she went on, I loved romances better than any other book I could get at. Nothing in the world could have been a greater feast for me on a holiday, than to retire into a corner, and read some affecting story or other of a romantic cast, or which had a slight tincture of the spirit of knight-errantry. By degrees I began to lose the relish for these improbable relations, and novels of a more interesting character delighted me in my leisure hours. I then entered with my whole heart and soul into all the joy and sorrow of a Miss Jenny. Grandison and Miss Harlow still have some charms for me; but as I do not read much, the books I do read, should be suited to my taste. I prefer the authors whose domestic scenes carry me not too far from my own situation in life; but where I may imagine myself, and those around me, active in the drama, and whose stories are interesting and sympathetic, like the life I lead in the bosom of my family; which, without being a real paradise, is a continual source of satisfaction and delight."²⁹

"Ist nicht vielleicht das Sehnen in mir nach Veränderung des Zustands, eine innre unbehagliche Ungedult, die mich überall hin verfolgen wird?"

"You must not attribute the desire to change, to that restless turbulent spirit, which would equally pursue me in every station in life; but to an honest desire to obviate the objection of malevolent people, and essay whether occupation and change would not relieve my perturbed spirit."³⁰

The story does not suffer particularly from omissions in the hands of this author, for, with the exception of the one letter and a part of another where he seems to have followed Malthus,³¹ practically all of the text is attempted. On the other hand, the version is burdened with many moralizing footnotes and also with the insertion of letters and parts of letters. Thus, to Werther's letter dated May 22³² a long discourse on the subject of love is

²⁸ Book I, May 4.

²⁹ Book I, June 16.

³⁰ Book I, Aug. 22.

³¹ Book I, July 11, July 6.

³² Book I, May 22.

prefixed, which, though it conforms readily to Werther's frame of mind as he appears in the remainder of the letter, is indicative of the author's effort to stress the sentimental character of the story. Moreover, he objects seriously to Werther's idea of suicide, as is seen especially in his supplement to the text in the course of Albert's argument with Werther on the subject. He also feels it his duty to add the following characteristic note.³³

"Yet life is a loan from Heaven, and like the talent of the gospel should not be returned without improvement; if we are in a state of probation, it is highly criminal to fly in the face of him who sent us."

Several other portions of the story afford the author opportunity for comment. Thus, when Werther praises nature in one of his letters,³⁴ the following explanation is appended:

"Werter observed this maxim with profit, as his letters sufficiently evince. He was a pastoral poet of no mean genius; and some of his drawings, which are still extant, show him to have copied nature with accuracy."

This is one of his several efforts to convince his readers that Werther was not only a living character, but that he was a writer of some note. Although there may have been a belief in the real existence of such a character, there does not seem to have been any source from which any information of this kind might have been obtained. Further evidence of this effort on the part of the author is seen in scattered bits of verse in the text and especially in the two poems which are appended to the translation, one of which he claims to have found among Werther's papers. It is very probable, however, that these two poems belong to the list of anonymous "Werther poems" that appeared in England after the public became acquainted with the novel.

Two letters are inserted in the story. The first follows Werther's letter of August 30,³⁵ in which he appears a victim to despair and sees no end to his suffering but the grave. It consists of prose and verse, and shows Werther amusing himself with the contemplation of the effects his death would have upon Charlotte. The second letter is inserted immediately after Werther's letter of November 8,³⁶ and, like the first, is apparently an attempt to

³³ Book I, May 22.

³⁴ Book I, May 26.

³⁵ Book I, Aug. 30.

³⁶ Book II, Nov. 8.

have Werther more concerned with the thought of the future than he appears in the original.

This is one of the two translations of *Werther* containing the whole of the passage from Ossian. The English version is used rather than Goethe's. The author also quotes another passage from Ossian, when he uses the beginning of the "War of Inis-Thona" during Werther's visit to Charlotte on Sunday preceding Christmas.

That the author endeavors to give his readers something more than a mere translation of *Werther* is seen not only in his inventions and footnotes, but also in his lengthy treatment of Werther's character which he appends to the story. He praises the energetic and animated style of the book, but condemns the practice of suicide and wishes to impress the public with a more conservative view of life. He quotes from Thomas Warton's poem, "The Suicide," and also cites the case of the "ill-fated Hackman."³⁷ Although his was the first version made directly from the German, it is by no means as accurate a reproduction of Goethe's novel as Malthus's version from the French. This is largely due to the fact that the author was almost entirely concerned with the character of the story and paid so little attention to form. What we actually have is an annotated edition in which he saw fit to present *Werther* to the public in the light of his own interpretation. Being apparently aware of the unwholesome influence which many had attributed to the novel, he felt it incumbent upon him to warn his readers against any further evil tendencies that the book might have.

This translation did not receive any attention from the magazines. There was only one edition of it, and it was apparently not widely known.

John Gifford's version, the third translation, appeared in 1789. Gifford was a miscellaneous writer of considerable eminence and attainments. He was the founder of the *Anti-Jacobin Review*

³⁷ James Hackman, first a soldier and then a priest, fell desperately in love with Martha Ray, the mistress of Lord Sandwich and the mother of Basil Montagu. Upon her refusal to marry him, Hackman, in a fit of jealous despair, shot her as she was leaving the Covent Garden Theatre after the performance of *Love in a Village* on April 7, 1779. Hackman with another pistol endeavored to kill himself, but was only wounded. He was later hanged at Tyburn for the murder which he had committed. Cf. *Gent. Mag.* XLIX, p. 210.

and was a vigorous pamphleteer on the Tory side.³⁸ Nothing is recorded concerning any special interest that Gifford had in German literature. It is very probable that he did not know German at all; but his translations from French pamphlets and several years of residence in France may have induced him to translate *Werther* from the French, thus giving to the English public the second translation based upon Aubry's version.

Gifford states in the beginning that he has followed his predecessor in using the title, *The Sorrows of Werter*, though he is sure that *Passions* is infinitely more comprehensive. To him it seemed that the term, *Sorrows*, had greatly strengthened, if not absolutely given rise to, the popular error that the book was an apology for suicide. He is convinced, however, that Goethe meant that his work should have a directly opposite tendency.

A special feature attached to Gifford's version is the translation of a "Letter from a German of literary eminence to Monsieur Aubry" regarding the latter's version of *Werther*. This letter is quite important because it was written by Count von Schmettow,³⁹ to whom the authorship of the French translation of *Werther* had been ascribed, and because it comments upon the French translation before proceeding to give a general survey of German literature. Appell⁴⁰ and Oswald⁴¹ suggest Count von Schmettow rather than Aubry as the author of the French version, but in this letter Schmettow states that he did not know French, and that he only assisted Aubry. The French version, then, is apparently the product of two persons.

Gifford published the following interesting preface to his work: "The favourable reception which this work has experienced from the public will probably afford the most convincing proof of its intrinsic merit.—"Though the story of *Werter* labours under peculiar disadvantages, from a want of that diversity of characters which is generally deemed essential to the success of similar productions, and from a barrenness of events, which keeps the mind invariably attached to one object; yet it has not failed to fix attention and to secure applause. Its moral tendency has indeed been

³⁸ *Dict. Nat. Biog.* XXI. Cf. also *Gent. Mag.* LXXXVIII, pp. 279, 404.

³⁹ *Allgem. D. Biog.* XXXI; Meusel, *Lexicon*, XVII.

⁴⁰ Appell, p. 12.

⁴¹ Oswald, p. 54.

disputed through a misconception which, arising from a fervent zeal for the enforcement of morality, is more pardonable.—“Could the following work have been possibly construed into an apology for suicide, the present edition of it would most certainly have never appeared; but an idea so erroneous could only be promulgated by those who have attributed the sentiments of the hero to the author himself. The arguments of Werter, too, are but ill calculated for the purpose of deception: not sufficiently specious to impose on the most superficial mind, they can only be considered as the effusions of sensibility: as the ebullitions of genius under the despotick influence of passion.

“That the author of the work was innocent of the nefarious intentions that have been hastily imputed to him, is evident from the short address prefixed to the original edition.

“It is a rule in disputation—evidently found in reason—to allow each disputant to be the sole interpreter of his own arguments; and this indulgence should certainly be extended to authors; for, to accuse a man of entertaining sentiments which he openly disavows, is most assuredly a flagrant violation of justice. But, unfortunately, many modern moralists, with more pretended zeal than real discernment, have censured those authors as the apologists of suicide, whose works have supplied the most potent argument for the suppression of a crime at once so repugnant to religion and so pernicious to society.

“The following translation is taken from the genuine French edition of Monsieur Aubry, which is indisputably the best that has appeared. The letter prefixed to the work, at the same time that it conveys some idea of the state of literature in Germany will demonstrate the extreme difficulties that a foreigner must inevitably experience in the study of the German language; and which renders it almost impossible that he should acquire a sufficient knowledge of it to be able, without the assistance of a native, to give good translations of the best German authors.

“The translator having been careful, by occasional deviations from the *letter* effectually to preserve the *spirit* of the original, presumes that the present may claim a decided superiority over all former editions.”

Gifford's preface shows clearly that he had observed the general impression that *Werther* had made; and his attitude toward those who would judge the work altogether from the ethical standpoint

is quite evident. A clear conception of the form and spirit in which the novel was written, and a sympathetic attitude toward its author is also indicated. There is no statement that leads one to expect to find parts of the book suppressed through regard for the moralists of the time or the over-sensitive critic. We are disposed, therefore, at the outset, to look in Gifford's work for a more faithful and a more readable translation than one finds in the two preceding it. He had a distinct advantage in that Malthus had previously translated *Werther* from Aubry's version. He must have known Malthus's work and have naturally endeavored to improve upon the efforts of his predecessor. By a comparison, Gifford's translation is decidedly more valuable than Malthus's or the "Anonymous Translation of 1786." This is seen largely in his regard for the text and for form. In places his style is a little verbose, and his English is not so concise as one would desire, but he rarely fails to give the meaning of the original. The following specimen, a translation of a part of one of Werther's well-known letters, will serve to give an idea of his work:

"I will no longer submit myself to the conduct of guided who, instead of repressing the ardour of passion, only add fuel to fire. My heart is a torrent, the impetuosity of which I am unable to restrain; I only want, therefore, those soothing strains that can lull it to rest; and these Homer supplies in abundance. How often have I applied to him for comfort! How often by his harmonious numbers have I sought to cool the raging blood that seemed boiling within my veins."⁴²

With the exception of one letter,⁴³ which, as we have seen, was omitted in the two preceding versions, Gifford's work does not suffer from having mutilated the story. He seems to have followed Malthus in giving a small portion of the passage from Ossian and explains in a footnote that he has followed the example of the French version in omitting the greater part of Ossian "not from any respect to the author of Ossian, but merely that the story may suffer no unnecessary interruption."

Gifford was an experienced man of letters and performed his task with the proper attitude of a translator. He put aside any regard for the evil influence that the novel was presumed to have and proceeded to give a faithful representation of the original. Sympathetic as he was toward Goethe, and conscious of the duty

⁴² Book I, May 13.

⁴³ Book I, July 11.

of a translator, his work may be considered an important contribution. In spite of the fact that this version was made from the French, it is by no means a mediocre representation of the German text. It does not seem to have received any attention from the magazines, and, perhaps, was not widely known; but it was unquestionably a better translation of Goethe's novel than had been offered previously to the literary public.

The fourth translation, *The Letters of Werter*, appeared at Ludlow in 1799. It was published anonymously and was made directly from the German. The author published the following preface:

"The story of Werter should not be considered merely as an offspring of the imagination. The author has given, as he informs us, little more than the particulars of a fact within the circle of his own acquaintance. The son of the Abbé Jerusalem, a celebrated theologist of Brunswick, was the man whose passion for a lady of Wetzlar was attended with consequences so fatal. Goethe always chose his subjects from scenes of real life, which judicious preference has rendered his work truly energetic and interesting.

"Mr. Goethe has been represented as the apologist of suicide. But this charge can have been made only by such as have not distinguished the author from the work. By this method of seduction, would not the entire body of our tragic and epic writers be affected? That the author was not conscious of any such implication, appears evident from the short address prefixed to the original edition.

"The uncommon simplicity of the story and sublimity of diction have been universally allowed. In these respects the letters of Werter differ essentially from a novel. There is no variety of character, or of events, to raise the reader's expectation, and but one correspondent: it is Werter alone. Nature had infused a strong proportion of passion into his temper, and his feelings were too fine to support his load of distress. Let not the reader be offended, therefore, at his extravagance, but rejoice that Heaven has granted him a mind less susceptible of frailty, and more prepared to encounter the evils of life.

"In this edition a few passages, which appeared to lower the general extraordinary merit of the work, are omitted."

The chief criticism against this translation is that the author has injured the novel by leaving out various important parts. Not only are several paragraphs omitted which rob the reader of

some of the most forceful language in the book and also of some of the most enthusiastic outpourings of Werther's soul, but several important letters are omitted which are rather essential for a complete conception of the original. The letter dealing with Frau M and her stingy husband, and also the letter containing the incident of the crying child at the spring are omitted. The author was probably willing to follow former translators here. He is the first to omit the whole of Werther's letter pertaining to religion. The character of this and of some of the other parts unattempted shows, in part, the author's attitude toward the subject-matter of the book. He evidently took exception to the manner in which Werther expresses his religious sentiments and preferred to deprive his readers of this part of the novel. In the place of this letter he appropriates the greater part of a letter that was invented by the anonymous translator of 1786. He also discards two other letters which form an important part of the story. In the one, March 15,⁴⁴ Werther relates his experience at a dinner with the Count where objection is made to his presence, and he is requested to withdraw from the company of the nobility; in the other, March 16,⁴⁵ he describes his meeting with Fräulein B, who has heard him condemned and depreciated by the nobility, but expresses to him her sympathy. The interview increases his passion, and causes him to entertain thoughts of suicide. The omission of these two letters seriously injures the novel, since they are rather fundamental for a complete understanding of one of the motives which bring about Werther's tragic fate, namely: his humiliation on being excluded from association with higher classes. Although from the very beginning of the second part of the book one follows Werther's unhappy career in the service of the ambassador, and his growing displeasure in the more formal circles of diplomatic service, it is not until he is offended as one of the count's invited guests, that he is resolved to sever his relations from court-life. His pride is wounded, and the way is paved for his downfall. Therefore, an omission of these two letters leaves a conspicuous chasm in the thread of the story. The climax of Werther's diplomatic service, the more direct cause of his resignation is not seen. Moreover, the story is robbed of one of the best expressions of an age in which distinction between higher and lower classes was sharply drawn.

⁴⁴ Book II, March 15.

⁴⁵ Book II, March 16.

This part of the novel was not omitted by any of the other translators, and, therefore, the author could not have been influenced in this respect. It is possible, of course, that he regarded this part as detrimental to the general plan of the whole. One is reminded of Napoleon's criticism of the novel. After reading *Werther* with much interest and appreciation, Napoleon criticised the use of Werther's feeling of his false relation to society as one of the motives for bringing about this tragic fate.⁴⁶ Madame de Stael, however, took a different view of the novel, and saw in this complexity of motives one of the finest traits of the book.⁴⁷

With a few exceptions, the parts translated are a fair reproduction of the original, which shows that the author had considerable knowledge of German. Certain passages, however, are open to criticism, as the following will serve to illustrate:

"Lieber Wilhelm, ich habe allerley nachgedacht über die Begier in Menschen sich auszubreiten, neue Entdeckungen zu machen, herumzuschweifen; und dann wieder über den innern Trieb, sich der Einschränkung willig zu ergeben, und in dem Gleise der Gewohnheit so hinzufahren, und sich weder um rechts noch links zu bekümmern."

"Man unconscious of the riches which surround him, extends his view beyond his native clime, and wanders in search of new discoveries. Wearied or unsuccessful, he recalls his former habits, and his mind, like a spring extended to its utmost limits, inclines him to return to his former circle, and to enjoy that repose which activity and exertion have denied."⁴⁸

The author's work is deserving of some commendation. Excepting a few inaccuracies, no serious charges can be brought against him as an interpreter of German. It should be remembered, however, that when he began his work, he had the advantage of examining three translations which had already appeared. That he was acquainted with these, is shown, to some extent, in the character of his preface, and also in his adoption of several phrases. The chief fault, then, is the omission of several parts of the story which he saw fit to ignore, excusing himself on the ground that they lower the merit of the original. Although we may not question the sincerity of his judgment, it is evident, to anyone

⁴⁶ Napoleon to Goethe, Erfurt, Oct. 1808: "Das ist nicht naturgemäss und schwächt bei dem Leser die Vorstellung von dem übermächtigen Einfluss, den die Liebe auf Werther macht." Cf. Graef, p. 579.

⁴⁷ Her criticism appeared in *De la littérature considérée dans ses rapports avec les institutions sociales*, in 1799. Cf. Graef, p. 580.

⁴⁸ Book I, June 21.

acquainted with Goethe's novel, that he has modified Werther's character, and has failed to grasp a very vital part of the story. Were it not for such liberty, this work would compare favorably with that of others. But as it stands, it is a mutilated version, and fails to give one a complete idea of *Werther*.

This translation was probably not widely read. There was only the one edition of it, and it does not seem to have attracted any notice in the magazines. It could not have appealed to a public that was acquainted with the more complete version by Gifford.

The translation by William Render appeared in 1801.⁴⁹ The title page bearing the following poor rendering of the second stanza of Goethe's "Zu Werthers Leiden," is a warning against his ability as a translator:

"You weep—you love the youth—revere his name,
And wish from censure to defend his fame;
But hark! 'Be man,' his spirit seems to say,
'Not let my weakness tempt thy feet astray!'"

Render was a native German, grammarian and translator of some note.⁵⁰ He tells us in his preface that he was a student at Giessen with one of Charlotte's brothers. He also claims to have been well acquainted with Werther, and appends to his translation an interview which he had with him shortly before his death. About 1790 Render came to England, where he became known as a teacher of languages in several families of distinction. Toward the end of the century he taught German at Cambridge, Oxford and Edinburgh. Besides publishing several grammars and manuals he is the author of an English version of Kotzebue's *Graf Benjowsky*, and of Schiller's *Räuber*. Translations of *Don Carlos* and of *Maria Stuart* are also sometimes ascribed to him.⁵¹

⁴⁹ Seidensticker, *Poet-Lore*, II, p. 181, is in error when he says Render translated *Werther* in 1779. Goedeke records earlier translations by Render: one in 1789, published at Litchfield, and another at London in 1800. Appell and the British Museum Catalogue list only the one translation in 1801. However, the *Scots Magazine* in November, 1800, (LXII, p. 754) listed "*The Sorrows of Werter*, of Baron Goethe, translated from the last German edition, by William Render D. D., being the first translation of this story which has been made from the language in which it was originally written."

⁵⁰ *Dict. Nat. Biog.* XLVIII; *Allibone*, II.

⁵¹ Watt, *Bibliotheca Britannica*, II, p. 798, and Appell list these by Render. But neither Thomas Rea, *Schiller's Dramas and Poems in England* nor the British Museum Catalogue mention them.

Render published the following "Advertisement of the Translator:

"This new translation of the celebrated story of Werter has been undertaken chiefly from the consideration, that the edition which has been so universally read in this country was not immediately translated from the language in which the work was originally written, but from a mutilated translation published in France. In an edition which has thus been prepared through the medium of a second language, the spirit of the original not only was in a great measure evaporated, but many interesting passages and several entire letters were omitted; the translator has, therefore, been prompted to undertake his present task, no less by his respect for the taste of the British nation, than by his desire to do justice to the admirable talents of his friend the Baron Goethe.

"Another principal inducement was the circumstance of the translator's personal acquaintance with Werter, with Charlotte, and with their respective families. The residence of Charlotte was only a few miles from the place where he received his education, and one of her brothers was his fellow student in the University of Giessen, near Wetzlar. Indeed his interview with Werter a few days before his death, as described at the end of this volume, will unquestionably satisfy the reader that the present translator is in a peculiar manner qualified for the task of editing an English edition of this work."

Special interest attaches to Render's translation because of his familiarity with Germany and with the background of the story, and also because of his claims to friendship with Goethe, personal acquaintance with Charlotte, Werther and their families. The interview, which he claims to have had with Werther, took place during breakfast at Frankfort-am-Main, and was devoted chiefly to a discussion of suicide, upon which topic Render had preached a short time previously at Wetzlar. Werther objects to Render's views on the subject. The following is a fair sample of the conversation:

" 'Were this life,' replied Werter, 'such as you represent, no person would ever desire to quit it. It would be an earthly paradise. No young woman would drown herself in the neighborhood of Wetzlar; nor would any man abandon the best and dearest part of himself—the companion which nature has given him to constitute his bliss. No woman would disregard the affectionate attention which she can only receive from him whose heart is entwined

with her own. O! my Charlotte,' he exclaimed, 'why have the fates separated us? O! my friend, did I entertain such sentiments as you! Could I efface from my mind the impression which she has made!' 'Surely, Werter,' said I, 'did you only hope to do it, you might do it in reality. Hope, which gives so much consolation to man, is, I trust, not wholly a stranger to your bosom.' 'Ah! hope,' said he, 'there is no hope for me; which way, by what means can I obtain so salutary a remedy?' 'By time, Werter, by time and resolution.' 'Hope, time, and resolution,' he repeated, 'are three powerful agents.' "

While this interview shows a character in perfect conformity to the hero of Goethe's novel, one is inclined to question its authenticity. Render states in his preface that he was personally acquainted with Werther (Jerusalem) and Charlotte (Lotte Buff) and that one of his fellow students at the University of Giessen was Charlotte's brother. Let us look at the facts.

Jerusalem came to Wetzlar in September, 1771, and resided there until the date of his suicide in October, 1772. Lotte Buff, born in January, 1753, was only twenty years of age at the time of her marriage to Kestner in April, 1773. The oldest of her brothers, Hans, who, born in November, 1757, was not fifteen years of age at the time of Jerusalem's death, was presumably too young to have been at the university during Jerusalem's stay in Wetzlar.⁵² Therefore, Render's statement that Werther (Jerusalem) heard him preach at Wetzlar, and that he (Render) was a fellow student with Charlotte's brother at the university, would seem inconsistent, because, as a minister in Wetzlar, he could not have known Jerusalem and also have been at the same time in the university with Charlotte's brother. Thus, while we may be liberal enough to accept one or the other of his statements, we cannot accept both. The more probable interpretation is, that Render wished to establish relations with Werther's and Charlotte's families in order to increase his fame as man of letters and to advertise his translation.

Render was the first to use the second version of *Werther*, which Goethe published in 1787.⁵³ As stated in his preface, he knew the "mutilated translation" published in France and also Malthus's version. He probably was not acquainted with other former versions. Despite the motives, which, as he tells us, prompted

⁵² Cf. Herbst, *Goethe in Wetzlar*, pp. 64, 104; Wolff, *Blätter aus dem Werther-Kreis* pp. 28, 43; Kestner, *Goethe u. Werther*, p. 86. Wolff (p. 43) records that Charlotte's brother, Hans, was a Primaner in March, 1773.

⁵³ Gotzberg, Pratt, and Boylan also follow the second version.

his work, Render's translation is so deficient that it may be properly classed with the poorest. This is disappointing when one remembers that Render was not only a native German, but also a teacher of languages, and therefore, seemed particularly fitted for the task. But he evidently had little ability as a translator. His translation of Schiller's *Räuber* in 1799 is quite worthless;⁵⁴ and, comparatively speaking, the same is true of his translation of *Werther*. Besides expanding and omitting certain parts of the text, Render's great fault lies in the unlimited freedom which he has taken in rendering numerous passages with a view to embellishing his language. With this almost constant aim one notes a slovenly and inaccurate rendering of the German, and a failure to present any conception of the simple language which Goethe uses. Thus, after describing his meeting with the servant girl at the spring, Werther closes his letter:

"Sie dankte und stieg hinauf."

Render writes:

"She dropt me a lowly courtesy, which spoke abundance of thanks, and went her way. The sensations of my heart at the moment convinced me that I had done right."⁵⁵

Other passages illustrate this tendency, as the following:

"Was auf unserer Hereinfahrt vom Balle geschehen ist, habe ich noch nicht erzählt, habe auch heute keinen Tag dazu.

"Es war der herrlichste Sonnenaufgang! Der tröpfelnde Wald und das erfrischte Feld umher!"

"I don't know whether I told you—but it is no matter—it will bear the repetition. I shall never forget what passed as we returned from the ball. I have scarcely time to tell you today, but I will endeavour to resist the pleasure of beholding her a few moments, to convince you that, notwithstanding Charlotte, I have not entirely forgotten William.

"The God of day rose in all his splendour—the storm had cleared the atmosphere of all its vapours—and the face of nature seemed to be recovering as the pearly drops followed each other from the trees."⁵⁶

"Sie wollte das Mädchen mit ihrer Arbeit in das Nebenzimmer sitzen lassen; dann besann sie sich wieder anders."

"These unlucky events at first gave Charlotte uneasiness, but the consciousness of her own innocence at length inspired her with a noble and generous confidence, soaring beyond the narrow chimeras of Albert's brain, and sensible

⁵⁴ Thomas Rea, *Schiller's Dramas and Poems in England*, p. 12.

⁵⁵ Book I, May 15.

⁵⁶ Book I, June 19.

of the unsullied chastity of her angelic heart, she rejected her first intention of causing her maid to remain in the room."⁵⁷

Nowhere is Render's liberty more apparent than in the closing paragraph where one gains no conception of the manner in which Goethe's story ends:

"As to his funeral, it took place with much solemnity, but with little pomp. Albert sincerely lamented his unhappy and untimely fate; from the eyes of Charlotte it long continued to drain inexhaustible showers of the tears of bitterness and sorrow. He was followed to the grave by the old Bailiff and his two sons, who sincerely regretted the loss of so faithful and valuable a friend.'

It is in the second part of the story that Render takes the most liberty in mutilating the text. Besides a number of short passages, there are longer ones omitted which rob the reader of some of the most effective parts of the book. For instance, the account of one of Werther's visits to Charlotte's father,⁵⁸ in which one notes Werther's particular fondness for children, is entirely ignored; and more serious than this is the omission of several paragraphs in which Goethe writes at length of Charlotte's attitude toward Albert and also toward Werther.⁵⁹ A small part of the English version of Ossian is given—the same as that which Malthus and Gifford included. One letter is entirely omitted,⁶⁰ but, on the other hand, this is the first translation to include the letter containing an account of Frau M and her husband.⁶¹

Render seems to have made his translation independently of any of his predecessors. Had he shown as much deference for the original as some of his predecessors, the existence of his translation would, perhaps, be justified. Instead, however, he declaims in his preface against the merits of Malthus's version, and trumpets forth the value of his own production. The results show, on the whole, a mediocre performance.

This translation was probably not well known in England. It seems probable that the several editions of Malthus's version which had appeared by 1801, were used largely by the public for an acquaintance with *Werther*. Render's work, however, became known in America when a reprint of his translation, to

⁵⁷ Cotta ed. p. 104.

⁵⁸ Cotta ed. p. 102-103.

⁵⁹ Cotta ed. p. 103-104.

⁶⁰ Book II, Feb. 8.

⁶¹ Book I, July 11.

which is annexed the *Letters of Charlotte* and a lengthy discourse on suicide by William Paley, appeared at Boston in 1807.

One magazine gave a brief notice of Render's translation. The *Monthly Mirror*⁶² said: "Dr. Render's abilities as a translator have had the tribute of our approbation in a former number. Perhaps there was no necessity for a new translation of this work; and we are afraid that much good is not done to society by the diffusion of a book, the morality of which is at least questionable, to say no worse of it. Dr. Render, however, has published an appendix which communicates some particulars of an interview had with Werter a little before his death. This addition is not interesting and it hardly affords an excuse for offering another edition of Goethe's novel to the public."

Frederick Gotzberg, "assisted by an English Literary gentleman," published in 1802 a translation with the quotation: "One that lov'd not wisely but too well."⁶³ Of the several translations this has the distinction of being the product of two persons, neither of them being known. Gotzberg, as we learn in the preface, was a native German, ranking "foremost among the literati of his country," but he was not of sufficient eminence to be mentioned in any of the biographical dictionaries. As seen in the preface, we have another author claiming acquaintance with Werther's family, thinking, perhaps, as Render, that this would advertise his translation:

"Few are acquainted with the history of *Werter*; the celebrity which attended its first publication naturally excited the curiosity of distant readers, and consequently produced several translations of it, both in England and France. In England, *Werter* has appeared in a variety of dresses, but the clothing seldom corresponded with the original. This may be easily accounted for—it was translated from the French by some who were unacquainted with the German language, and having lost a considerable portion of its spirit by the first change, we may naturally conclude that it entirely evaporated in the second. Others have literally translated it from the original; but in this close adherence we find more puerility than simplicity, more folly than pathos. Of the former translators, it must be observed, that though English scholars,

⁶² *Monthly Mirror* XII, (1801) p. 102.

⁶³ *Othello*, V. 2.

yet from their ignorance of the German language, and being consequently obliged to refer to another translation of the work, they have in many parts perverted the meaning, and given Werter a dress that is not his own; and of the latter, their being unacquainted with the English idiom, has rendered them incapable of conveying the original meaning to the English reader—this half-dress makes our hero appear more the subject of mirth than of pity. From these preliminary remarks, the present translation may be thought to come from the pen of one who is well acquainted with both languages; but, in truth, it is the production of two persons. Frederick Gotzberg is a native of Germany, had some knowledge of Werter's family, and ranks foremost among the literati of his country. How far this admired German history has been rendered an affecting tale, must be left to the decision of a candid and impartial public."

It is not known who the "English literary gentleman" was that assisted Gotzberg, but he was probably the author of this preface. It is evident that he was acquainted with the history of *Werther* in England, and, while the title of the work places him somewhat in the background, the general character of the translation leads me to ascribe a considerable portion to the hand of an Englishman. Several parts of the work would seem to point to this. For example, the author refuses to translate the letter containing Werther's sentiments on religion and suicide,⁶⁴ because, as he explains in a note, it somewhat accords with his own views. He refers to Werther's arguments with Albert on suicide as being "fallacious"; and to one letter, August 8,⁶⁵ in which the same subject is mentioned, he appends: "This argument is very fallacious, as are all Werther's arguments on this subject. Suicide has ever been deemed the act of a weak mind." References of this kind indicate the work of an Englishman rather than a native German, and also show that for this author, the novel became, to a certain extent, an ethical question.

Gotzberg apparently followed Rander in making this translation. This is seen in his omission of Werther's brief letter of February 8,⁶⁶ and also in the second part of the story where the parts omitted coincide practically with Rander's work. There are also several

⁶⁴ Book II, Nov. 15.

⁶⁵ Book II, Aug. 8.

⁶⁶ Book II, Feb. 8.

passages showing only slight deviation from Render's language. However, the author's inventive powers are not so great as Render's; nor does his work show where he labored to express the original in such pretentious language. His translation, however, shows considerable freedom in handling the text and a limited knowledge of German. Thus, he translates the last part of Werther's well-known letter of June 16:

" 'Charlotte, now reclining her head upon her lovely arm, fixed her expressive eyes on the surrounding country—then raised them to Heaven, and let them fall upon me—I saw them bedewed with a tear! she placed her hand gently upon mine, and in a tone of energy cried—'O! Klopstock.' My heart throbbed at the name—I felt a thousand sensations—. His divine poem rushed to my recollection, and increased my ardent love for her, whose sentiments are so congenial with mine—'Oh! Klopstock!' I could no more than echo the name—my spirits were exhausted.' ”⁶⁷

Here the text is expanded and the simplicity of the language is missed. That Klopstock was known chiefly in England as the author of *Messias*⁶⁸ is seen in the rendering of "herrlichen Ode" as "divine poem" when the reference is to the famous ode, *Frühlingsfeier*. Render and Pratt also made this error.

Further illustration of injustice to the original may be seen in the following:

"Was Lotte einem Kranken sein muss, fühl' ich an meinem eigenen Herzen, das übler dran ist als manches, das auf dem Siechbette verschmachtet. Sie wird einige Tage in der Stadt bei einer rechtschaffener Frau zubringen die sich nach der Aussage der Aerzte ihrem Ende naht und in diesen letzten Augenblicken Lotten um sich haben will."

"There is a worthy old lady in the town, has been given over by her physician, and expressed a desire that Charlotte should be with her during her last moments. She is accordingly gone, and I am conscious, is truly capable of administering balmy consolation to the sick, for I have been myself indisposed."⁶⁹

Gotzberg follows his predecessors in giving only a small part of the passage from Ossian. But unlike them, he paraphrases in verse the original. His efforts may be seen in the following brief specimen:

"Alone, on the sea-beaten rock,
My daughter was heard to complain,
Loud and frequent, alas! were her sighs—
The father's assistance was vain!"

⁶⁷ Book I, June 16.

⁶⁸ An English translation by Mary and Joseph Collier was completed in 1771.

⁶⁹ Book I, July 1.

One notes occasional passages in this translation that are fairly successful, but the work, on the whole, is not to be commended. This is largely because several parts of the novel are dogmatically unattempted, and also, because of a deficient knowledge of German, various parts are loosely and inaccurately rendered. With these facts, it is difficult to see how anyone could obtain through this version a complete idea of Goethe's novel.

No reviews of this translation appeared in the magazines. However, it became known through two reprints: it was published in Cassell's National Library in 1886,⁷⁰ and has also been published here in America by the Educational Publishing Company in 1899.⁷¹

The next translation was published in 1809 by Dr. Pratt, better known, perhaps, as Samuel Jackson Pratt, or as "Courtney Melmoth," which name he used for a number of years as an actor and writer. Pratt was a novelist, poet, and the author of no less than thirty-one plays. While there are extensive accounts of his life and writings, there is practically no record of his having any special interest in German literature. The *Dictionary of National Biography*⁷² states that a translation of *Werther* is attributed to him. It is probably true that Pratt was especially interested in sentimental literature. The *Gentleman's Magazine*⁷³ says: "his chief error consisted in not knowing how to check the exuberance of his feeling and imagination; and that therefore he sometimes diffused his sentiments to a tedious extent. His works were all intended to promote the interest of virtue."

Pratt published the following preface:

"Few publications of the novel kind have always enjoyed more celebrity than the one before us. It was originally translated into French, and then into English; since then it has been done from the German. There is occasionally a discordancy between those rival productions, and many parts have been misconceived, or added to by the ingenuity of the translators. The present edition has been printed with a view to combine not only the real

⁷⁰ Vol. 36. Cf. *Brit. Mus. Cat.*

⁷¹ This American reprint is apparently not widely known. Since it is not listed by Wilkens, it probably appeared after his article in 1899. Oswald (p. 57) records "The Sorrows of Werther, Educational Pub. Co. Boston, 1904," but I have been informed by the publishers that this is an error.

⁷² *Dict. Nat. Biog.* XLVI. Cf. also *Notes & Queries*, S. 6, VI, p. 212.

⁷³ *Gent. Mag.* LXXXIV, (1814) p. 398.

force and sentiment of Werter, as they are given by Mr. Goethe, but as a more perfect model of the author's manner, which has been perverted, and often misconceived.

"It is evident that Mr. Goethe is much attached to the simple scene of domestic life and rural scenery, many of which are here drawn with a most interesting and masterly hand. He esteems the *Vicar of Wakefield* for this cause, though the characters of the different heroes are drawn diametrically opposite. It has been objected to in this work that Mr. Goethe is the champion of Suicide. The reader will best judge how far this is true or not. Certain it appears that Albert's arguments in reply to Werter on this head are weak compared with those of his antagonist; but it must be considered that it is the history of Werter which is written, and that it was not the intention to convince him, by force of Albert's arguments, of the gross absurdity and cowardice of that practice, to which his irritable and romantic mind constantly tended. Werter was amiable, but he was weak; he had a strong mind in certain particulars; but it was in others little better than a lucid insanity. He loved where religion and prudence forbade his passion, and died in conformity to that erroneous reasoning which made him pursue Charlotte, when, in the first instance, he was informed she was devoted to another."

Despite Pratt's excuse for a new translation, as he states in his preface, it may be questioned whether his work serves the author's purpose. An examination of his version will not convince one that he has succeeded in accomplishing what he had in mind. From the standpoint of language and style his work is fairly attractive, but it is more of Pratt than of Goethe. This, like Render's translation, is characterized by an unusual display of vocabulary; and Pratt, too, finds difficulty in confining himself to the text. Thus, for a part of Werther's letter of November 26,⁷⁴ in which he praises Albert, Pratt writes:

"So eine, wahre, warme Freude ist nicht in der Welt, als eine grosse Seele zu sehen, die sich gegen einen öffnet."

"The unreserved confidence of such a mind as his, while it is highly gratifying has a tendency to soften the pains which throb in a heart constituted like your friends—you have long known its failings, and I am sure will draw a veil over them."

Likewise, the simplicity of Goethe's words after Werther has finished reading Ossian is lost when Pratt writes:

⁷⁴ Book II, Nov. 26.

"Die ganze Gewalt dieser Worte fiel über den Unglücklichen."

"The pointed allusion of those words to the situation of Werter rushed with all the electric rapidity of lightning to the inmost recesses of his soul."⁷⁵

Besides enlarging from time to time upon the idea presented in the German, there are many passages which Pratt fails to understand. In some of these he shows that he was influenced by Render and Gotzberg. For example, he translates the last part of Werther's letter of July 11 incorrectly:

"Ich redete mit Lotten über die unglaubliche Verblendung des Menschen sinns, dass einer nicht argwohnen soll, dahinter müsse was stecken, wenn eins mit sieben Gulden hinreicht, wo man den Aufwand vielleicht um zweimal so viel sieht. Aber ich habe selbst Leute gekannt, die des Propheten ewiges Oelkrüglein ohne Verwunderung in ihrem Hause angenommen hätten."

"The severe and pointed reprobation of Charlotte on this avaricious disposition, which had made the poor gentlewoman 'rob Peter to pay Paul,' was not forgotten. 'The starving stipend of this wretch,' said she, 'was perhaps supposed to be increased by the industry of the wife, who augmented it like the wonderful increase of the widow's pitcher.'"⁷⁶

Pratt's translation cannot be condemned as having seriously mutilated the novel. He follows Render and Gotzberg in omitting one letter, February 8, and also the greater part of Ossian. Like Gotzberg he paraphrases Ossian in verse, but a brief specimen will show that his efforts here are even more painful than Gotzberg's:

"Alone on the briny-lay'd rock
My daughter exclaimed in her woe,
For help and her father she call'd—
Her father no help could bestow."

Although Pratt may be credited with an effort to interpret most of the story, his work, on the whole, cannot be called an ideal translation of *Werther*. But in spite of his deficiencies as a translator, the fact that he put aside all ethical consideration of the novel, shows a commendable and marked improvement in attitude over some of his predecessors.

This translation was published several times.⁷⁷ While it may have attracted the general public, it received no attention from the magazines.

⁷⁵ Cotta ed. p. 111.

⁷⁶ Book I, July 11.

⁷⁷ Goedeke records three editions by Pratt: the first without date; the second, revised and compared with all the former editions, 1809; the third

The last translation of *Werther* was made by R. Dillon Boylan in 1854, and was published in a volume of Bohn's Standard Library containing other translations from Goethe by the same author. The following preface appeared with the translation:

"It is somewhat remarkable that the *Sorrows of Werther*, notwithstanding its great popularity, has never before been translated from the German into the English language. The translation by which the work has become familiarized in this country, was made from the French, a medium wholly incapable of maintaining the vigorous strength of the original. Well may it be styled 'a faint and garbled version,' by a competent authority. . . . The story of *Werther* is known to be the narration of an actual fact which happened within the knowledge of the author; and though it has been sometimes affirmed that Goethe subsequently smiled at this performance of his youth, yet he has left on record an account of his own state of mind during its composition, which is well worthy of perusal.'⁷⁸

The author errs, of course, in stating that *Werther* had never before been translated directly from German into English. His statement seems to show how little the former translations were known in England excepting Malthus's version from the French, concerning which he quotes from Carlyle.⁷⁹

Boylan's translation was made at a time when the study of German had made considerable progress in England, and one is not surprised to find his version of *Werther* far superior to all others. He had established a favorable reputation as a translator from the German with the appearance of his version of *Wilhelm Meister* in 1846, and of *Don Karlos* in 1847. His love of accuracy,

edition, 1813. The British Museum Catalogue lists a translation by Pratt in 1809, a second edition in 1813 (?), and a reprint in 1823. The New York Public Library contains an American reprint published in 1807, which is the same text as the above edition of 1809. Also the Library of Cornell University contains a translation by Pratt dated 1813, and following Malthus's translation as far as the letter of July 6, Book I. The remainder of the text is identical with the American reprint of 1807 and also with 1809 London version. It would seem, then, that Pratt translated *Werther* as early as 1807, and that these so-called editions are mere reprints of the first.

⁷⁸ The preface ends with Goethe's well-known statement in *Dichtung u. Wahrheit*, Book XIII.

⁷⁹ Cf. preface to *Wilhelm Meister*.

his consciousness of the imperative duty of a translator to render faithfully, so far as it is possible, and his excellent knowledge of German, entitled him to praise. That these are the qualifications with which he executed his task, is evident upon an examination of his work.

One is impressed with the completeness of this version. Not a single letter in the novel is omitted. The entire passage from Ossian is included, which, as we have seen, was largely omitted in all the former translations excepting the "Anonymous Translation of 1786." But as that translation does not seem to have been widely read, a complete passage from Ossian, as it appears in *Werther*, was most likely not known to English readers until the appearance of Boylan's work.

So far as I have been able to discover, there are only two errors in Boylan's interpretation. In *Werther's* letter of July 6 the phrase, "das der Mann vor acht Tagen hatte taufen lassen,"⁸⁰ is rendered incorrectly, "that this very man had been baptized only a week before." The remainder of the letter is translated correctly, and it seems strange that he failed to understand this phrase. The second error is found in the letter dated September 3, where he interprets, "Ich begreife manchmal nicht, wie sie ein andrer lieb haben kann, lieb haben darf,"⁸¹ as, "I sometimes cannot understand how she can love another, how she dares love another." Gifford's translation is the only one which gives the proper meaning to this simple sentence. All others have taken "ein andrer" as the object instead of the subject here.

However, of all the translations of *Werther*, Boylan shows the greatest ability to grasp the spirit in which the novel is written. The fact that other authors had to wrestle frequently with *Werther's* thoughts and feelings naturally led to inaccuracy of expression and to a somewhat distorted view of the original. But Boylan's effort to reproduce *Werther's* mental state and to convey Goethe's ideas with adequate effect, must be pronounced, on the whole, remarkably successful. Nowhere is this better exemplified than in his translation of *Werther's* letter of May 10, from which the following is taken:

"A wonderful serenity has taken possession of my entire soul, like these sweet mornings of spring which I enjoy with my whole heart.

⁸⁰ Book I, July 6.

⁸¹ Book II, Sept. 3.

"I am alone, and feel the charming existence in this spot, which was created for the bliss of souls like mine. I am so happy, my dear friend, so absorbed in the exquisite sense of mere tranquil existence, that I neglect my talents. I should be incapable of drawing a single stroke at the present moment, and yet I feel that I never was a greater artist than now. When the lovely valley teems with vapour around me, and the meridian sun strikes the upper surface of the impenetrable foliage of my trees, and but a few strong gleams steal into the inner sanctuary, then I throw myself down in the tall grass by the trickling stream, and as I lie close to the earth, a thousand unknown plants discover themselves to me. When I hear the buzz of the little world among the stalks, and grow familiar with the countless indescribable forms of the insects and flies, then I feel the presence of the Almighty, who formed us in His own image, and the breath of that universal love which bears and sustains us, as it floats round us in an eternity of bliss."⁸²

This passage is representative of the feeling and regard which Boylan has for the original. The various peculiarities and intricacies of thought and style are reproduced with as much skill as one may reasonably expect of a translator. There is no attempt to embroider the original with the translator's fancies; but a keen insight into Werther's philosophy of life, and an effort to express it with simplicity comparable to the original is generally apparent. It may be said, then, that in this version, form assumes, for the first time, its real importance. Despite the fact that a certain critic speaks of this work as "painfully labored in which the throb and glow of the story's impassioned language are smothered and cooled into a decorously spasmodic language,"⁸³ it is, on the whole, the most worthy and reliable version of *Werther* that has appeared.

When Boylan published his translation no attention was paid it in the magazines, doubtless because of the fact that interest in *Werther* had become historical rather than critical. However, his translation has become deservedly popular through the several reprints that have appeared in England and America.

The attempt in this discussion has been to give a general idea of the character of the several English translations of *Werther*. We have seen that the translation from the French in 1779 first introduced Goethe to the English public, and that three more translations were published before the end of the century. Of these four versions, which appeared between 1779 and 1799, three appeared anonymously, whose authors, judging by the character of the several parts omitted, seem to have considered *Werther*

⁸² Book I, May 10.

⁸³ Boyesen, *Goethe and Schiller*, N. Y. 1904, p. 43.

largely from the ethical point of view. The 1799 Ludlow translation, however, went farther and omitted a large portion of one of the guiding motives of the book. Two versions, the first in 1779, and that by Gifford in 1789, were based upon the French translation of Aubry. It is noteworthy that among these first four versions, they give the most complete idea of the novel, particularly that of Gifford who was an experienced man of letters.

The nineteenth century brought four more versions, three of which appeared in the first decade, and which, because of the author's weak knowledge of German and a disregard for the text, are by no means adequate. Finally, when the study of German had made considerable progress in England, Boylan's version appeared in 1854, which is clearly entitled to claim superiority over all others.

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DAS VERHÄLTNIS VON ÄUSSERER UND INNERER FORM IN GOETHE'S UND SCHILLER'S BALLADEN.

Es ist nicht die Absicht der folgenden Zeilen, das Wesen der Ballade als Kunstgattung prinzipiell zu erörtern oder gar einen neuen Versuch zu machen, den Unterschied von Ballade und Romanze festzulegen. Dies verbietet sich schon durch die Tatsache, dass Goethe und Schiller selber keinen scharfen Unterschied zwischen beiden Gedichtformen machten. In einer bekannten Stelle des Goethe-Schillerschen Briefwechsels schreibt Schiller (unterm 2. Mai 1797, Briefw. Nr. 306): "Wenn Sie mir den Text vom Don Juan auf einige Tage schicken wollten, werden Sie mir einen Gefallen erweisen. Ich habe die Idee, eine Ballade daraus zu machen"; und Goethe antwortet (Nr. 308): "Auch schicke ich den verlangten Don Juan. Der Gedanke, eine Romanze aus diesem zu machen, ist sehr glücklich." Ein ähnliches Schwanken in der Terminologie zeigt sich bei Goethe, wenn er in den früheren Ausgaben seiner Gedichte (von 1800 und 1806) als Überschrift für die erzählenden Gedichte die Bezeichnung "Balladen und Romanzen" wählt, von 1814 ab jedoch einfach "Balladen" schreibt. In der für die späteren Drucke massgebenden Ausgabe von 1814 finden wir den "Rattenfänger," der früher zu den "Liedern" gehört hatte, unter den "Balladen," während die "Erste Walpurgisnacht" und "Johanna Sebus" aus der Reihe der Balladen ausgeschieden und andern Abteilungen zugewiesen wurden, ohne Zweifel wegen ihrer unregelmässigen Form. Nicht viel anders bei Schiller: der "Kampf mit dem Drachen" führt den Untertitel "Romanze", der "Gang nach dem Eisenhammer," der *formell* jenem Gedichte gleichgeartet ist, heisst "Ballade"; wenn der "Handschuh" eine "Erzählung" genannt wird, so erklärt sich diese Unterscheidung wiederum aus der unstrophischen Form. Im allgemeinen kann man sagen: Goethe hat unter dem Titel "Balladen" diejenigen Gedichte zusammengestellt, die eine Handlung zum Inhalt und keinen direkten Bezug auf sein eigenes Leben haben. Von diesem Gesichtspunkt aus würde man allerdings "Mignon," das "Veilchen" und den "König in Thule" unter die "Lieder" versetzen und den "Fischer" auf die Grenzlinie zwischen Liedern und Balladen verweisen müssen. Aus dem-

selben Grunde kann man Schillers "Klage der Ceres," das "Eleusische Fest" und "Kassandra" nicht den Balladen zuzählen. Denn das Vorhandensein einer Handlung ist wohl dasjenige Erfordernis, das von allen Theoretikern an die Ballade gestellt wird. Damit soll nicht gesagt sein, dass diese Handlung äusserlicher Art sein müsse: dem schottischen "Edward" wird wohl keiner den echt balladesken Charakter absprechen wollen.

Wichtiger für unsern Gesichtspunkt ist ein anderer Unterschied, der zwischen handelnden und erzählenden Gedichten; denn hier kommt das Verhältnis von Inhalt und äusserer Form in Betracht. Die metrische Form der Ballade ist die Strophe, d. h. die lyrische Form. Das Wesen des lyrischen Gedichts beruht auf der Stimmung. Zu der inhaltlichen Forderung der Handlung, die wir an die Ballade gestellt haben, tritt als zweite Forderung die der Stimmung.

Oberstes Gesetz, nicht nur für die Ballade, sondern jedwedes Kunstwerk, ist die Übereinstimmung von Form und Gehalt. Die formelle Gestaltung der lyrischen Kunstwerke ist nun derart, dass sich dieselbe Form (Strophe) von Anfang bis Ende des Gedichts mehrmals unverändert wiederholt. Genau genommen, entspricht jedem poetischen Inhalt nur *eine* Form, und umgekehrt entspricht jeder metrischen Form nur *ein* Inhalt. Daraus folgt, dass die Stimmung eines strophischen Gedichts von Anfang bis Ende einheitlich sein muss, und im grossen und ganzen ist dies bei wenig umfänglichen lyrischen Gedichten auch der Fall. Weist ein poetisches Ganzes verschiedenartigen Inhalt auf, so ist für ihn auch eine verschiedenartige Form erforderlich—oder aber eine Form, die so primitiv ist, dass sie sich jedem Inhalt anschliessen kann.

Es ist hier wohl angebracht, an die dichterische Praxis der formenstrengen und formensichern mittelhochdeutschen Litteratur zu erinnern. Die einheitliche Stimmung des "Liedes" (das ja meist von recht beschränkter Ausdehnung war) wurde in einheitlich gebauten Strophen ausgedrückt, der mannigfach wechselnde Inhalt des Ritterepos jedoch in den so ausdrucksvollen und anpassungsfähigen Reimpaaren.

Zum Wesen des strophischen Gedichts gehört andererseits Mehrstrophigkeit; schon die ursprünglich enge Verbindung des Wortgedichts mit der Musik machte eine Wiederholung der formellen Einheit notwendig, da es dem Hörer nicht möglich gewesen wäre,

sich diese bei einmaligem Hören einzuprägen; ein "einstrophiges" Gedicht ist ein "hölzernes Eisen." Für Gedichte von wechselndem Gefühlsinhalt hat das Formgewissen des Mittelalters den "Laich" geschaffen, und auch bei unsern Klassikern finden wir ähnliche Gedichte: es sei nur an Goethes Oden in freien Rhythmen und an den grössten Laich der deutschen Litteratur, Schillers "Lied von der Glocke," erinnert. Hier entsprechen sich Form und Inhalt am genauesten, weil dem Inhalt einer jeden Gefühls- oder Gedanken-Einheit die metrische Form angepasst ist. Die Ausdrucksfähigkeit freier Rhythmen und ihre Vorzüge vor der geschlossenen Strophenform sind unverkennbar.

Drei Bedingungen sind demnach von jeder strophischen Ballade zu erfüllen: sie muss eine Handlung enthalten; sie muss von Stimmung durchdrungen sein; und Handlung und Stimmung müssen einheitlich sein. Bürger, der Altmeister der deutschen Ballade, erfüllt in seinen Dichtungen grade diese Bedingungen aufs trefflichste; im "Lied von braven Mann" finden wir eine reichbewegte Handlung, die aber in einer einzigen Szene dargestellt ist und ein einziges Ziel zum Gegenstand hat; durch diese Einheit der Handlung bleibt auch die Einheit der Stimmung gewahrt; die die Handlung unterbrechenden Strophen sind zwar nicht im Wesen der Ballade begründet, aber doch vom allgemeinen künstlerischen Standpunkt aus nicht unberechtigt. Nicht so klar liegt für eine theoretische Betrachtung die Meisterschaft des Dichters in der "Lenore" zutage; hier wird nicht ein einziges Ereignis berichtet, sondern eine *Kette* von Erlebnissen, aber dennoch werden diese alle durch die mächtige beherrschende Grundstimmung zu einer Einheit zusammengeschweisst.—Wo eine solche Einheit mangelt, wird entweder die Kongruenz von Inhalt und Form aufgehoben, oder die Form wird den fortlaufenden epischen Reimpaaren angenähert, wie dies charakteristischer Weise in Schillers "Kampf mit dem Drachen" der Fall ist (Reimschema: aabbccdd-efef). Es ist auch interessant zu beobachten, wie Hans Sachs in seiner reifsten Periode bei der Übertragung seiner epischen Reimpaar-Erzählungen in Meisterstrophen solche Strophen wählte—und sicher nicht nur aus Bequemlichkeit—, deren Schemata den Reimpaaren nahe—oder gleichkamen.

Bei einem Vergleich von Goethes und Schillers "Balladen" fällt zunächst die grössere Länge der Schillerschen ins Auge und erregt bereits das Bedenken, ob es Schiller trotz der Länge dieser

Gedichte gelungen sei, die dramatische und lyrische Einheit zu wahren. Was die Eingänge der Balladen betrifft, so erscheint Schiller hier mehr balladesk als Goethe, indem er uns öfter direkt in die Handlung hineinführt: so in der "Bürgschaft," im "Taucher," "Polykrates," "Toggenburg," "Drachen." Goethe gibt in der Regel in der ersten (oder, weit seltener, *den* ersten) Strophen die Exposition der Handlung, und zwar in mehr oder weniger epischer Weise: entweder in direkter objektiver Erzählung (so im "Hochzeitlied," der "Wirkung in die Ferne," dem "Totentanz," der "Bajadere," der "Braut von Korinth"), oder er lässt die Vorhandlung, lebhafter, aus dem Munde einer der handelnden Personen berichten ("Ballade," "Schatzgräber," "Eckart," "Zauberlehrling"); oder schliesslich: er, der Dichter, stellt selber eine Frage, die er dann selber beantwortet ("Erbkönig," "Müllerin Verrat"; im "Sänger" stellt der König die einleitende Frage). Es wäre aber voreilig, aus dieser Verschiedenartigkeit der Einleitungen bei beiden Dichtern Schlüsse auf den formellen Wert der ganzen Gedichte zu ziehen. Goethe drängt in die erste Strophe die gesamte Exposition hinein, um dann, im Hauptteil, freie Bahn für die dramatische Entwicklung zu haben. Schiller begnügt sich oft damit, durch den Anfang das Interesse zu erregen, und lässt sich dann im weiteren Verlauf zu breitester Epik herbei. Auch kann man nicht sagen, dass die temperamentvollen Eingänge bei Schiller durchweg glücklich seien; mit Recht hat man den unbestimmten Anfang des "Polykrates" bemängelt ("*Er* stand," "*Er* schaute," "Sprach *er*" usw.) und ihm den Anfang des Fontaneschen "Zieten" gegenübergestellt ("Joachim Hans von Zieten, Husarengeneral").— Und hier treffen wir bereits auf den Hauptpunkt unserer Untersuchung: Schiller ist in seinen Balladen im wesentlichen episch, Goethe dramatisch. Bei Schiller vermissen wir ein sichtbares Gefüge der Handlung, bei Goethe können wir es stets wahrnehmen. Von einer einheitlichen Stimmung können wir bei Schiller umso weniger sprechen, als eine spezifische Stimmung in seinen Balladen oft überhaupt nicht vorhanden ist. Goethe dagegen macht von dem traditionellen Vorrecht der Ballade, die Welt des Übersinnlichen zu verwerten, ausgiebig Gebrauch und erregt so besonders eigenartige und starke Stimmungen; im "Totentanz," in der "Braut von Korinth," im "Erbkönig" verwendet er grausig-unheimliche Motive; in der "Ballade" hält er bis zum Schluss die Stimmung des Geheimnisvollen wach;

in vielen Balladen spielt das Wunderbare eine bedeutende Rolle ("Fischer," "Hochzeitlied," "Schatzgräber," "Bajadere," "Zauberlehrling," "Eckart" u. a.); charakteristisch ist, dass die Handlung so vieler seiner Balladen in der Nacht spielt.

Im Gegensatz zu Schiller beschränkt sich Goethe bei Angabe des Tatsächlichen auf das Allernotwendigste; die verwegene Knappheit seiner "Ballade" hat ja schliesslich dahin geführt, dass der Dichter selber einen Kommentar schreiben musste. Bei Goethe gibt es nur *eine* Ballade, die vom technischen Standpunkt aus unzulänglich ist, die "Braut von Korinth"; bei Schiller nur *eine* zulängliche, den "Grafen von Habsburg"; denn der "Handschuh" scheidet aus äusserlich-formellen Gründen aus einer Betrachtung der Balladen aus. Schillers Balladen sind Erzählungen in lyrischer Form, Goethes: primitive Dramen in lyrischer Form; Goethes Balladen entsprechen also wohl den Forderungen der Theorie. Selbst diejenige Ballade Schillers, die nächst dem "Grafen von Habsburg" die technisch vollkommenste ist, die "Bürgschaft," ist doch im Grunde nur ein dramatisiertes Epos in lyrischer Gestalt. Bei Goethe bemerken wir überall die Struktur des Dramas: Exposition—steigende Handlung—Höhepunkt—fallende Handlung—Schluss (Moral). Bei Schiller läuft alles auf das wuchtige Ende hinaus; seine Balladen verhalten sich zu den Goetheschen wie der Akt zum Drama. Goethe ist also in der kleineren Form der Ballade der grössere Dramatiker als Schiller. Dennoch können wir bei Goethes Balladen nicht von einem blossen Abebben der Handlung in der zweiten Hälfte sprechen; oft finden wir am Schluss einen zweiten geringeren Höhepunkt, der aber kein eigentlich neues Motiv, sondern nur die Vollendung des Hauptmotivs, die psychologische oder moralische Ausnutzung der Idee beibringt. So finden wir im "Eckart" das wichtigste Moment, die Verheissung, in der Mitte des Gedichtes, während der Schluss die Erfüllung der Verheissung bringt; so stehen sich in der "Bajadere" Veredlung und Erlösung gegenüber; und Ähnliches liesse sich vom "Zauberlehrling," von der "Wirkung in die Ferne," ja, von der "Braut von Korinth" nachweisen.

Beider Dichter Balladen enthalten oft, nicht immer, eine Moral, die entweder direkt oder indirekt vom Dichter ausgesprochen wird und natürlich den Schluss der Gedichte bildet. Grade Goethe liebt es, sich in der Schlusstrophe lebenswürdig moralisierend an die Hörer zu wenden: so im "Eckart," in der "Müllerin

Verrat" und ähnlich auch im "Hochzeitlied." Schiller spricht die Moral niemals direkt aus, und doch wirkt sie oft viel stärker als bei Goethe, ja zuweilen (im "Eisenhammer" und "Drachen") gradezu aufdringlich. Dies findet seine Erklärung in der bereits angeführten Tatsache, dass in Schillers Balladen der Hauptakzent auf dem Schlusse—also der Moral—liegt; und das mit gewissem Recht, denn bei Schiller ist, in Übereinstimmung mit seinem ganzen poetischen Charakter, das Moralische weit wichtiger als bei Goethe, und man darf wohl sagen, dass "Der Gang nach dem Eisenhammer" und "Der Kampf mit dem Drachen" nur der Moral wegen geschrieben sind.

Goethes Balladen enthalten stets nur eine einzige Szene: wir sehn einen Sänger im Königssaal oder werden zu Zeugen einer Liebesnacht oder einer Kirchhofsszene oder eines nächtlichen Rittes. Bei Schiller haben wir sehr oft eine Mehrzahl von Schauplätzen: im "Ibykus," "Toggenburg," "Eisenhammer," "Bürgschaft," "Alpenjäger"; oder eine Mehrzahl von Handlungen: "Ibykus," "Taucher," "Polykrates" u. a.; oder es besteht keine Einheit der Zeit: "Polykrates," "Bürgschaft" u. a.

Nicht überall wird bei Goethe die Vorhandlung in der ersten Strophe gegeben, sondern zuweilen späterhin von einer der handelnden Personen erzählt, so in der "Braut von Korinth," der "Ballade," dem "Hochzeitlied," der "Müllerin Verrat." Dies ist auch in Schillers "Grafen von Habsburg" und "Kampf mit dem Drachen" der Fall; doch mit dem Unterschiede, dass bei Goethe in knappem dramatischen Stile berichtet wird—mit Ausnahme des überhaupt loser komponierten "Verrats der Müllerin"—, während Schillers Berichte mit liebevoller epischer Breite ausgeführt sind: im "Drachen" ist die Erzählung neben der von ihr abgeleiteten Moral die Hauptsache, bei Goethe sind die eingeschalteten Erzählungen stets nur Mittel zum Zweck. Schiller geht im Epischen sogar so weit, direkte Charakteristik zu geben, so im Schlusse der "Kraniche" und dem Anfang des "Eisenhammers."

Wenn trotz all diesen Mängeln Schillers "Balladen" mit Recht als Meisterwerke bezeichnet werden können, so geschieht dies auf Grund der Tatsache, dass sich in ihnen der Dramatiker Schiller als Meister der *Erzählungskunst* bewährt, wie andererseits der Lyriker und Epiker Goethe in den seinen hervorragende dramatische Qualitäten gezeigt hatte. Der Macht der Erzählung in den

„Kranichen“ lässt sich kaum etwas Ebenbürtiges an die Seite setzen, während der Dichter im „Taucher“ während des ersten Versuchs des Knappen die notwendige Pause in der Handlung mit ausgezeichnete Technik auszufüllen weiss.

Über die kunstvolle Gruppierung der Handlung in Goethes Balladen ist schon früher gesprochen worden; hier seien noch einige spezielle Bemerkungen beigebracht. Die lyrische Strophenform ist bei Goethe auch äusserlich berechtigt, da bei ihm die Strophen, mit wenigen Ausnahmen, auch inhaltliche Einheiten bilden. So hat die Strophe des „Erlkönigs“ das Reimschema aabb, und doch wäre es verkehrt, das Gedicht in Reimpaare aufzulösen. Die Strophenhälften in den Strophen 1.2.3.5.8 gehören eng zusammen. Genau dasselbe ist in dem liedartigen „Rattenfänger“ der Fall; doch tritt hier die strophische Einheit schon durch den vollkommen gleichartigen Aufbau der drei Teile zutage. Eine Disposition der Goetheschen Balladen von Strophe zu Strophe herzustellen, ist nicht schwer. Selbst in der Liedballade vom „Fischer“ lässt sich die Anordnung auf ein Schema bringen: Str. 1 Exposition, 2 und 3 Versuchung, 4 Resultat; 2 und 3 gehören zusammen, sind aber doch Einheiten: beide steigern sich bis zum Schluss, wo die Schmeichelreden der Wasserfrau persönlicher auf den Fischer Bezug nehmen. Im „Sänger“ enthält Strophe 1 die Einleitung, 6 den Schluss, 2 und 3 die Aufforderung an den Sänger, sein Lied und den ihm zugedachten Lohn, 4 und 5 seine Entgegnung; der Mittelpunkt der Handlung (der „Falke“ der Ballade): die Überreichung der goldenen Kette, befindet sich genau in der Mitte. Ebenso liegt in dem Gedicht „Wirkung in die Ferne“ der Höhepunkt der Handlung in den beiden Mittelstrophen; in dieser Ballade lässt sich besonders deutlich die Geschlossenheit der einzelnen Strophen nachweisen: 1 und 2 enthalten die Vorbereitungen der „Katastrophe“ (1 den Auftrag des Knappen, 2 den der Dame), 5 und 6 die Rede der Königin (5 allgemein, 6 speziell). Zuweilen wird der Abschluss der Strophe durch besondere Mittel kenntlich gemacht: „Mignon“ und die „Ballade“ haben Refrain—den wir bei Schiller nirgends finden—in der „Müllerin Reue“ wechseln die Sprechenden von Strophe zu Strophe. In der „Ballade“, die den Gattungsnamen mit demselben Recht als Überschrift führt wie Goethes „Novelle“, liegt der Höhepunkt der Handlung: der Segen des Alten und die Rückkehr des Vaters, gleichfalls in der Mitte; in der ersten Hälfte wird

die Vergangenheit durch den Alten, in der zweiten Hälfte durch den Vater dargestellt; die einzelnen Epochen werden von dem Alten in je einer Strophe geschildert; bei den Scheltreden des Vaters ist es charakteristisch, dass Goethe hier geflissentlich jedes Enjambement vermeidet: der Zornausbruch ist auf drei Strophen verteilt, bildet aber keine zusammenhängende Masse, sondern ist zu Anfang jeder Strophe durch Erzählung unterbrochen. Ein ähnlicher regelmässiger Aufbau liesse sich auch an der "Bajadere" nachweisen. Schwierigkeiten machen ausser der "Braut von Korinth," die wohl stofflich, aber nicht nach ihrer Ausführung echt balladisch ist, nur "Ritter Kurts Brautfahrt" und "Der Zauberlehrling." Bei jenem kann in der Tat von einer Einheit der Strophen-Inhalte nicht gesprochen werden. Die eigenartige Zweiteiligkeit der Strophen des "Zauberlehrlings" hat zur Folge gehabt, dass Goethe die kürzeren zweiten Hälften zuweilen enger mit den folgenden als mit den vorausgehenden Halbstrophen verband, so beim Übergang von Str. 3-4 und 4-5; auch zwischen den beiden letzten Halbstrophen besteht ein starker Einschnitt. In den Strophen der "Bajadere," die gleichfalls aus zwei ungleichmässigen Hälften bestehen, war ein solches Versehen (wenn es ein Versehen ist) ausgeschlossen, da hier die beiden Strophenhälften durch den Reim intim mit einander verbunden sind.

Bei Schiller kann von einer Einheit des Strophengehalts überhaupt nur beim "Grafen von Habsburg" gesprochen werden, der übrigens auch die Exposition in Handlung umzusetzen versteht,—und bei der "Bürgschaft," insofern als hier jede Strophe die Handlung fördert; wie ungeheuer schnell hier die Handlung fortschreitet (gleich in der Anfangsstrophe!), so zerfällt das Ganze doch in eine Reihe von Einzelszenen; doch mag man sagen, dass die Idee des Ganzen, die hier an Stelle der lyrischen Stimmung steht, wiederum die ideale Einheit herstellt. Sehr weit entfernt von diesen beiden vollkommensten Balladen von Schiller sind der sentimentale "Ritter Toggenburg" und die weitläufige episch-lyrische "Hero"—vom "Alpenjäger" gar nicht zu sprechen.

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THE MAIN LITERARY TYPES OF MEN IN THE GERMANIC HERO-SAGAS¹

To win fame, the one enduring thing, was the great aim of the Germanic warrior, to perform some deed, which should be said and sung of him long after he was dead and gone. This ideal is expressed in the well-known lines of the *Hǫvum ǫl*, (strophe 77),*

Deyr fé, deyja frændr,
deyr sjalfr et sama,
en orþstírr deyr aldri
hveims sér góþan getr.

The great name might be made merely through physical courage and the power of a strong right arm, as in the case of the younger Dragon-fighters. *Béowulf* had the strength of thirty men in his "hand-grip," and he was not afraid to meet alone the monster

¹ See author's article on "Women in the Germanic Hero-Sagas", this JOURNAL, Vol. VIII, pp. 501-512.

* The sources of the Heldensage, used in this paper: *Béowulf*, ed. by Heyne, Anhang, Der Überfall in Finnsburg, 6th ed., Paderborn, 1898; *Denkmäler deutscher Poesie und Prosa*, ed. by Müllenhoff und Scherer, 3d. ed. by Steinmeyer, Berlin, 1892. *Deutsches Heldenbuch*, 5 vols., ed. by Jänicke, Amelung, Martin and Zupitza, Berlin, 1866-73; *Eddica Minora*, ed. by Heusler and Ranisch, Dortmund, 1903; *Ekkehardi primi Waltharius*, ed. by R. Peiper, Berlin, 1873; *Das Waltharilied*, trans. and ed. by Althof., Leipzig, 1907. *Forrnaldarsögur Norðrlanda*, ed. by Rafn. 3 vols., Copenhagen, 1829; *Jordanis, De Getarum sive Gothorum, Origine et Rebus gestis*, ed. by Closs, 3d ed., Reutlingen, 1888; *Koninc Ermenrikes dót her. in v. d. Hagen's Heldenbuch in 8° II*, pp. 535 ff.; *Kúdrún*, ed. by E. Martin, 2d ed., Halle, 1902; *Die Lieder der älteren Edda*, ed. by Hildebrand, 2d ed. by Gering, Paderborn, 1904; *Pauli, Historia Langobardorum*. "Monumenta Germaniae Historica," Hanover, 1878; *Der Nibelunge Not und die Klage*. Ed. by Lachmann, 5te Ausgabe, Berlin, 1878; *Der Muenchner Oswald* Ed. Baesecke, Breslau, 1907; *König Rother*, ed. K. V. Bahder, Halle, 1884; *Saxonis Grammatici Gesta Danorum*, ed. by Holder, Strassburg, 1886; *Das Lied vom Hürnen Seyfried*, ed. by Golther, Halle, 1889; *Snorri Sturluson, Edda*, ed. by F. Jonsson, Copenhagen, 1900; *Die Spielmannsdichtung, I. Teil*, (Piper), Deutsche National-Litteratur B. 2, Hrsg. von Kürschner, Berlin, 1887; *Þiðriks saga af Bern*, ed. by Henrik Bertelsen, Copenhagen, 1905-11; *Völsunga saga ok Ragnars saga Loðbrókar*, ed. by Magnus Olsen, Copenhagen, 1906-1908; *Widukindi Rerum gestarum Saxoniarum Libri Tres*, Hanover, 1904, (*Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum*).

Grendel before whom every one else fled in terror. Siegfried did not know what fear was, and he was so strong that he split the anvil in two with one blow of his sword. Absolute fearlessness, with strength far beyond that of the ordinary man, are the characteristics of these two, which give them a claim to heroism.

Ortnit,² on the other hand, and Béowulf³ in his later years, are different. A new motive enters, namely, the duty of a king to protect his people. Here we have the same physical courage, and in addition the king's idea of duty toward his subjects. Ortnit did not kill his dragon. His strength failed him, and there was not even a fight. But he showed himself to be possessed of true warrior's mettle by going out to meet the monster. He did not die the "straw death." Béowulf was successful. He won his battle, though he lost his life. And thus he became the deliverer of his people. But not in the Christian sense of sacrificing himself to save others. This idea of self-sacrifice was foreign to the Germanic mind. The greatest hero of a people was primarily their greatest warrior. Such a life of victory as Béowulf had led must have a fitting close.⁴ He must die fighting. The occasion was there, and he could do nothing but go out against the dragon, or the end of his life would not have been in keeping with the life itself.

The avenger⁵ of Ortnit's death was another dragon-fighter, who fought with a definite end in view, though he owed no duty to the people whom he was freeing from the dragon. He was a stranger, and he set out against the monster in order to win the hand of Ortnit's widow, who had sworn to marry no one but the avenger of her husband's death.

THE LOVER

The simplest motive in the love stories, as in the dragon-fight sagas, is the fondness for adventure, the desire of the hero to display physical courage for the sake of winning the object of his

² "Ortnit," *Deutsches Heldenbuch*, B. 3.

³ *Beowulf*, ll. 2210 ff.

⁴ In the case of Harald Hilditönn a fitting close was not provided. And he himself, or his protecting god, however we look upon the immediate cause, stirred up strife for the sole purpose of bringing Harald's life to a close befitting a great warrior. *Fornaldarsögur*, I. 377 ff. *Saxons, Lib. VII*, pp. 255 ff.

⁵ Wolfdietrich in the Middle High German epics. *D. H. B.*, B. 3, 4.

affections. Instead of taking a bride from his own people, the daughter of a friendly neighbor, the Hero Lover preferred to go to a foreign land and win a maiden by facing danger and overcoming obstacles. Or, he deliberately chose the daughter of an enemy and went bravely to his death for her sake.

Three wooers, who travelled far from home for a bride, ended their story happily, not by great strength, but by cunning. In all these cases disguise enters as an important element. Hugdietrich,⁶ a young prince of Constantinople, disguised himself as a maiden, and set out to win the lovely daughter of a neighboring king. The girl was kept shut up in a tower, and her father had sworn that so long as he lived, no man need sue for her hand. Were it an emperor himself, she should be denied to him. Hugdietrich found his way to the tower, and wooed and won the princess. When the father found this out, he was greatly enraged, but, as there was nothing to be done, he resolved to make the best of it. "I swore to give my highborn daughter to no man. But, since she has chosen a husband for herself and a father for her son, tell me, Counsellors, am I not freed from my oath?" Those who stood about him answered, "You are freed from your oath, my Lórd!" And the wedding was celebrated.

King Rother⁷ first sent ambassadors for the hand of the forbidden princess. When they were cast into prison, he himself went in disguise to rescue them, and, at the same time, see what could be done about the princess. The maiden was speedily won, and, without the father's consent, was led away in triumph by the resolute suitor.

Hetel,⁸ the wooer of Hilde, was more wary in his dealing with the wild King Hagen. He not only staid away himself, but he disguised his messengers. It was thus comparatively easy for them to gain access to the maiden, and to make known their real errand. Hilde consented to go with them, and, at the appointed time they set sail. But Hagen refused to recognize a victory won by strategy. He pursued the fleeing ships, and Hetel and his men were made to prove their superior strength in a hard fought battle before the bride was fairly won.

⁶ "Wolfdietrich B.", *D. H. B.*, B. 3.

⁷ "König Rother."

⁸ *Kádrán*, 210-586.

Other familiar examples of the adventurous wooer are Ortnit, Oswald,⁹ and Orendel¹⁰. Herwig, the successful lover in the Gûdrûn story, is the determined suitor, who, openly defiant, fights his way into the heart of the maiden of his choice.

Walther's¹¹ flight with Hildegunde from the court of the Huns was not an elopement in the usual sense, and Walther's principal rôle was not that of the lover. The two were hostages, and their desire to make their escape from Attila is the real motive of the flight. The adventures which Walther encountered on the way were not on account of the stolen maiden, but were due to the chests of gold which he had with him.

The Tragic Hero¹² of the love story is represented by the two men, Hagbart and Helgi. Here the spirit of adventure gives place to a more serious motif. Hagbart¹³ is the faithful lover who risks all for the sake of his love, and demands and receives in return a like fidelity from the loved one. Losing his life, he triumphs in the thought that he takes with him in death the companion who was denied to him in life.

The fidelity of lovers after death has separated them, is the motif in the story of Helgi and Sigrún.¹⁴ Helgi's act of chivalry in saving Sigrún from a marriage that was hateful to her, stirred up a feud with the maiden's kinsmen, which cost him his life. Sigrún's grief for her lover never grew less, and the tears that she wept, at last brought her hero back to her from Valhalla for a single night. Anxiously she watched each day at nightfall for him to come again. And when all hope of his return had darkened, Sigrún followed the lover who had died for her sake into the land of the dead.

Four men appear in the rôle of the Rejected Suitor in the sagas, Hartmut, Hqþbroddr, Angantýr, and Dietrich von Berne. Hartmut von Ormandîn was an unsuccessful suitor for the hand of Gûdrûn. But he refused to take "No" for an answer, and kidnapped the maiden when her father was away fighting. Confident of his ability to win her in the end, Hartmut detained Gûdrûn

⁹ "Oswald."

¹⁰ *Orendel. Deutsche National Litteratur*, B. 2. pp. 170 ff.

¹¹ "Waltherilied."

¹² "Women in the G. H. S." pp. 509 ff.

¹³ *Saxonis, Lib. VII*, pp. 230 ff.

¹⁴ "Helgakviða II." *Edda*, p. 256.

as a prisoner in his land for many years. But the young woman remained true to her betrothed lover until she was finally rescued by her own people.

Höfbroddr was the man whom Sigrún's father selected as a husband for her. We know nothing of him except Sigrún's scornful words when she begs Helgi to rescue her from the odious bridegroom. "This Höfbroddr is no better than the son of a cat."

Angantýr,¹⁵ a suitor for the hand of the beautiful Ingibjörg, accepted the unfavorable answer that was given to him, but took bitter vengeance upon his successful rival by challenging him to *holmganga*. This brought about one of the greatest tragedies in all the hero-sagas. Both men fell in the fight, and when Ingibjörg heard what had happened, she died of a broken heart and was buried in the grave with Hjalmarr, her husband.

The messenger who turns suitor on his own account is represented by Herbort.¹⁶ True to the man who sent him, he performs his errand to the letter. But, upon a word of encouragement from the maiden herself, he exclaims, "I wished to deliver the message of Dietrich, the King, as I was bidden. But if you will not have him, then will I gladly ask of you if you will have me, even though I am not a King."

Another type of lover with only one representative in the sagas, is the False Wooer. This is Gunther,¹⁷ the Burgundian King. He won the mighty Brynhilde by unfair means, and thus called forth the tragic conflict which ended in his downfall and that of his house.

THE HOSTILE KINSMAN

Opposed to the Lover in the Wooing Sagas, is the Hostile Kinsman, the father of the maiden. This character in its simplest form represents a barrier between the lovers, which is there merely for the purpose of displaying the courage and ingenuity of the adventurous suitor. This is the case in the Hilde Saga, the Rother Saga, and in Hugdietrich's Wooing. In the story of Hagbart and Signi the barrier is real and insurmountable. The sacred duty of vengeance makes the father the natural enemy of the lover, and the result must needs be a tragedy.

¹⁵ "Hervarar saga," *Fornaldar Sögur* I, p. 411.

¹⁶ *Þiðriks saga*, 322.³

¹⁷ *Nibelungenlied*, *Brot af Sigurþarkviðu*, *Guðrúnarkviða* I, II, *Sigurþarkviða en skamma*, *Atlakviða*, *Þiðriks saga*. 319⁴, 391⁴, 396⁵ ff.

In two sagas the catastrophe is brought about by the father's insisting upon marrying his daughter to a wooer, whom she detested. Signý, the Wælsung daughter,¹⁸ obeyed her father and married Siggeir, while Sigrún refused to accept the man of her father's choice.

THE AVENGER

The prevailing tone of the Germanic Hero Sagas is tragic, and whatever may be the main motif of the story, the spirit of vengeance in some form is rarely lacking. Usually vengeance is taken for another person, for a kinsman, or for one to whom the avenger has sworn loyalty. But in two of the sagas, the *Völundr Saga*¹⁹ and the *Swanhilde Saga*,²⁰ it is a purely personal vengeance that is being executed.

In both instances the avenger wreaked vengeance, not directly upon his enemy, but upon the children of the enemy. Thus he took the bitterest kind of revenge for the wrong done to himself, and, at the same time, through the death of the sons, secured himself against the return vengeance. Völundr, the mastersmith, carried out with his own hands his demoniacal plan, leaving King Nípuðr, his captor, to mourn a dishonoured daughter and murdered sons. Bikki, the counsellor of King Eormanric, was more subtle. He contrived that the king who had wronged him, should wreak the vengeance upon himself. By means of a false story Bikki aroused the king's wrath against his only son, and, when it was too late, Eormanric discovered that he had become the victim of his own supposed vengeance.

THE KINSMAN AS THE AVENGER

The Father

That a son should avenge the death of his father, was taken for granted in the age of the Germanic Hero. When Brynhilde is urging Gunnar to murder Sigurd she says (*Sigurðarkviða enn skamma*, Str. 12),

“Lǫtum sun fara feðr í sinni,
skalat ulf ala ungan lengi;
hveim verðr hólþa hefnd léttari
síðan til sátta, at sunr lift.”

¹⁸ *Völsunga s.* II-VIII, “Women in the G. H. S.” pp. 507 ff.

¹⁹ “*Völundarkviða*,” *Edda*, p. 211.

²⁰ “*Guðrúnarhvot*,” *Edda*, p. 443; “*Hamþesmöl*,” *Edda*, p. 451; *Saxonis, Lib.* 8, pp. 280 ff.; *Jordanis, XXIV; Snorri, Tillæg, VI; Völsunga S.* 40.

And in *Gádrán* (Str. 1503) Wate, the old and tried warrior reproaches Irolt, the Strong, with having "kindes muot," when he begs for the life of the children in the cradle.

"solten die erwahsen,
só wolte ich in niht mære getrouwen danne einem wilden Sahren."

The duty of the father to avenge the death of his son seems to have been just as binding. Two of the strongest mental conflicts presented in the Hero-Sagas arise from the fact that the opportunity for vengeance was at hand, but the father might not make use of it, because of another claim equally strong, and equally sacred to him. In the story of Herebeald and Hæðcyn,²¹ the one brother accidentally killed the other while they were shooting at a mark. Their old father, Hrêðel, never ceased to mourn for his murdered child. Though his grief for the loss of his son seemed to be less than his regret that he could not avenge his death.

It was respect for the law of hospitality that stayed the hand of Turisvend, the grand old Gepid King,²² in a similar instance. The slayer of his son sat boldly at his table, in the place where the son was wont to sit. For a moment the King's feelings overpowered him, and, with deep sighs, he gave utterance to his grief. "Dear to me that place, though far from dear the sight of him who sits therein." But when a commotion arose among his men and the stranger was threatened, the old man threw himself into the midst of the combatants and refused to allow a hand to be raised against the unbidden guest.

"What honor," he cried, "can come from a victory gained over a guest in one's own house?" And he threatened with dire punishment the man who should strike a single blow. Peace reigned again and the banquet went on. When it was over, Turisvend took the arms of his dead son, and, presenting them to Alboin, sent him back to his father in safety. When the Lombards heard what Alboin had done, and how he had fared in the land of the Gepidi, they extolled none the less the great fidelity of the stranger, Turisvend, than they praised the courage of their own prince.

In the *Tell Saga*,^{22a} also, the feelings of the father are subordinated to duty. As a vassal, the master marksman was bound to

²¹ *Béowulf*, ll. 2435 ff.

²² *Pauli*, *Lib.* I. 23 and 24.

^{22a} *Saxonis Lib.* X, pp. 329 ff.; *Þidriks s.* 127²; "*Hemingsþáttir Áslákksonar*" (*Flateyjar-bók*, vol. 3); Möbius, *Analecta Norrænna*, Lpz. 1859, pp. 186 ff.

obey the command of his lord. But, if the son had been killed, Tell's next duty would have been to avenge his death upon this lord. And the arrow was ready.

Signi's father, the opposing force in the Hagbart and Signi Saga, is avenging the death of his sons upon Hagbart.

The Son

The Avenging Sons are Uffo, the Dane; Ingeld; the Halfdann sons; and Hamlet.

There is a strong note of patriotism in the Uffo Saga,²³ but it is a question whether, in the mind of Uffo, love for the Fatherland and his people, was really as keen as his desire to avenge the insult offered to his father by the Saxon King.

Ingeld,²⁴ as the fragments of the story have come down to us, was not carrying out his own plan of vengeance, but was the instrument of the old guardian of the family honor. Ingeld had been bought off by a marriage, and was living in disgraceful peace with the murderers of his father. Once aroused, however, he knew the duty of a son, and fulfilled it without delay. Forgetting all else he turned his sword against his brothers-in-law, and thrust from him the wife, who was the price of his ignoble action.

The Halfdann Sons²⁵ were still children when their father was killed by his brother Fróði. Here, too, it was the guardian who saved the family honor. He kept the boys hidden away from the wrath of the uncle, and never allowed them to forget what they owed to their murdered father. Their first manly act was to burn the hall of Fróði and all who were in it. When the house was in flames, the King offered to make peace with the boys, begging them not to stain their hands with the blood of a kinsman. But one of them answered him: "No man can trust you, and you will surely deceive us later, as you did our father, Halfdann. The time is now come for you to pay for that bad deed."

Hamlet²⁶ is the typical avenger, whose one aim for many years was to carry out his purpose. Like the Halfdann Sons, he was arrayed against one of his own blood. But, unlike them, he stood

²³ *Saxonic, Lib.* IV, pp. 106 ff.

²⁴ *Béowulf*, ll. 2023 ff. *Saxonic Lib.* VI, pp. 199 ff.

²⁵ "Saga Hrolfs konungs kraka," *Fornaldarsögur*, Vol. I. pp. 3 ff.

²⁶ *Saxonic, Lib.* III, pp. 87 ff.

alone. His only counsellor was his sense of duty to his murdered father and his only helper, his feigned madness.

As a secondary character, Sigmund assists his sister, Signý, in avenging the death of her father and brother upon her husband.

Dagr took the place of his father as the hostile kinsman in the Helgi and Sigrún story, in order to avenge the death of the father.

The Brother

The Avenging Brother is represented by Hamþér and Sqrli.²⁷ Of all the avengers they are the only ones in the Hero-Sagas, who lost their lives without accomplishing their purpose. The hand of Erpr, their brother, whom they had killed on the way, was needed to complete the work. And they went to their death with the sister only half avenged.

The brothers in the Gúðrún Saga assist in avenging the wrong done to their sister in the land of Hartmut.

THE VASSAL AS AVENGER

The duty of avenging his master's death was as binding upon a vassal, as it was upon the kinsmen of the murdered man. Vengeance for the death of Hnæf, the Hôcing,²⁸ was put off for a season, and his men seemed to have forgotten what they owed to their former master. When the time came, however, Hengest, the faithful vassal, aroused them with a word, and Finn was slain with all his following.

In contrast to the long delayed and carefully planned vengeance, is the quick, decisive act of one commanding moment. That a man should risk his life for the sake of vengeance was taken for granted, but that he should go deliberately to what he knew was certain death, was rare. Two men gained the name of hero by giving their life for such a moment of triumph. Wôgg's²⁹ prompt vengeance for the death of his master, Hrolf Kraki, was an act of gratitude. In return for a gift, he had sworn years before to be the death of that man, who should be the death of Hrolf. Surrounded by his enemies, Wôgg bravely grasped the sword, which

²⁷ "Hamþesmôl," *Edda*, p. 451; "Guþrúnarhvot," *Edda*, p. 443; "Ragnarsdrápa," *Snorri, Tíllæg*, VI; *Saxonis Lib.* VIII, p. 281, *Jordanis* XXIV. *Völsunga* s. 41 and 42.

²⁸ *Béowulf*, ll. 1069 ff. *Finnsburg Fragment*.

²⁹ *Snorri, Edda*, "Skáldskaparmál," C. 41.

was extended to him to kiss, and plunged it through the body of the man who had killed his master.

Hagen³⁰ paid the price of vengeance with his life, rather than disclose the hiding-place of the treasure. He laughed when they cut out his heart, and avenged himself and his master by carrying with him his secret to the grave.

THE TUTOR, OR "THE WAFFENMEISTER"

A character, much beloved in the Hero-Sagas, is the old and tried warrior, who was charged with the care and education of the young princes. He was responsible for them for the time being, and his loyalty to the house continued long after his duty as guardian and educator had been fulfilled.

The old Hildebrand,³¹ Dietrich's Waffenmeister, followed Dietrich into banishment, and remained true to him through all vicissitudes.

Wate von Stürmen, the great fighter of the Gûdrûn Saga, was the grimdest of avengers of the wrongs suffered by his master's sons and daughter.

Eckehart³² earned his name "der treue" by his faithful care of the Harlungen, whose death he afterwards avenged upon the false Sibich.

Elsân³³ was one who was not equal to the duty imposed upon him by his master, Dietrich. The time had come for the three young heroes to show their mettle. And no one less than Dietrich himself could have hindered them.

Berhtung von Meran's³⁴ task of saving and bringing up the little Wolfdietrich, was one that he himself assumed. He willingly sacrificed himself and his sons, looking forward to the day when his young master should be strong enough to restore the honor of their house.

Another self-imposed task was that of the mighty Starkapr.³⁵ As the admonisher of Ingeld, he played a part not less important than that of the avenger himself.

³⁰ *Atlakviða*, Str. 25, *Hló þa Hogni es til hjarta skoru, Atlamól*, 61.

³¹ "Das Hildebrandslied," *Denkmäler*, pp. 2 ff.

³² "Dietrichsflucht," 4682; "Rabenschlacht," 864, (*Deutsches Heldenbuch* II.) *Þiðriks Saga*, 344.³

³³ "Rabenschlacht," *Deutsches Heldenbuch*, B. 2.

³⁴ "Wolfdietrich" A., *Deutsches Heldenbuch*, B. 3.

³⁵ *Saxonis Liber*; VI. pp. 199 ff.

Without the counsel of the older and wiser Reginn, the Halfdansson would have been unable to avenge the death of their father. Like Starkþr and Wate von Stürmen, he is a typical guardian of the honor of his master's house.

In tragic significance the greatest of all the men, whose responsibility for others was either assumed or imposed, is Ruedeger, the powerful vassal of Attila, and his ambassador for the hand of Kriemhilde. As a result of giving his word to Kriemhilde to watch over her and to make good any harm that might come to her in the land of the Huns, there followed an irreconcilable conflict of duties and a soul struggle no less great than that of the Gepid King, Turisvend, or that of Hildebrand, when fate engaged him in deadly combat with his own son. On the one hand his duty to Attila and to the guests whom he had led into the land; on the other hand, the oath which he had sworn, to avenge the wrongs of Kriemhilde.

VICTIMS OF FATE

Every Germanic warrior, however great, acknowledged the superiority of one foe, before whom resistance was useless. That was Fate. Nor did he count it a disgrace to yield to a power that was higher than his gods. Even when Fate demanded of him an act that he deemed unworthy, he must obey. Four men are presented in such a contradictory rôle in the Sagas.

Heþinn,³⁶ under the spell of a Norn, vowed over the Princes' bowl to woo the affianced bride of his brother, Helgi. This was a dastardly deed and would, of necessity, lead to a deadly feud between the brothers. Another intervention of Fate, which removed Helgi by death prevented this, and left Heþinn free to fulfill his vow.

When Hildebrand, in his last hour was counting up the men whom he had slain, his own son was among them. "But," he added,

"óviliandi
aldrs syniaðak"³⁷

According to the *Ásmundarsaga*, Fate selected Ásmundr, the half-brother of Hildebrand, to give the death-blow to the famous

³⁶ *Helgakviða Hjörvarðssonar*, 31 ff.

³⁷ "Hildebrands Sterbelied" from the "*Ásmundarsaga Kappabana*," *Eddica Minora*, pp. 53 ff.

old warrior. Ignorant of his kinship with his opponent, Ásmundr learned first from the lips of the dying Hildebrand, what he had done, and he cries out in grief

“Miðk er vandgætt
hveim er verða skal
barmi qðrum
at banorði.”³³

It was in the fate of Starkaþr, decided for him by the gods assembled, that he should do one disgraceful deed³⁹ in each of the three generations of his life.

Angantýr, by refusing to his half-brother, Hlqðr, the half of their father's estate, stirred up a feud, which cost the life of Hlqðr. A great battle was fought, many men fell, and Hlqðr received his death wound at the hands of his brother. In the last stanza of “Das Lied von der Hunnenschlacht,”⁴⁰ Angantýr lays the blame upon the Norns.

“Bqlvat er okkr, bróðir
bani em ek þinn orðinn!
þat mun æ uppi;
illr er dómr norna.”

THE TRAITOR

In contrast to the faithful vassal, who looks upon himself as the guardian of the household honor, is the faithless vassal, the evil counsellor, who uses his influence to stir up strife and bring destruction upon the house of his master. There are three such characters in the sagas, defamers and traitors at the same time, Bikki, in the Swanhilde Saga, Saben, the counterpart of Berhtung von Mêrân, in the Wolddietrichsaga, and Sibich, the slanderer of the Harlungen.

Starkaþr and Iring, two of the towering figures in the Germanic Sagas, are associated with an act of betrayal. But in neither case is the rôle of traitor the principal rôle of the character. The *níþingsverk*, which Starkaþr was doomed to perform three times during his three generations, consisted twice in the betrayal of

³³ *Hildebrands Sterbelied*, Str. 1.

³⁹ *Saga Gautreks konungs*, *Fornaldarsögur* III. p. 32. þór mælti: hann skal vinna níþingsverk á hvörjum mannsaldri.

⁴⁰ *Eddica Minora*, p. 1.

the master,⁴¹ who trusted him. But, as the tool of the gods, he was not responsible for the act of treachery, which was foreign to his character. Iring, bought with gifts by the enemy, also betrayed his master. But, filled with remorse, he made haste to atone for his deed by killing the king who had bribed him, in the midst of his following. He is remembered in the sagas for this act of daring bravery in avenging his master's death, rather than for the act of betrayal, which caused his death. This wiped out the stain to such an extent that, according to his chronicler, the name of Iring was written among the stars.⁴²

In the Middle High German Epics of the 13th Century, Witege and Heine are stigmatized as traitors, because they deserted Dietrich von Bern.

THE KING

In conclusion, a word about the King as he appears in the sagas. The character of the King ranges in importance from an entirely passive character, the personification of royalty, to the hero of the story. In his traditional function of Ruler and Protector of the people, the King is the hero in two sagas, the *Béowulf* Saga (II), and the *Ortnit* Saga. The gepid King Turisvend's protection, not of his own men, but of the deadly foe, who sat arrogantly as a self-invited guest at his table, won for him the name of hero in the sagas of the Lombards.

As the protector and friend of the banished man, Attila stands out strongly in the German Saga, though he is not the principal character in the stories.

The first act of the banished Wolddietrich after he had conquered a kingdom for himself, was to return to his own land to reward the fidelity of his former vassals and to avenge the wrongs which they had suffered for his sake.

Over against the protector, is the King who misdirected his power, and thereby brought about his own destruction. King Fróði, in the *Grotti* Saga,⁴³ and Nípuþr, in the *Völundr* Saga, vainly tried to force a supernatural being into their service. Eor-manric and Hugdietrich, influenced by the Evil Counsellor, exer-

⁴¹ Víkarr (*Gautrekssaga*, Fas. III, pp. 33 ff.) and Olo (Áli) (*Saxonis Lib.* VIII, p. 265).

⁴² *Widukindi*, Lib. I, 13.

⁴³ *Gróttasqng*, *Snorra Edda*, Tillaeg VII.

cised their power against their own blood, and thus brought trouble to themselves.

King Alboin met his death as a result of the high-handed insult, which he offered to his captive queen, Rosamunda.⁴⁴

Quite apart from his power and his duty as a ruler, the King appears as Hero in two purely human rôles, that of Suitor and Avenger. In the Rother Saga, the rôle of King Rother as Suitor is nearly lost sight of in his fulfillment of his kingly duty as the rescuer and rewarder of his vassals. The king also plays a real part, though not that of the main character, as the Hostile Kinsman.

The invincible King is represented in the sagas by Harald Hilditqnn, who was under the protection of Odin and could not be conquered without the intervention of the god himself.

Among the kings, who appear prominently in the setting of the story and bring out the character of the hero, are Hrolf Kraki, Feng, the usurping Uncle in the Hamlet Saga, Dietrich von Bern, the fugitive, driven out of his land by the cruel Odoacer (Eor-manric), the blind old king Wermund, and King Hrôðgâr, helpless against the ravages of the monster Grendel.

As a suitor, the king is not always in the ruling position of advantage, where he surmounts all obstacles, or pays with his life for his fidelity. In the case of Dietrich von Bern in the Herbort Saga, he appears in the half humorous position of the shy, helpless wooer, who is rejected by the princess Hildeburg in favor of the messenger, Herbort.

GRACE FLEMING VAN SWERINGEN.

University of Colorado, December, 1915.

⁴⁴ *Pauli, Lib. II, 28.* "Women in the G. H. S.," p. 507.

ELEMENTS OF REALISM IN THE "KNIGHT'S TALE."

The usual view of the *Knight's Tale* is that it is the great exception to the prevailing spirit of the *Canterbury Tales*. It is apt to be classified with the one undoubted case where Chaucer leaves the present day world and plunges into the realm of the imaginary, indeed, the impossible,—the tale of the Squire. Even the tales that include, as essential features, miracles and works of magic, such as the Prioress's and the Wife of Bath's, and even the "beast epic" of the Nun's Priest, are considered to be saved by realistic details from the stigma of romanticism. It is true that the realism of the *Knight's Tale* is not upon the surface: the figures of the main characters, of Arcite and Palamon, of Theseus and Emily, do not stand before us with any great distinctness. Many details of the plot, too, the prayers to Venus, to Mars, and to Diana and the answers of the divinities are, of course, outside the sphere of realism. Yet the atmosphere of the story is replete with realism—not, it must be noted, a realistic picture of the Greece of Theseus, as it purports to be, but of the England and the Europe of the Knight himself. It is a different world from that in which most of the characters of the pilgrimage live, and it may be called a more fantastic and artificial world; but it is none the less a real and actual world. That it is only the Knight who gives us such a tale is quite natural since he and the Squire are the only ones of the company who know the world of chivalry from the inside. Thus the Knight is as much at home with the details of his story as are the Reeve and the Miller with theirs—and it is hardly fair to the fourteenth century to say that it is only the Reeve and the Miller who give realistic pictures of its life. For the age of chivalry was by no means over; and as the Knight himself was a figure one would be likely to encounter in the England of Chaucer, so the realistic basis of many of the incidents he recounts may easily be found. Some of the most startlingly fantastic and apparently imaginary incidents have actual basis in fact, as may be shown by parallels drawn from the great store-house of fourteenth century history, the *Chronicles* of Froissart. In the case of the *Knight's Tale* there is no question as to the relation of Chaucer and Froissart, as there is in the *Book of the Duchess*, where the

first few lines so closely agree with those of Froissart's *Paradys d'Amour* that one of the writers must unquestionably have translated from the other: here the resemblance is simply that of two writers of the same age treating similar subjects. Leaving aside for the present the question of the actual sources of the *Knight's Tale*, the relationship of Chaucer to Statius and Boccaccio, it is our purpose in the first part of this paper to show that the incidents, however gathered, have a realistic coloring, because of their similarity in many details to what may be found in the histories of Chaucer's time.*

I

The description of the battle between Theseus and Creon, king of Thebes, is a case in point. All the details are familiar: the battle in a field outside the town, the retreat of the defeated inhabitants within its walls, the pursuit of the victors, and the sack and destruction of the town. Chaucer's description is very compressed, to be sure:

Til that he cam to Thebes, and alighte
Faire in a feeld, ther as he thoghte fighte,
But shortly for to speken of this thing,
With Creon, which that was of Thebes king,
He faught, and slough him manly as a knight
In pleyn bataille, and putte the folk to flight:
And by assaut he wan the citee after,
And rente adoun bothe wal, and sparre, and rafter. (983-990)

Many elaborate parallels to this are to be found in Froissart. An unusually brief one, is furnished by the account of the battle of Cadsant between the English and Flemings (I, 44).¹ We have here first the battle before the town: "The battle was very severe and fierce before the town of Cadsant, for the Flemings were good men, and expert in arms; the earl had selected and placed them there to defend the passage against the English, and they were desirous of performing their duty in every respect, which they did." Then, after a list of the knights who fought on the English side, we are told of the retreat of the Flemings into the town: "The combat was very sharp and well fought, for they were

* The subject of this paper was suggested by Professor R. K. Root. I wish here to express my obligation for the help he has generously given in its preparation.

¹ References to Froissart are to the Johnes translation, in two volumes.

engaged hand to fist; but at length the Flemings were put to the rout, and more than three thousand killed, as well at the haven as in the streets and houses." Then comes a list of the prisoners and the fate of the town: "The town was taken and pillaged: and when everything was put on board the vessels with the prisoners, it was burnt. The English returned without accident to England." The destruction of a besieged city, when finally taken, seems to have been the rule rather than the exception at this time, as we learn from Froissart.² Edward III on all his campaigns in France destroyed every place he captured except those he planned to keep and settle, such as Calais. Chaucer's line on the destruction of Thebes,

"And rente adoun bothe wal, and sparre, and rafter",

does not seem extravagant after one has read Froissart's accounts of the wars in France. To quote a part of the description of the capture of Limoges by the Black Prince (I, 453-4): "The prince, the duke of Lancaster, the earls of Cambridge and of Pembroke, sir Guiscard d'Angle and the others, with their men, rushed into the town. You would then have seen pillagers, active to do mischief, running through the town, slaying men, women, and children according to their orders. It was a most melancholy business, for all ranks, ages, and sexes cast themselves on their knees before the prince, begging for mercy: but he was so inflamed with passion that he listened to none, but all were put to the sword. . . . The whole town was pillaged, burnt, and totally destroyed." It should be added that this case was somewhat exceptional, since the prince was enraged at the treachery of the town: the ordinary procedure would have been to hold the knights for ransom, but to slay all the commoners, including the women and children.

Further on in his tale the knight shows how strong was the feeling of caste among those who were feasting together after the tournament. This is also brought out in Froissart, where the knights kill as many peasants as possible, but almost always admit brother knights to ransom,—one of the most lucrative side issues of the game. When, however, the situation is reversed

² As an instance of the matter-of-fact way in which Froissart, like the Knight, speaks of such an instance, see his account of the capture of the city of Durham by the Scots. (I, 99, and the footnote.)

and a peasant slays one of the knights, there is general indignation among them. Thus Froissart describes how a butcher killed a knight and adds (I, 453), "The squire returned to the army, and related the misfortune which had befallen his master. All his brother warriors were greatly angered thereat." This was an unwelcome interruption to the game of chivalry, which was being played between the knights of both sides with the common soldiers as pawns and an occasional rich ransom as a prize.³ Even Chaucer's admirable Knight is possessed with the new spirit of professionalism that was entering the fine old amateur game of knight-errantry. He wishes us to be surprised at the unmercenary character of Theseus in imprisoning Palamon and Arcite, when he might have had actual ransom money,

and he full sone hem sente
To Athenes, to dwellen in prisoun
Perpetuelly, he nolde no raunsoun; (1022-1024.)

and it is a matter for real amazement when later Perotheus begs for the release of Arcite,

And fynally, at requeste and preyere
Of Perotheus, withoute any raunsoun,
Duk Theseus him leet out of prisoun. (1204-1206.)

To show the part that ransoms often play in the military achievements recorded by Froissart, we may reproduce a story that he tells of a French knight named Bonne-lance (II, 317). A lady had expressed curiosity concerning Englishmen to him, saying, "I am sure you have frequent engagements with them, and I say so because I should like to see an Englishman." "By God, fair lady," replied Bonne-lance, "if I have the good fortune to make one of them my prisoner, you shall see him." "Many thanks," answered the lady." Froissart then relates how Bonne-lance fell in with a party of Englishmen, overcame them and took them to the town of Montferrant. There they were exhibited to the lady in question. The knight regrets, however, that "they were not real Englishmen but Gascons, who wage war under that name and come from Béarn and upper Gascony"; "you may view them at your leisure," he continues, "for out of my love for you, I shall leave them in this town until they have paid me their ransoms."

³ On the "élément mercantile" of Chivalry, see Leon Gautier, *La Chevalerie*, ed. E. Dentre, Paris, 1883, p. 699.

In this case it should be said the prisoners proved a poor speculation. Froissart remarks that "it would have been better for the town had he killed or drowned them than to have left them there." Bonne-lance did, indeed, collect the ransoms; for ten of the twenty-two prisoners, having been allowed to seek for funds, returned with the stipulated twenty-two hundred francs; but the twelve who waited in the town improved their time by learning its weak points, so that they afterwards led a besieging army and captured it. The fact that only one hundred francs apiece was asked for these prisoners shows that their captor could not have thought them of very high station, for this was rather a low price. Froissart quaintly tells how highly a certain French knight was esteemed by his friends and gives the exact measure of their grief at his death, by saying (II, 380) that "he never would have been suffered to remain a prisoner, though twenty thousand francs had been asked for his ransom." Thus we see that Chaucer's Knight is expressing only the usual mediæval view of a prisoner, as a definite commercial asset, and one not lightly to be cast away. Froissart indeed speaks of prisoners as almost equivalent to money; e. g. (II, 102), "This battle was of great advantage to the companions, for they were poor, and they enriched themselves by good prisoners."⁴

Theseus's sentencing of Arcite to life banishment on pain of death,

That if so were, that Arcite were y-founde
Ever in lyf, by day or night or stounde
In any contree of this Theseus,
And he were caught, it was accorded thus,
That with a swerde he sholde lese his heed. (1211-1215.)

is paralleled in the famous case of the quarrel of Bolingbroke and Mowbray, and the sentencing of the latter by Richard II to life exile on pain of death. Thus Froissart (II, 666), "They having reported thus, the king said, 'Well then, I order that the earl-marshal be banished the realm: he may seek any other land he pleases to dwell in, but he must give over all hope of returning hither, as I banish him for life.'"⁵ From the departure of Arcite the *Knight's Tale* goes on along familiar mediæval lines. Palamon

⁴ Cf. also II, 105.

⁵ It is interesting to compare these words with those in the description of the same scene in Shakespeare's *Richard II* (I, 3, 148-153).

languishes in prison; even the chains and fetters with which Chaucer clothes him may be taken literally; for we know from many accounts as well as from actual specimens that their use in the fourteenth century was by no means uncommon.⁶

Among the most striking episodes of the *Knight's Tale*, and those on which the Knight dwells most lovingly and in greatest detail, are the two armed conflicts between Palamon and Arcite. The first is their more or less informal single combat, and the second the elaborate tournament. The single combat in the *Knight's Tale* is an event that has many parallels in Froissart's *Chronicles*, although it must be admitted that in some respects it is a combat of romance rather than one of actual history. For a reading of the combats in Froissart does not give one a very high opinion of the sportsmanship of mediæval knights. Many of the qualities that we associate with the knightly and the chivalrous are entirely lacking. Thus if an actual Arcite had found the unarmed Palamon before him he would have slain him at once, in all probability. Arcite's noble challenge (l. 1610-1620),

Have heer my trouthe, to-morwe I wol nat fayle,
Withouten witing of any other wight
That here I wol be founden as a knight,
And bringen harneys right y-nough for thee:
And chees the beste, and leve the worse for me,
And mete and drinke this night wol I bringe
Y-nough for thee, and clothes for thy beddinge,
And, if so be that thou my lady winne
And slee me in this wode ther I am inne,
Thou mayst wel have thy lady, as for me.
This Palamon answerde: "I graunte it thee." (1610-1620.)

is the sort of thing one is more likely to find in the pages of Sir Walter Scott than in the actual records of the fourteenth century. Another feature about this duel that is unusual is its informal character; no judge or official and no spectators are present. It will be remembered, too, that it is this that especially shocks Theseus. All the duels recorded in Froissart are very elaborate affairs, fought often by the champions of two armies, in the presence of both, or as a spectacle before a king and his court. Although we may say that the spirit of the duel between Palamon and Arcite

⁶ Arcite's return to Athens in disguise is, in some respects, paralleled by the account Froissart gives of the escape of the Earl of Flanders from the city of Bruges when it was taken by the men of Ghent (I, 704-6).

is thus somewhat different from that of the ordinary fourteenth century duel, the details of the fighting are those commonly recorded, and hence highly realistic. Palamon and Arcite fight first with spears and then with swords, as do the combatants in many a duel of Froissart. The laws seem to have varied. In speaking of the duel between Bertrand de Guesclin and Nicholas Dagworth, Froissart says (I, 236), "The terms of the combat were to be three courses with spears, three strokes with battle axes, and three stabs with daggers." In another place (II, 210), he describes a deed of arms that took place at Bordeaux between champions representing the English and French armies, in which only spears seem to have been used: "When they were mounted, and had their helmets laced on, their spears and shields were given them. They instantly stuck spurs into their horses, and met each other full gallop, with such force that the laces of the helmets burst asunder and their helmets were knocked off, so that they passed each other bareheaded, excepting the caps which were under the helmets. 'On my faith,' the spectators said, 'they have gallantly performed their first course.' The knights now had their armor set to rights, and their helmets laced again, when they performed their second and third courses with equal ability." Chaucer's Knight shows that the combat he describes was unusual in that the warriors had to arm each other: he does not say definitely what the arrangements they made for fighting were, how many courses they were to run with the spear, etc. At the beginning of their combat they are fighting with the spear; when Theseus finds them they are fighting with the sword; so that we may assume that they had agreed on a certain number of rounds with the spear, and then, since no decision had been obtained, that they had appealed to the sword. This, we learn from Froissart, was the usual method. It may be illustrated in the account of a famous trial by combat that took place at Paris between James le Gris and John de Carogne, two knights of the household of the Count d'Alençon. This duel, like that between Palamon and Arcite, was about a woman, the wife of Sir John de Carogne. To quote Froissart's description (II, 205): "The two champions were then advanced and placed opposite to each other; . . . They ran their first course without hurt to either. After the tilting, they dismounted and made ready to continue the fight. They behaved with courage, but sir John de Carogne was, at the first onset,

wounded in the thigh, which alarmed all his friends: notwithstanding this he fought so desperately that he struck down his adversary, and thrusting his sword through the body, caused instant death: when he demanded of the spectators if he had done his duty: they replied that he had." In the light of such a description as this, the duel in the *Knight's Tale* is seen to be truly realistic in its essential details; we can almost imagine that the Knight is describing, under a thin disguise of classical antiquity, some combat he himself had seen.

The effect produced when the identity of Palamon and Arcite becomes known seems to me peculiarly realistic. No mercy is asked or expected on the one side; nor does Theseus think of sparing Palamon and Arcite until he is petitioned by the ladies. Palamon's announcement does not seem particularly admirable to our modern view, especially in its treatment of Arcite; nevertheless it is in the true mediæval spirit as we get it in Froissart, as distinguished from the mediæval spirit of fiction,

I am thy mortal fo and it am I
That loveth so hote Emelye the brighte,
That I wol dye present in hir sighte.
Therefore I axe deeth and my Iuwyse,
But slee my felawe in the same wyse,
For bothe han we deserved to be slayn. (1736-1741.)

Theseus is, of course, at first inclined to take Palamon at his word; but the queen and Emily suggest to his mind the possibility of mercy. It is worth noting, too, that the appeal of the ladies is only the first step in his gentler course; the Knight, or Chaucer, makes it very clear that he does not relent because they ask him to, but simply because the course they suggest will prove in the end both more fitting and more pleasant to Theseus himself, as his argument clearly shows. There is one incident in Froissart comparable to the successful appeal of Hippolyta and Emily—the famous case of the intercession of the queen of Edward III to save the six citizens of Calais, who, in order to save their fellow townsmen, had volunteered to put themselves in the king's power. In this case the appeal of the queen did move Edward III to release the citizens (cf. Froissart I, 188). The character of Edward III, it may be noted, is one which has many points of resemblance to that of Theseus as pictured by Chaucer. Theseus, when once the possibility has been suggested to him, sees, on reflection, many

reasons for showing mercy. One is the reputation that he would gain as a merciful lord,

And softe unto himself he seyde: "fy
Upon a lord that wol have no mercy." (1773-1774.)

His anger does, in time, abate, and he begins to see the romance of the affair. The humor of the situation also dawns on him,

But this is yet the beste game of alle
That she, for whom they han this Iolitee
Can hem ther-for as mucche thanke as me:
She woot namore of al this hote fare
By God, than woot a cokkow or an hare! (1806-1810.)

The best reason of all, it seems to me, is expressed last. Theseus sees in Palamon and Arcite the nucleus for a grand and glorious tournament, such as the fourteenth century delighted in. The eagerness with which Theseus seizes upon the opportunity is truly characteristic of the age of the Knight; for we see in Froissart how anxious were kings to hold a tournament, even when there was no widespread demand for one. Thus Froissart tells of one held by Richard II, which evidently fell rather flat (II, 681): "Soon after the return of the earl of Salisbury from France to England, king Richard had proclaimed throughout the realm and in Scotland, that a grand tournament would be held at Windsor by forty knights and forty squires, clothed in green, with the device of a white falcon, against all comers, and that the queen of England, well attended by ladies and damsels, would be at this feast." The tournament and the queen, it would seem, did not prove as great an attraction as Richard had anticipated; for Froissart adds, "The queen was indeed present at the tournament in magnificent array, but very few of the barons attended: the greater part of the knights and squires of England were disgusted with the king." Theseus, however, provides that his tournament shall not be a failure; for instead of having a number of defenders and waiting for challengers who might not put in an appearance, he has made sure of both sides. The idea of deciding, by battle, who shall be the husband of Emily, is comparable to the trial by combat in Froissart to which we have already referred. This combat, however, Johnes states in a footnote, was the last judicial combat that took place in France under award of parliament: and it seems that such a means of settling a dispute as

Theseus proposes, while not impossible in the fourteenth century, would have been more frequent in earlier centuries. This aspect of the case is not so important as it might seem; for when we get to the actual fighting, the purpose for which the tournament is held is all but forgotten. Of course the general plan of the tournament, the hundred knights on each side and the rules for the fighting, as we shall see later, are very characteristic of the century.

Palamon and Arcite have gathered their knights from all over the world, and their armor and weapons are of various sorts (2119-2124). In the same way the knights who assembled for the great tournaments held by Queen Isabella of France (II, 404) and King Richard of England (II, 477-481), were of various nationalities: of the latter tournament Froissart says, "The manner of holding this feast being settled, heralds were sent to proclaim it throughout England, Scotland, Hainault, Germany, Flanders and France. It was ordered by the council to what parts each herald was to go: and having time beforehand, they published it in most countries. . . . Many knights and squires from foreign lands made preparations to attend it: some to see the manners of the English, others to take part in the tournaments." Theseus honors the visiting knights with a feast on the evening before the fight:

The minstralcy, the service at the feste,
The grete yiftes to the moste and leste,
The riche array of Theseus paleys,
Ne who sat first ne last upon the deys,
What ladies fairest been or best daunsinge,
Or which of hem can dauncen best and singe,
Ne who most felingly speketh of love.
What haukes sitten on the perche above
What houndes ligen on the floor adoun:
Of al this make I now no menciuon. (2197-2206.)

Exactly so, King Richard entertained his guests with feasts and dancing on the evening before the beginning of the tournament, called the feast of the challengers, and on the following evenings. Rich prizes were given; and even the question of rank and precedence which Chaucer's Knight mentions, was brought up when the king of France objected to the Count d'Ostrevant receiving the order of the Garter (II, 480-481). This tournament, it is interesting to note, took place in London in 1390, and was in all probability witnessed by Chaucer himself. Of the preparations

Froissart says (II, 479): "You would have seen on the ensuing morning, Monday, squires and varlets busily employed in different parts of London, furbishing and making ready armor and horses for their masters who were to engage in the justs." It is such a scene as this in his own London rather than the Athens of Theseus that Chaucer is describing in the brilliant picture he gives of the confusion and bustle of preparation early on the morning of the tournament:

And on the morwe, whan that daye gan springe,
Of hors and harneys, noyse and clatterynge,
Ther was in hostelryes al aboute. (2491-2493.)

Lordes in paraments on hir courseres,
Knightes of retenue, and eek squyeres
Nailinge the speres, and the helmes bokelinge,
Gigginge of sheeldes, with layneres lacing;
Ther as need is, they weren nothing ydel;
The fomy stedes on the golden brydel
Gnawing, and faste the armurers also
With fyl and hamer prikinge to and fro. (2501-2508.)

It is interesting to look into the rules for the fighting proclaimed by Theseus. There are to be no missiles, polaxes, or short knives used; the short sword for thrusting is forbidden. Each knight is to ride only one course with sharpened spears; if unhorsed, he may, to defend himself, thrust on foot. He that is overcome is not to be slain but taken prisoner, and brought to the stake that is erected at either end of the course. The final instructions are:

And if so falle, the chieftayn be take,
On either syde, or elles slee his make,
No lenger shal the turneyinge laste.
God spede you; goth forth and ley on faste.
With long swerde and with maces fighte your fille.
Goth now your wey; this is the lordes wille. (2555-2560.)

The purpose of limiting the weapons and the methods of fighting is to prevent loss of life: to quote the herald again,

To shapen that they shul not dye,
He wol his firste purpose modifie. (2541-2542.)

The people apparently approve the lord's decree:

The voys of peple touchede the hevene,
So loude cryden they with mery stevene,
"God save swich a lord, that is so good,
He wilneth no destruccion of blood!" (2561-2564.)

a touch that seems to me rather an exception to the prevailing realistic spirit of this passage,⁷ unless indeed we are to imagine that the people feel compelled to applaud every decree of the king.

The general rules for fighting are, as we have said, those observed at many of the tournaments in Froissart. The hundred knights on either side, however, make rather a larger conflict than any there recorded. The great tournament provided by Isabella had but thirty knights as defenders; Richard II had but sixty. In these cases, too, not all the knights were fighting at the same time. The tournament in the *Knight's Tale* is therefore more comparable in respect to its character as a general mêlée, to a famous conflict that is recorded, between thirty Bretons and thirty English. This combat, it is true, is recorded as a battle rather than as a tournament; but it is to be observed throughout Froissart that there is very little difference indeed, from the standpoint of the knights, between a battle, supposedly fought to support a great and patriotic cause, and a tournament, nominally for exercise or to uphold the honor of one's lady.⁸ Indeed the respective objects of the two are often confused, as will be seen in the description of this conflict, which deserves to be quoted at some length, as a specimen of the more severe form of tournament. The commander of the Bretons, Beaumanoir, had arranged with the captain of the English, Bembro, for a fight with thirty men on a side. To quote then from the "*Histoire de Bretagne*," I, 280 (quoted in Froissart, I, 191): "Bembro first entered the field of battle and drew up his troop. Beaumanoir did the same. Each made a short harangue to his men, exhorting them to support their own honor and that of their nation. Bembro added, there was an old prophecy of Merlin, which promised victory to the English. As they were on the point of engaging, Bembro made a sign to Beaumanoir he wished to speak to him, and represented he had engaged in this matter rather imprudently: for such combats ought first to have had the permission of their respective princes. Beaumanoir replied he had been somewhat late in discovering this: and the nobility of Brittany would not return without having proved by battle who had the fairest mistresses. The signal was given for the attack. Their arms were not similar: for each was to choose

⁷ For the popular character of bloody tournaments, cf. Gautier, p. 671.

⁸ Gautier also brings out the practical identity of the battle and the tournament, p. 677.

as he liked. Billefort fought with a mallet 25 lbs. weight and others with what arms they chose. The advantage at first was for the English: as the Bretons had lost five of their men. Beaumanoir exhorted them not to mind this, as they stopped to take breath: when, each party having had some refreshment, the combat was renewed, Bembro was killed. On seeing this Croquart cried out: 'Companions, don't let us think of the prophecies of Merlin, but depend on our courage and arms: keep yourselves close together, be firm, and fight as I do.' Beaumanoir, being wounded, was quitting the field to quench his thirst when Geoffrey du Bois cried out, 'Beaumanoir, drink thy blood, and thy thirst will go off.' This made him ashamed, and return to the battle. The Bretons at last gained the day, by one of their party breaking on horseback the ranks of the English: the greater part of whom were killed."

This was the sort of conflict that we are to suppose Theseus had in mind at first, simply a free-for-all fight with any weapons and no mercy shown to the fallen. He modified this by limiting the weapons to the spear and sword, and by ordering that a disabled man be taken prisoner, but not slain. These less severe regulations are those to be found in most of the tournaments Froissart describes, except that in the most formal jousts, such as one in which three French knights met all comers, spears with blunted points were used (II, 434-446), thus reducing the danger to a minimum.

The actual course of the tournament described by the Knight is pure realism: practically every detail can be duplicated in the accounts of genuine tournaments of the fourteenth century. First there is the elaborate procession to the field of combat:

Up goon the trompes and the melodye.
 And to the listes rit the companye
 By ordinaunce, thurgh-out the citee large.
 Hanged with cloth of gold, and nat with sarge.
 Ful lyk a lord this noble duk gan ryde,
 Thise two Thebanes upon either syde;
 And after rood the quene, and Emelye,
 And after that another companye
 Of oon and other, after hir degree. (2565-2573.)

as compared with a similar scene in the tournament of Richard II (II, 479):⁹ "This Sunday, according to proclamation, being the

⁹ Cf. also Gautier, p. 691.

next to Michaelmas day, was the beginning of the tilting, and called the feast of the challengers. About three o'clock, there paraded out from the tower of London, which is situated in the square of St. Catherine, on the banks of the Thames, sixty barded coursers ornamented for the tournament, on each was mounted a squire of honour that advanced only at a foot's pace; then came sixty ladies of rank, mounted on palfreys most elegantly and richly dressed, following each other, every one leading a knight with a silver chain completely armed for tilting; and in this procession they moved on through the streets of London, attended by numbers of minstrels and trumpets, to Smithfield."

These two accounts are similar also in the arrangements made for seating the royal spectators. To continue with the tournament of Richard II (II, 479): "The queen of England and her ladies and damsels were already arrived and placed in chambers handsomely decorated. The king was with the queen. When the ladies who led the knights arrived in the square their servants were ready to assist them to dismount from their palfreys, and to conduct them to the apartments prepared for them." So, too, Chaucer:¹⁰

Whan set was Theseus ful riche and hye,
Ipolita the quene and Emelye,
And other ladies in degree aboute.
Unto the seetes preeseth al the route. (2577-2580.)

In both cases, the champions make their appearance on the field, immediately after the royal parties are seated. In Froissart, "the count de Saint Pol with his companions now advanced, handsomely armed for the occasion, and the tournament began" (cf. *Knight's Tale*, 2581-2586).

The battle follows the course of those we find described in Froissart: there is the first charge with spears; the spears are shattered, men unhorsed, and swords drawn. Occasionally someone is overcome, brought to the stake, and disqualified from further combat. There occur also pauses for refreshment:

And som tyme dooth hem Theseus to reste,
Hem to refresshe, and drinken if hem leste; (2621-2622.)

—an incident that seems a little surprising—but we saw in the account of the combat between the thirty Bretons and thirty

¹⁰ The special apartments for ladies, "loges," described by Gautier, p. 687.

English that this, too, was done in actual warfare. Palamon and Arcite have met in personal combat several times during the fight, but have been separated by the press of warriors before either is seriously hurt. We can understand how this would be likely to happen, when we read in Froissart, in the description of the tournament in honor of the entry of Queen Isabella into Paris (II, 404), that "the number of knights made it difficult to give a full stroke, and the dust was so troublesome that it increased their difficulties." The method by which Palamon is finally taken prisoner, the attack on him from behind by Emetreus, while he is fighting with Arcite, does not seem praiseworthy to modern ideas of fair play. It did not, however, occur to any of the spectators or participants, even Palamon, to protest; so that we cannot doubt that this was considered to be in quite good form, as, in fact, we have seen in Froissart.

After his victory, Arcite takes off his helmet and shows himself to the spectators, just as John de Carogne appealed to the people for confirmation of his victory. This consciousness of an audience is to be paralleled in all the combats in Froissart, and is in sharp contrast to the first solitary duel between Palamon and Arcite. The unfortunate ending of the triumphal progress of Arcite, his overthrow by the infernal fury, is one of the few incidents in the *Knight's Tale* that is altogether outside the sphere of realism. The realism, however, continues after this interruption; for the account of the feasting together of the warriors of both sides is just what we find throughout Froissart. The statement that there have been no fatalities seems a little surprising in view of the fierceness of the conflict:-

Ther shiveren shaftes upon sheeldes thikke;
 He feleth thurgh the herte-spoon the prikke.

 The helmes they to-hewen and to-shrede;
 Out brest the blood, in sterne streemes rede.
 The mighty maces the bones they to-breste. (2605-2611.)

Froissart, however, sometimes pictures scenes as violent; for instance, a duel between Sir William Farrington and Lord John de Chatelmorant (I, 632-633): "They advanced to each other with great courage, completely armed, the vizor down and the helmet tightly fixed on. John de Chatelmorant gave the knight such a blow on the helmet that Sir William Farrington staggered some

little on account of his foot slipping: he kept his spear stiffly with both hands, and, lowering it by the stumble he made, struck John de Chatelmorant in the thighs: he could not avoid it: and the spear head passed through, and came out the length of one's hand on the other side." In this case, too, the victim recovered; if we accept such a story from Froissart, the historian, we surely need not hesitate to do as much for Chaucer, the poet. The feasting of the knights continues for three days just as it did at the tournament of Richard II; and Theseus, like Richard, loads the knights with gifts when they finally take their departure. Thus ends the great tournament. There is little realism in the remainder of the tale—the death of Arcite and marriage of Emily and Palamon; but indeed there is little chance for it. The funeral pyre of Arcite and the funeral games are apparently a belated attempt on the part of Chaucer to give an atmosphere of classical antiquity; but he, perhaps wisely, does not dwell upon them.

In a word, the elements of realism we have noticed are concerned often with minor details of the story: a great deal of the main plot is unaffected by this spirit. This fact, however, in no wise militates against the importance of the realistic element. For the plot is after all not the striking thing about the *Knight's Tale*. A reading of its dramatization, the *Two Noble Kinsmen* of Fletcher, is proof enough of its insufficiency. The great pictures of chivalry, the single combat and the tournament, are the making of the *Knight's Tale*, far more than any character portrayal or plot structure. It is here that realism is predominant. Chaucer does, indeed, apparently make Emily share in our interest along with the fighting. So, too, Froissart is careful to note what ladies are present at the combats he records. This is all part of the mediæval view of woman—to put her on a pedestal in public and, at the same time, absolutely disregard her individuality. For Emily is really a pathetic figure; no one thinks of consulting her wishes as to the man she would prefer as a husband. To Theseus, Palamon and Arcite are valuable as material for a tournament; but the ostensible purpose for which the tournament is held concerns him very little. The knights are, of course, informed as to the reason for the combat: as Chaucer says,

To fighte for a lady, *ben'cite!*
It were a lusty sighte for to see. (2115-2116.)

But I think Chaucer would be the last to blame us if we assert that the real reason for their joy is not the prospect of a fight for the sake of a lady, but rather a fight for the sake of a fight. Thus not only in the details that we have noted but in its whole atmosphere, the *Knight's Tale* is preëminently realistic. Its true spirit is neither what it would purport to be, a romance of ancient Greece, or what it might at first sight seem to be, (a tale of old and far-off things, and of adventures happening in some Arthurian fairyland, as in the story told by the Wife of Bath). There is never any doubt about the tale being the Knight's tale, so perfectly is the tale fitted to the teller; and it seems to me equally certain that the tale, as well as the teller, is a product of the fourteenth century. Whether we are to conceive of the Knight as changing from ancient to modern times, consciously or unconsciously, makes no difference; the realism is there. In this aspect the *Knight's Tale* becomes, almost as much as any of the other of the *Canterbury Tales*, a realistic picture of a certain definite section of the society of Chaucer's England.

II

In the second part of this paper, let us accept the fact of the realism of the *Knight's Tale* as settled and try to determine whether or not these elements are original with Chaucer. To do this we must consider the indebtedness of Chaucer to Boccaccio in the *Knight's Tale* in so far as it affects the realistic element.

It will be impossible, of course, to point out all the variations between the *Teseide* and the *Knight's Tale*;¹¹ but a glance at the striking differences will show that practically all the important changes Chaucer has made are in the direction of realism. At the very first, for instance, Chaucer omits all Boccaccio's elaborate description of the war of Theseus with the Amazons, an event for which he could find no parallel in actual history. There are similar omissions and condensations throughout. Thus the war between Theseus and Creon is crowded into a few lines, and the long Homeric catalog of the knights in the sixth book of the *Teseide* is altogether omitted. In Boccaccio the tournament is described largely as a series of single combats; in Chaucer we have a

¹¹ For a general comparison of the respective plots, see the introduction to Professor Mather's edition of the *Knight's Tale*. For a résumé of the *Teseide* see Koerting: *Boccaccio: sein Leben und seine Werke*.

general view of the whole. The defeat of Palamon by the wild horse of his opponent Cromis, and the miraculous temporary recovery of Arcite after his overthrow by the infernal fury, in order that he may go through with his triumph, are incidents which Chaucer has changed, and to the advantage of realism. A debatable point, however, arises from the different treatment of Emily in the two poems. There is no doubt that the Emily of Boccaccio is individualized to a far greater degree. Her former betrothal to Acate, her knowledge of the love of Palamon and Arcite, her recognition of Arcite in disguise, all contribute to this effect. Then, too, in Boccaccio her feelings at the tournament are elaborately described; for, as the tide of victory seems to incline one way or the other, she feels her heart correspondingly yielding to the leader who is momentarily victorious; and in the end, when Arcite has won, she loves only him and is absolutely indifferent to Palamon. All this is lacking in Chaucer; for there is no mention of Emily during the fighting, and even at the end, at the triumphal progress of Arcite, there is only a bare hint:-

And on a courser, for to shewe his face,
 He priketh endelong the large place,
 Loking upward upon this Emelye;
 And she agayn him caste a freendlich ye. (2677-2680.)

When we remember who it is that is telling the Tale, we are sure that Chaucer's version is very far from being inferior to Boccaccio's in realism. For in the mouth of the Knight, what is more natural than an account of the tournament from its professional or technical side, with little or no mention of its supposed cause? Thus the very blurring of the portrait of Emily in the *Knight's Tale*, as compared with its sharper lines in the *Teseide*, may be considered a deliberate artistic device of Chaucer's and another contribution to the realism of the Tale.

To approach the question from a different angle, let us turn from the consideration of the omissions and changes that Chaucer has made in the plot of the *Teseide* to that of the passages he has translated directly from Boccaccio. Practically all the translations of any length will be found to consist, as Dr. John Koch has shown in a paper on *An Original Version of the Knight's Tale* (Chaucer Society, *Essays on Chaucer*, XII, pp. 359-418), of descriptions, speeches, and prayers. *A priori*, therefore, it would seem that these passages are outside the field of the realism

we have noted, which is most frequent in the domain of vigorous narrative. This conclusion will, I think, be justified by an examination of the principal passages of the *Knight's Tale* which are translated directly from the *Teseide*. According to Mr. Ward's¹² marginal markings, there are no translations from Boccaccio in either of the first two parts of the *Knight's Tale* of more than four successive lines. The first passage of importance, therefore, is the description of the theatre in which the tournament is to take place, in the beginning of Part III (1887-1894), which is translated from the *Teseide* (VII, 108-110). The theatre, of course, is not a realistic touch: we do find in Froissart instances of the erection of structures for the purpose of witnessing tournaments (e. g. II, 403 and Gautier, pp. 686-687), but these were simply wooden scaffolds, and not to be confused with the elaborate stone circuit and the three temples. Chaucer himself says (1885-1886):

That swich a noble theatre as it was,
I dar wel seyn that in this world ther nas,

and we have no reason to doubt it. The descriptions of the temples and the prayers to the three divinities are pretty closely imitated from Boccaccio, with, however, some important differences that Tyrrwhit and Koch have pointed out. In order to make clear the nature of these translations, a short *résumé* of the two versions will be necessary. In Boccaccio, Arcite makes his prayer to Mars and the prayer, being personified, (as Tyrrwhit explains) finds Mars in his famous temple in Thrace. Likewise Palamon prays to Venus, and his prayer finds the goddess in her temple on the Citherean mount. These temples are both described. Then comes Emily's sacrifice and prayer to Diana. Chaucer, while translating at times very closely, takes certain peculiar liberties with this section of the story. The tilting ground is arranged as in Boccaccio, as we have noted: three temples are built at different points of the circuit wall, one to Venus, one to Mars, and one to Diana, the last quite original with Chaucer. After more preparations for the tournament, the prayers follow, but in a different order: first Palamon, then Emily, and lastly Arcite; but their prayers are not personified as in Boccaccio;

¹² Cf. the Six Text edition of the *Knight's Tale*. Beside the Cambridge and Lansdowne MSS., Mr. Henry Ward has listed three kinds of borrowing—translation, general likeness, and slight likeness.

Chaucer's temple of Venus is quite different from Boccaccio's; but this was inevitable, since Chaucer had already used Boccaccio's description (VII, 50-66) in the *Parliament of Fowls* (183-273). The description of the temple of Mars, however, is closely translated from Boccaccio, lines 1970-1999 being almost a literal rendering of the *Teseide* (VII, 31-33). The fact that Boccaccio is describing the original temple of Mars in Thrace, while Chaucer is apparently speaking of Theseus's imitation of the same, makes surprisingly little difference. The description of Diana's temple has, of course, no parallel in the *Teseide*. The prayers of Palamon, Emily, and Arcite are all from the *Teseide*.

If we continue to look for close translations, we shall find that we have passed all the description of the tournament and its attendant festivities before we come to a passage of more than four successive lines translated from the *Teseide*. The first instance is the narration of the death of Arcite (2799-2808) translated very closely from the *Teseide* (X, 111-112). Immediately after this, in the *Teseide*, comes the account of Arcite's soul ascending to Heaven; these lines, it will be remembered, Chaucer had already used in *Troilus and Criseyde*, so that here he says only (2809-2810),

His spirit chaunged hous, and wente ther
As I cam never, I can nat tellen wher

and the direct translation is stopped for the present. From this point the translation of long passages become less frequent, although there are several instances of translations of two or three lines, and many instances of general resemblance. To give, then, for the sake of completeness, the remaining instances of translation of more than four successive lines, following Mr. Ward's markings we find lines 2839-2846 translated from the *Teseide* XI, 10 and 11 and XII, 6. These are the words of consolation at the mourning for Arcite; but Chaucer makes the speaker Egeus, the father of Theseus, instead of Theseus himself, as in Boccaccio. Lines 2853-2873, the preparations for the funeral of Arcite, are set down as a mixture of general resemblance and close translation from the *Teseide*, XI, 13-15. All the rest of the description of the funeral and the funeral games presents a strange borrowing, more a summary than a translation, for Chaucer has condensed the greater part of the eleventh book of the *Teseide* into lines 2879-2962, while retaining most of the important features. The remaining

part of the *Knight's Tale*, the description of the marriage of Palamon and Emily contains but a few unconnected translated lines and a comparatively small proportion of general and slight resemblances, to such an extent has Chaucer shortened the last book of the *Teseide*. Before we leave this part of the *Knight's Tale*, it should be noted that the instances of actual translation, though infrequent, are sometimes very literal. One instance may be given where Chaucer has actually transferred a rhyme from the Italian. Thus,

Duk Theseus, with al his bisy cure,
Caste now wher that the sepulture
Of good Arcite may best y-maked be. (2853-2855.)

Quinci Teseo con sollecita cura
Cose ricerca per solenne onore
Fare ad Arcita nella sepultura. (*Teseide*, XI, 13, 1-3.)

To look back over the list of the close translations from Boccaccio, it is at once apparent that their general character is not conducive to realism. The one passage in which the translated lines are most in evidence,—the description of the temples at the tournament field, the prayers to Venus, Diana, and Mars, and the answers of the respective deities,—is exactly the place where there is least chance for realism, and the one serious break in the prevailing spirit of Chaucer's work. The other places where close translations are found, such as the death and funeral of Arcite, are likewise places where the realism of the *Knight's Tale* is least abundant. Thus the general character of the translations from Boccaccio will show, in a negative way at least, as did a survey of the changes made by Chaucer in the plot, that the realistic elements of the *Knight's Tale* are to be attributed to Chaucer alone. The final proof of this proposition will be a study of the details I have previously cited as showing the realism of the *Knight's Tale*, with a view to ascertaining whether their general source is Boccaccio or Chaucer.

The first incident in the *Knight's Tale* for which a parallel was found in the *Chronicles* of Froissart was the victory of the Thebans over Creon and the taking of the city of Thebes (983-990). This account is so short that it can scarcely be compared with that in the *Teseide* where Mr. Ward classifies the relation as one of general likeness, although Boccaccio's description is spread over twenty

stanzas (II, 53-73). Even here, however, Chaucer did more than condense simply; for the striking features of these lines, and those that make this a peculiarly mediæval combat, of a sort to be paralleled many times in Froissart, are interpolated by Chaucer. The long description of the battle and defeat of the Thebans, Chaucer summarizes without change in sense:

But shortly for to spoken of this thing,
With Creon, which that was of Thebes king,
He faught, and slough him manly as a knight
In pleyn bataille, and putte the folke to flight. (985-988.)

The difference comes in the next two lines:

And by assaut he wan the citee after,
And rente a-doun bothe wal, and sparre, and rafter;

where Chaucer has substituted, perhaps unconsciously, a kind of conflict that from the multitude of examples in Froissart, must have been well known to him. For in the *Teseide* there is no retreat of the Thebans into the city, and no assault of the Athenians upon it. The Theban warriors simply flee to the woods and mountains, followed by the old men, women, and children who had been left behind in the city (II, 71). Theseus enters the deserted city without opposition, forbids pursuit of the fugitives, and destroys all the city with the exception of the temple, an exception which, by the way, Chaucer does not observe. This whole description is, of course, unimportant in the *Knight's Tale* and the proof cannot be conclusive; but the fact that Chaucer has, if only by a few words, changed the whole character of the battle in Boccaccio to one with which he must surely have been familiar, seems to me very significant.

Another realistic touch in the early part of the *Knight's Tale* is the question of ransoms in relation to the imprisonment of Palamon and Arcite. Boccaccio has Theseus hold a great triumph on entering Athens, in which Arcite and Palamon walk before his chariot. He is at first inclined to have them killed, but finally decides to imprison them in a room in his palace. In Chaucer, the lack of any ransom is made an important feature:

ful sone hem sente
To Athenes, to dwellen in prisoun
Perpetuelly, he nolde no raunsoun. (1022-1024.)

In the corresponding passage in Boccaccio (II, 89) classified by Mr. Ward as a case of general likeness, there is no mention of

ransom. Similarly, Chaucer describes the bitter fate of Palamon and Arcite:

And in a tour, in angwisch and in wo,
Dwellen this Palamoun and eek Arcite,
For evermore, ther may no golde hem quyte; (1030-1032.)

while in the corresponding passage in Boccaccio (III, 3) there is again no mention of the gold. Chaucer introduces the idea once more when Perotheus persuades Theseus to free Arcite,

withoute any raunsoun
Duk Theseus him leet out of prisoun. (1205-1206.)

In the *Teseide* (III, 51-54) there is not only no question of ransom but Theseus loads Arcite with rich gifts.¹³ Thus there is no doubt that Chaucer alone is responsible for the introduction of this characteristically mediæval notion. For the idea of a ransom, although not unknown to classical antiquity, did not come to have an overwhelming importance until the middle ages, when, in Chaucer's own time, in the pages of Froissart, there is scarcely an important conflict described without specific reference to the money that was gained or lost.

There are no strikingly realistic passages from this point until the single combat between Palamon and Arcite. A parallel was found in Froissart for Theseus's sentencing Arcite to life exile on pain of death. The passage in the *Knight's Tale* comes directly from one in the *Teseide*, two of Chaucer's lines being directly translated from Boccaccio (1214-1215 from III, 54, 1-2). Other features of this part are much the same as in Boccaccio; Palamon lies in prison, although his fetters seem to be an addition of Chaucer's.

The pure fettres on his shines grete
Weren of his bittre salte teres wete, (1279-1280.)

occur in a part that has no parallel in Boccaccio. Arcite likewise returns¹⁴ in disguise, but his disguise is different. The difference

¹³ Two other instances of the "ransom motif" in the *Knight's Tale* are in ll. 1175-1176 and in l. 1849. In neither of these cases is there a corresponding passage in Boccaccio.

¹⁴ The return of Arcite bears a curious parallel to Chaucer's own experiences, as Dr. H. M. Cummings has pointed out to me. Chaucer was a page in the service, first of the Princess Elizabeth and later in that of King Edward III, just as Arcite was a page first in the service of the Princess Emily and later in that of King Theseus.

may have some bearing on the question of realism, for Arcite clothes himself as a "povre laborer" (1409) in Chaucer, a more effective disguise than Boccaccio's "maniera di pover valletto" (IV, 22). Perhaps Boccaccio felt that any more menial position would be impossible to his hero; while Chaucer was better able, in the interest of realism, to overcome this feudal feeling. The effect of the other differences in the story at this point, Emily's recognition of Arcite in the *Teseide*, and the differently arranged meeting of the rivals in the wood, we have already discussed.

The two most realistic as well as most striking passages in the *Knight's Tale* are, as we have said, the two armed conflicts between Palamon and Arcite, the single combat in the wood and the great tournament. In describing such scenes as these, we shall see that Chaucer relied very little indeed upon Boccaccio. To take up first the single combat, not only is the meeting of Palamon and Arcite differently arranged in Chaucer, but the whole account of the duel is changed. Boccaccio describes a fight in which Arcite succeeds in unhorsing Palamon with a blow on the head which renders him unconscious. Palamon soon recovers consciousness and demands that the fight proceed; but the fighters are interrupted almost immediately by Theseus. Chaucer, of course, has set this account altogether aside, although not, in this case, it seems to me, because Boccaccio's version did not lend itself to realistic treatment but rather because he preferred to write his own version of such an event, unhampered by any authority. The details of the meeting, the preparation for fighting and the duel itself, are thus Chaucer's alone; but here we may note how in the course of an original and realistic passage he sometimes borrows a line or two from Boccaccio, often a proverb or bit of reflection (e. g. ll. 1668-1669 from V, 77, 1-2).

Theseus's interruption, and the effect of the announcement of the identity of Palamon and Arcite, on which we have remarked before, as being peculiarly realistic, will likewise be found to be essentially original with Chaucer. Boccaccio, again emphasizing the individuality of Emily, represents her as stumbling upon the place of conflict, while riding alone. Her presence only inflames the zeal of the combatants the more; whereupon she calls Theseus to the place. It seems to me that the character of Theseus in Chaucer, like that of Emily, has a genuine bearing upon the question of realism. For Theseus is quite a different figure in Chaucer

from what he is in Boccaccio; and, I think that the English poet has made him a more typically mediæval figure. There is much less of the domineering, imperious feudal lord in the milder character of Boccaccio, as an examination of the interrupted duel scene will show. Theseus stops the fight in Boccaccio, as well as in Chaucer; but in the former there is no emphasis laid on the outraged dignity of the king; he is simply curious to know the names of the duellists and the occasion of the combat. In Boccaccio, Palamon and Arcite seem assured of pardon; and although Palamon says that he himself is worthy of death, he does not include Arcite in his condemnation. Theseus, too, never has any doubts about pardoning the fighters; his long communion with himself in Chaucer, in which he discusses the advantages of this course, has no parallel in Boccaccio. The Theseus of Boccaccio simply attributes their action to the folly of lovers. He needs no urging from the ladies, nor is he actuated by any of the reasons given in Chaucer. The only condition is, as in Chaucer, that they return in a year, each with a hundred knights, to decide who shall be the husband of Emily. The lines in which Theseus lays out plans for the tournament are one of the few instances in this part of the poem where Chaucer follows Boccaccio closely (ll. 1850-1860 from V, 97 and 98); but even here there is a difference for Chaucer's Theseus says:

This is to seyn, that whether he or thou
May with his hundred, as I spak of now,
Sleen his contrarie, or out of listes dryve,
Him shal I yeve Emelya to wyve, (1857-1860.)

while in the less bloodthirsty Theseus of Boccaccio there is no mention of slaughter.

There is not much realism in the *Knight's Tale* between the descriptions of the single combat and its interruption, and that of the preparations for the tournament. The description of the temples and the prayers of Palamon, Arcite, and Emily are, as we have seen, very largely translated from Boccaccio; and the subjects do not, of course, lend themselves to realistic treatment. What realism there is in this section of the poem seems to be only in the description of the knights that are to fight on either side and of the feasts held in honor of their arrival in Athens. The knights in the *Teseide* are described individually and at great length, the entire sixth book being devoted to this purpose. Chau-

cer has omitted most of this description, and has concentrated upon the main figures, Ligurge and Emetreus, the characterization which Boccaccio distributes among many. He has also, for no apparent reason, departed from Boccaccio in accrediting Ligurge to Palamon's forces and Emetreus to Arcite's. The greatest example of mediæval realism in this place, however, is in the description of the contemporary arms and armor with which Chaucer adorns these knights of antiquity. Characteristically enough, he recognizes the anachronism, but lets it stand, nevertheless, with rather a weak apology (2125). All this has no parallel in Boccaccio. The short description of the feast in honor of the visiting knights (2197-2206) is largely taken from the *Teseide* (VI, 69 and 70 and VI, 8) as Mr. Ward shows; but by the introduction of such a line as, "Ne who sat first ne last upon the deys," (2200) which conveys in a few words the effect of a whole scene and one that is characteristically mediæval, Chaucer has, I think, greatly enhanced the realism of the whole.

The splendid description of the preparations about the town for the tournament, the furnishing of arms and armor, the activities of knight and squire (2491-2498) is practically original with Chaucer. Mr. Ward does, it is true, indicate a slight likeness between ll. 2491-2508 and *Teseide* VII, 95-99; but the resemblance is indeed very slight. It must be noted, however, that even in such a thoroughly original passage as this Chaucer does not scruple to take over a phrase bodily. The phrase

The fomy stedes on the golden brydel
Gnawing (2506-2507)

is taken directly from Boccaccio (VII, 97, 1-3). It is interesting to see, too, how carefully Chaucer works it in between details of his own:

Ther as need is, they weren no thing ydel;
The fomy stedes on the golden brydel
Gnawing, and faste the armurers also
With fyle and hamer priking to and fro. (2505-2508.)

The announcement by the herald of the modified laws that are to govern the tournament seems to be suggested by a passage in the *Teseide*; but there are several important differences. In the *Teseide*, Theseus announces that he himself will be the judge of the contest, and lays stress upon the fact that it is to be tournament,

not a battle, that it is, after all, only about a woman; in his words, it is "amorosa" not "odiosa" (VII, 8). In the *Knight's Tale*, the spirit of the announcement is very different: there is no mention of the object of the conflict, nor is there any distinction made between the battle and the tournament, a confusion both of objects and of terms that we have seen, in Froissart, to be characteristic of the fourteenth century. The actual weapons which the two versions admit are somewhat different. Both specifically mention the sword and the mace; and Boccaccio adds the "bipenne" or double-edged battle-axe. Chaucer, however, does not follow Boccaccio in forbidding the use of the lance. The difference between a fight with lances and one without them is, of course, very great; and the fact that Chaucer brings in this form of battle where Boccaccio does not, seems to me an actual proof of the realism of Chaucer's poem; since the tournaments in Froissart are almost invariably with the lance, at least for the first round, and this was the type of combat with which Chaucer was most familiar. It may be nothing more than a coincidence, but it is at least curious, that what I noted previously as the only jarring note in the realism of the tournament in the *Knight's Tale*, is also the only instance in this passage where Chaucer translates more than two successive lines directly from Boccaccio. Thus the action of the well-trained spectators in Chaucer:

The voys of peple touchede the hevene,
 So loude cryden they with mery stevene:
 'God save swich a lord, that is so good,
 He wilneth no destruccioun of blood!' (2561-2564.)

is a remarkably close translation of the Italian

De' nobili e del popolo il romore
 Toccò le stelle, sì fu alto e forte:
 Gl' Iddii dicendo servan tal signore
 Che degli amici suoi fugge la morte; (VII, 14, 1-4.)

and it is the only such instance in this whole description, indeed, in this part of the poem.

✓ The characteristically mediæval procession to the field of combat (2565-2575) is practically original with Chaucer; although Mr. Ward classifies as a case of slight resemblance the latter part (cf. *Teseide* VII, 100-102 and 113, 114). The arrival and seating of the royal spectators (2576-2580) has no parallel in Boccaccio. The entry of the two champions, however, bears a general resem-

blance to the passage in the *Teseide* (VII, 114 and 118) where Arcite comes from the direction of "Euro" or the southeast and Palamon "dall' altra parte"; although Boccaccio does not mention the differently colored banners of the two forces. This is the last case of any extended borrowing from Boccaccio in the description of the tournament. When we come to the actual fighting we see that Chaucer borrows scarcely a phrase from his original. First the general impression of the mêlée:

Ther shiveren shaftes upon sheeldes thikke;
He feleth thurgh the herte-spoon the prikke.
Up springen speres twenty foot on highte;
Out goon the swerdes as the silver brighte.
The helmes they to-hewen and to-shrede;
Out brest the blood, with sterne stremes rede, (2605-2610.)

is not indebted to Boccaccio for a single word. In the second place, Chaucer has discarded entirely Boccaccio's narration of the details of the fight, the encounters between various pairs of heroes, and the final overthrow of Palamon by the wild horse of his opponent Cromis, who is not mentioned in Chaucer. In place of this, Chaucer has the general view quoted above, then the personal conflict of Palamon and Arcite, interrupted by the press of warriors, and lastly the defeat of Palamon by force of numbers. Besides the two main combatants, only Ligurge and Emetreus are mentioned by name. The description of the overthrow of Palamon and the award of the victory to Arcite by Theseus, has no parallel in Boccaccio.

With the tournament, end the strikingly realistic passages of the *Knight's Tale*. The description of the approaching death of Arcite, though greatly condensed, is, in general, imitated from Boccaccio (*Teseide*, IX and X). On the other hand, the passage (2700-2742) where Chaucer turns aside from Arcite to speak of the other knights is largely expanded from a few lines in Boccaccio. As we have seen, Chaucer narrates that no one has been slain in the tournament; while Boccaccio speaks of several deaths, and later describes the funerals. Boccaccio, too, makes simply a general statement to the effect that those who were wounded were given medicine and cured (X, 10); while Chaucer explains the nature of the cure,—a realistic touch:

To othere woundes, and to broken armes,
 Some hadden salves, and some hadden charmes:
 Fermacies of herbes, and eek save
 They dronken, for they wolde hir limes have. (2711-2714.)

The description of the feasting and departure of the knights is likewise expanded from a few lines in Boccaccio (IX, 61 and XII, 80); and it is interesting to note that Chaucer has reduced the length of the feast from fifteen days, in the *Teseide*, to the more plausible number of three, in the *Knight's Tale*. The account of the actual symptoms of Arcite and of the course his illness takes (2743-2761), in which Chaucer betrays some of the mediæval idea of physiology and medicine, is likewise expanded from the Italian (X, 12 and 13).

It is perhaps unnecessary to review the rest of the poem, since it offers practically no instance of realism. Since Chaucer shows very little originality in this section of the poem, realism is not to be expected. The death of Arcite, the wise words of Egeus, and large parts of the descriptions of the funeral and the funeral games, come, as we have seen, from Boccaccio. In addition to this, we shall find that this is the only part of the poem in which Chaucer is indebted, to any great extent, to authors other than Boccaccio. Skeat (Oxford Chaucer, V, 92-94) thinks Chaucer took the account of the funeral of Arcite from that of the funeral of Archemorus in the *Thebaid* of Statius, rather than from its imitation in the *Teseide*. The list of trees (2921-2923) he finds to be in Ovid, Vergil, and Lucan, before Statius, and after him, in Tasso and Spenser, as well as in Boccaccio and Chaucer. Skeat would also attribute the first part of the philosophical speech of Theseus (2987-3016) to Chaucer's own translation of Boethius, since only a small part of this Boethian philosophy is imitated in the *Teseide*. As for the marriage of Palamon and Emily, Chaucer has radically changed the intervening time of mourning, since it is "By processe and by lengthe of certeyn yeres" (2967) that "Al stinted is the moorning and the teres" (2968), where Boccaccio (XII, 3) has "giorni" or days: but the actual account of the ceremony (3094-3100) is from Boccaccio (XII, 69, 72), though, of course, greatly compressed.

The passages in which realism is most evident thus correspond, on the whole, very satisfactorily to the passages we have seen to be original with Chaucer. The fact that in a realistic passage there sometimes occurs a phrase imitated or directly translated

from Boccaccio cannot be used, it seems to me, as evidence that the source of the whole passage is Boccaccio, since it is plainly Chaucer's habit to introduce such a phrase into a passage otherwise distinctly original. If we make this allowance, the category of the original passages will very nearly coincide with that of the realistic passages we have previously listed. The question is not whether the most poetic passages are to be credited chiefly to Boccaccio or to Chaucer: on that point there would be room for difference of opinion, and the supporter of either view would have to admit that there were exceptions. In the same way there might be doubt as to whether the *Knight's Tale* gains or loses in dramatic construction or in character portrayal, in comparison with the *Teseide*. But as to the source of the realism to be found in the *Knight's Tale* there can be no question. To sum up the argument of this part of the paper: in the first place, it has attempted to show that the changes Chaucer made in the plot are, so far as they bear upon the question of realism at all, distinctly conducive to realistic treatment; in the second place, that the general character of the close translations from Boccaccio is such as practically to preclude realistic treatment; and in the third place, that the details that were previously cited as illustrating contemporary fourteenth century life, are, in their general spirit, original with Chaucer. Of the two most vigorous and most realistic passages in the *Knight's Tale*, the single combat and the tournament, we can say more than this, for there is practically nothing, in either account, for which Chaucer is indebted to Boccaccio. On the other hand, the passages in which the supernatural element is present, and hence the least realistic passages, such as the prayers of the rivals and Emily and the answers of the divinities, are exactly the passages in which Chaucer relies most on Boccaccio, often directly translating him. This, I think, is true for all the intervening stages between the opposite extremes; so that we can say with justice that exactly in the degree to which a passage is realistic, so also is it fundamentally Chaucerian.

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THE QUARRELS OF THE CANTERBURY PILGRIMS.

Formal portrayal of contemporary "characters" seems to lead inevitably to the mingling of ethical types and representatives of the social orders and professions. The Characterisms of Vices and Virtues, so popular among seventeenth-century readers, are soon broadened to include not merely the embodiments of moral excellences and defects but all classes of men from prince to bum-bailey. In Sir Thomas Overbury's pages the Lawyer, the Yeoman, the Franklin, the Scholar, divide attention with the Proud Man, the Covetous Man, the Good Wife, the Devilish Usurer. As with "characters," so with "humors." Ben Jonson's Epicure Mammon—as notable a blending of avarice and gluttony as Chaucer's Pardoner—rubs elbows with Alchemist, Pastor, Tobacconist, Lawyer's Clerk. Now let us range backwards. In Dances of Death, Nun, Friar and Merchant are found side by side with Miser and Glutton. The English Moralities couple with especial unction the personified abstraction and the specialized type. In *The Three Ladies of London* Merchant and Artificer make advances to Lady Lucre, and Simplicity appears in a Miller's guise; in *Impatient Poverty* the Summoner is a fit fellow for a host of Vices; in *The Satire of the Three Estates* Chastity is rejected by Abbot and Parson, but is welcomed by Sowtar and Tailor, Flattery takes a Friar's form, Falsehood and Deceit are "leiders of the Merchants and sillie crafts-men." The natural alliance between morality and class-satire was immeasurably strengthened, in the Middle Ages, by the then universal habit of mind which reduced all conceptions of right and wrong to fixed formulas and which combined these formal categories of the Sins and a systematic survey of the evils of every calling. Thus the English Gower in his *Mirour*, the German Hugo von Trimberg in his *Renner*, and the many French authors of *États du Monde*. The bond between class-types and the Deadly Seven is cemented by Langland, when he pictures Wrath as a sometime Friar, Avarice as a Merchant's Prentice at Wy and Winchester, and Sloth as a Priest and Parson for thirty winters. And so Chaucer, once in the grip of the Parson's penitential,¹ blends dextrously Sins and social

¹ It is easy to show that the parallels between the Parson's Tale and the stories of the other Pilgrims are limited to the latter half of the collection. But more of this in a forthcoming discussion of the order of the Tales and the place of the so-called C Group.

types by making the representative of each class the exponent of the very Vice that he explicitly and implicitly condemns in his tale.²

The literary *motif* of clash between precept and practice is in no way Chaucer's monopoly. The painter of vice, heavily tarred with his own stick, has always been the butt of the satirist. In Juvenal's Second Satire it is the moralist who is most corrupt: the creature "surfeit-gorged and reeking from the stews" chooses abstinence for his theme; the rebel complains of sedition, the robber affects to hate a thief, the red-handed denounces murder; the incestuous emperor restores the bitterest laws against the sins of the flesh. It is the Maenius of the Third Satire of Horace's First Book who points the finger at Novius the Usurer, his spirit's double. False-Seeming of the *Roman de la Rose* (11423 f.) doubly anticipates Chaucer's Pardoner by preaching against abstinence, though he loves good dishes and bright wine, and by exalting poverty, though his bags overflow with coin. In Swift's *Beasts' Confession* brutes and men are redolent of the faults that they condemn most loudly. Your Parolles and Panurge, cravens both, are quickest with taunts of cowardice. Your canting philosopher, Square, is as vulnerable as poor Tom Jones. The scourger of snobs craves on Pall Mall the company of a duke. All this is not merely the irony of the humorist, it is simple truth to life. Your drunkard hiccoughs potent imprecations against a drunken world. He who wears the scarlet letter upon his heart reveals to others the yawning depths of their guilt. Barclay gives a place in his Navy (*Ship of Fools*, I, 112) to

Folys blynde, mad Jugys and injust
Whiche lightly noteth another mannes faute,
Chastyng that synne, whiche theyr owne mynde doth ruste
By longe abydyng.

A greater even than Chaucer has spoken the same true word. The Canterbury pilgrims show, like Ophelia's ungracious pastors, "the steep and thorny road to heaven" and tread themselves "the primrose path of dalliance." What adviser recks his own rede? ^{2a}

² See everywhere in my article on "Chaucer and the Seven Deadly Sins," *Publications of Modern Language Association*, March, 1914.

^{2a} Nowhere is Chaucer's irony more amusingly illustrated than in the Doctor-Pardoner Link. The Physician, upon completing his glorification of purity in the person of Virginia, is commended by the Host for those very

All this by way of necessary preamble to our present theme, "The Quarrels of the Canterbury Pilgrims." No phase of that fourteenth-century journey displays more amply Chaucer's regard for class-satire and his frequent combination of this with the ironical illustration of the Sins of each social order than these clashes between the representatives of traditionally unfriendly vocations. Though the contests between Friar and Summoner, Manciple and Cook, Miller and Reeve are, each and all, demonstrably typical of their respective classes, yet only in the case of the first of these encounters has the conventional character of the class-feud won the attention of scholarly readers; and even here much that is significant has escaped its meed of comment.

Thomas Tyrwhitt, who had a most provoking habit of saying every man's best things a century before, remarked long since of the quarrel between Friar and Summoner: "The ill humor which shows itself between these two characters is quite natural, as no two professions at time were at more constant variance. The regular Clergy and particularly the Mendicant Freres affected a total exemption from all ecclesiastical jurisdiction, except that of the Pope, which made them exceedingly obnoxious to the Bishops, and of course to all the inferior officers of the national hierarchy." This theme of strife between seculars and regulars has been amply illustrated by the late lamented Fluegel with a score of citations from the *Roman de la Rose*, Wyclif, Gower, contemporary satires and canonical decrees;³ and has been clearly discussed by Professor Root.⁴ As Chaucer specifically indicates in the Summoner's Tale, one ground of quarrel between the organizations lay in the right of both friars and possessioners to administer confession; and many other points of difference fill the stories to the brim with class-satire. The professional character of the

drinks and lectuaries that stimulate lust in the Merchant's Tale (E 1807 f.). Too daring is the mockery which invokes the blessings of the Virgin upon pills and potions fatal to virginity and which riots in the ambiguity of the "referential oath," "By Saint Runyon" (see *N. E. D. s. v.* "runnion"). But all this covert ribaldry must find its explanation in a larger space.

³ *JEGPh.*, I, 133-135: *Anglia*, XXIII, 225-237, XXIV, 469-472.

⁴ *Poetry of Chaucer*, 244-245. Compare also Cutts, *Parish Priests and their People in the Middle Ages in England*, 1898, pp. 374 f.; Trevelyan, *England in the Age of Wycliffe*, Chap. V.

contest between two typical representatives of the warring classes is generally recognized.

What is not generally recognized is the place of this clash in Chaucer's elastic scheme, which rests on the wide appeal of formal morality to the fourteenth-century layman. And here I need add only a little to the discussion in my Deadly Sins article. In Langland the strife between friars and beneficed clergy aptly exemplifies Wrath (*Piers Plowman*, B V, 136 f.):-

And now persones han parceyved that freres parte with hem,
 Thise possessioneres preche and deprave freres,
 And freres syndeth hem in defaute, as folke bereth witnes,
 That whan thei preche the poeple in many place aboute,
 I, Wrath, walke with hem and wisse hem of my bokes.
 Thus thei speken of spirituale that eyther despiseth other,
 Til thei be bothe beggers and by my spirituale libben,
 Or elles alle riche and riden aboute.
 I, Wrath, rest nevere that I ne moste folwe
 This wykked folke, for suche is my grace.

Now there seems no doubt that Chaucer, fresh from the theme of Pride in the Wife of Bath's contribution, has, like Langland, the intent of illustrating Wrath. His Friar, who can rage like a whelp, "made alwey a maner louring chere upon the Somnour," and his Summoner, he of the "fyr-reed cherubinnes face," "quakes for ire like an aspen leaf" and curses and beshrews the Friar, consigning all his kind to hell. In entire accord with Chaucer's consistent opposition of precept to practice, the tales of the two worthies expose the varied evils of the very Sin that their persons and their prejudices typify so accurately. The application of the Friar's Tale of the Cursing phase of Wrath is clearly revealed, as I have shown, by the absolute agreement between the story's outcome and the nemesis that the Parson metes out to the Curser in his Wrath section (I, 618 f.), and by the addition of a large element of poetic justice to the version that we meet in Herolt's "Maledicere" *exemplum* and elsewhere. In Chaucer's variant, curses react upon the head of a cursing Summoner, who invokes the devil against everyone, even himself ("the foule feend me fecche!"), just as in a story from Étienne de Bourbon,⁵ unnoted in this connection, a Besançon knight, giving himself to the devil in an imprecation, meets two devils in human form, who after much

⁵ *Anecdotes Historiques*, 1877, 383.

speech ultimately carry him off. Chaucerians have not remarked that the *motif* of the Summoner's Tale bears a superficial likeness to that of the sixth story of Bandello's first book—in both, a sick man grimly mocking a friar-confessor, with the invalid's anxious wife hovering in the background—but the English narrator's sympathies are with the angry sick man, not with the friar, and his dénouement is quite unlike the Italian's ending. The story of the Summoner is the only one of all Chaucer's illustrations of the Sins that is not used by Gower or by the example-writers to visualize the same Vice. The absence of parallel moralizing in this single case is the less significant as no very close analogue to this narrative has as yet been discovered. But in no one of the Sins stories is the author's intent so evident—"unmistakable," I should write, if everybody had not mistaken it. Here is double irony: in the setting, a furious Summoner producing a narrative against his most obvious Vice; in the tale itself, a frenzied friar running ridiculously counter to all his own counsels against Anger. The professional quarrel typifies Wrath, the two churchmen themselves incarnate Wrath, the two stories are *exempla* of Wrath that knows no bounds; and, moreover, so that no one may miss the meaning, the mediæval poet introduces into the heart of the Summoner's Tale a long morality derived partly from the Parson's sermon against Wrath, but chiefly from Seneca's *De Ira*. These are the words of the Summoner's friar (D 2005-2010):

Ire is a sinne, oon of the grete of sevene,
 Abhominable un-to the god of hevene;
 And to him-self it is destruccion.
 This every lewed viker or person
 Can seye, how Ire engendreth homicyde.
 Ire, is, in sooth, executour of Pryde.

And so on for nearly a hundred lines. Now listen to the "lewed viker or person" (I, 564, 534): "Of this cursed sinne of Ire cometh eek manslaughter. And understonde wel, that homicyde, that is manslaughter, is in dyverse wyse And as wel comth Ire of Pryde as of Envy; for soothly, he that is proude or envious is lightly wrooth."⁶ Thus the social and the ethical meet and mingle.

⁶ In the light of the friar's reference to "every lewed viker or person," is it not likely that Chaucer, at the time of writing the Summoner's Tale, had already decided to assign this Sins material to his Parson?

Our generation, babbling of Chaucer's artistry and perversely closing its eyes to a moral intent so frequently clear to view, is quite as far away from the fourteenth-century mind, as the men of the Middle Ages, who moralized the *Metamorphoses* and allegorized the *Æneid*, were alien to the classical genius. Chaucer thought and wrote in terms intelligible to men always "conscious of moral preferences" and deeply versed in Gower, Langland, Wyclif, and later in Lydgate. Who is nearer to the poet, the modern who misses the many moralizings of his Pilgrims or else deems them scarce pardonable aberrations, or Stephen Hawes (*Pastime of Pleasure*, canto XIV):

And after Chaucers all abroad doth shewe
Our vyces to cense; his depared stremes
Kyndlynge our hertes wyth the fyry lemes
Of moral vertue, etc.

If the professional and traditional coloring of the quarrel between the Friar and the Summoner has been appreciated, the typical elements in the other encounters of the Pilgrims have escaped all attention. The Cook and the Manciple contend not by chance, but because the one is a cook and the other a manciple. *The New English Dictionary's* many references to the Manciple and his vocation show that, from the thirteenth century to the latest account of the cuisine of an English college or law-inn, this buyer of victuals is always associated with cooks and kitchens. In the *Ancren Riwele* (p. 214) the glutton is described as "the fiend's manciple," for "he sticketh ever in the cellar or in the kitchen." Milton, in his *Reformation in England* (II, 84) pictures the gluttonous churchmen of his day as "furnished with no more experience than they learnt between the cook and the manciple." Seventeenth and nineteenth-century citations show that for several hundred years the manciple of Queen's College, Oxford, has provided a boar's head for the Christmas feast. Twice in Charles Lamb's *Essays of Elia* the manciple is mentioned as a sort of master cook ("Old Benchers in the Temple" and "Oxford in Vacation") as indeed he seems to be fifty years later at Christ's College, Cambridge. Nothing then could be more natural than a quarrel between this overlord of the Temple kitchen and his underling, a Temple cook.

But the Cook of London is not a servant at the Temple. As Chaucer makes evident (A 4345 f.), he is the keeper of a cook-

shop, a member of the "craft of vitailleurs" like his own Perkin, one of the loud-mouthed crew that cried their pies and pigs and geese at Westminster Gate or clattered their pewter pots in East Chepe in the days of Langland, Occleve and the London Lickpenny,⁷ and on Pye Corner, three centuries later, in the time of Robert Conscience.⁸ The public cook-shop in London on the river bank was well known even in Henry II's time. William FitzStephen tells us: "There eatables are to be found every day, according to season, dishes of meat, roast, fried and boiled, great and small fish, coarser meats for the poor, more delicate for the rich, of game, fowls, and small birds."⁹ The Cook's rascalities were curbed by strict laws. The *Liber Albus*¹⁰ records that victuallers shall not keep their meat till it is spoiled and shall sell at reasonable prices—not more than a halfpenny for a pie, not more than a penny for putting a capon or a rabbit in a crust. These laws the shopman often managed to evade, as is amply shown by Gower's protest in his *Mirour*¹¹ against short-weight loaves, bread-prices boosted by the storing of grain, lean beef, spoiled game, vile beer. That Roger was as frequent an offender as any, we know from the Host's words (A 4345 f.):

Now telle on, Roger, loke that it be gode;
For many a pastee hastow laten blood,
And many a Iakke of Dover hastow sold
That hath been twyes hoot and twyes cold.
Of many a pilgrim hastow Cristes curs,
For of thy persly yet they fare the wors,
That they han eten with thy stubbel-goos;
For in thy shoppe is many a flye loos.

Surely there was every reason for manciples, large buyers of victuals, to quarrel with cooks and cook-shops. That they did so quarrel is demonstrated by the striking evidence of middle-fifteenth-century Oxford records.¹² On March 20, 1449, the manciples and

⁷ See *Piers Plowman*, B 225, Occleve, *Male Regle*, 177 f., and *London Lickpenny*, stanza 12.

⁸ See *Robert Conscience*, A° 1683, *Harleian Miscellany*, I, 47.

⁹ See FitzStephen's "Description of the Most Noble City of London" in Morley's edition of Stow's *Survey*, p. 25.

¹⁰ *Liber Albus*, pp. 715-718 (Rolls Series, *Munimenta Gildhallae*, III, 273).

¹¹ *Mirour de l'Homme*, 25981-26604, discussed by W. W. Comfort, *The Nation*, March 20, 1913.

¹² *Munimenta Academica Oxon.*, II, 588-590, Rolls Series, 1868.

food-dispensers of the colleges and halls of the University appeared before the Chancellor and declared on oath that the bakers of Oxford make bad bread and of light weight (panes male-paste in substantia, colore et sapore, necnon minus ponderantes) and they give only twelve to the dozen to clerks but thirteen to townsmen; that the beer of the town is weak and unwholesome; and that certain persons buy up all the sea-fish and retail it at an exorbitant price." A strong case, but between Cook and Manciple it was diamond cut diamond. The victualler, too, had his grievance against his sharp customer, as Chaucer, the vintner's son, fully recognized. Says Host to Manciple of the Drunken Cook (H 69-75):

But yet, maunciple, in feith thou art to nyce,
Thus openly reprove him of his vyce.
Another day he wol, peraventure,
Reclayme thee, and bringe thee to lure;
I mene, he speke wol of smale thinges,
As for to pinchen at thy rekeninges,
That wer not honeste, if it cam to preef.

Of all the pilgrims the Cook, as victualler, has had, of course, largest experience with these unscrupulous reckonings of the buyer of victuals. Chaucer delights in just such fineness of point.

Before we consider the Manciple's rebuke of the Cook, it is necessary to make a seeming digression to the little passage of arms—we can hardly call it a quarrel—between the Host and Hodge. In lines recently quoted (A 4345 f.) Harry Bailly points out the Cook's lapses as a victualler, and Roger retorts by threatening to tell a tale of an "hostiler." Another clash of trades! The anonymous historian of the Victualling Guilds in *The Times* (London), Monday, June 8, 1914,¹³ points out the reasons for contention between hosteler and victualler—evidence all the more convincing because it is offered without any thought of their encounter on the Canterbury Road. It seems that originally the hostel afforded to man and beast only lodging without food and drink.^{13a} The *Liber Albus* (p. 721) directs that no Hosteler shall make bread, but shall buy it of the Bakers; and that the Constables and Bedels shall have power to search Herbergeours and

¹³ I am indebted to my friend, Professor W. H. Hulme, for sending me this admirable article.

^{13a} See many references in Rogers' *Agriculture and Prices* (I, 39, 138, 506), cited by Furnivall, *Temporary Preface*, p. 41.

Hostelers to see that they sell no victuals in their hostels. "Chaucer, on the other hand, makes it clear," so writes the *Times* contributor, "that at the Tabard, in Southwark, both food was served and wine was drawn in the same house. That, however, was probably because the Tabard was in Southwark, where, in the fourteenth century, it was the constant grievance of the Victuallers that many members of their various crafts 'repaired to the vill of Southwark' for the purpose of 'eschewing the punishments of the City,' the authorities of the city being forbidden by the Court of the Marshalsea to arrest and to punish offenders or to exercise any jurisdiction there."^{13b} Therefore a clash between Southwark Hosteler and City Cook must have seemed to the fourteenth century reader inevitable. Let us follow our suggestive *Times* writer for yet a little space. "It may be then that the Tabard with its accommodation for nine and twenty guests and 'great cheere' for all of them was, by virtue of its exemption from the civic ordinances and restrictions, a better place of entertainment than the contemporary inns of the city. Be that as it may, it is plain that the pilgrims did not anticipate that they would fare equally well all along the open road, for a cook was of the company, and Chaucer distinctly indicates that he was there to give his services to his companions [The Burgesses]."

We have seen that a Manciple chiding a Cook fulfills the conditions of contemporary trade-relations. And the purchaser assails the enemy of his class with the weapon of an ancient tradition. Indeed class-satire may be said to have its beginnings in an attack upon the Cook, for he is certainly the oldest of all social types in comedy. The butt of Megarian farce, he is pilloried in the New Comedy and in the plays of Plautus as a thief and a glutton.¹⁴ In the Middle Ages his intemperance becomes proverbial,¹⁵ and is thus assailed by Barclay (*Ship of Fools*, II, 92):-

^{13b} See Unwin, *Gilds and Companies of London*, 1908, pp. 134-135.

¹⁴ *Athenaeus*, Book IX, teems with references to the Cook's rôles of thief and glutton in the New Comedy, notably in Euphro's *Adelphoi* and *Synepheboi* (Koch, III, 317, 322). In the *Pseudolus* (791, 850 f., 895) and *Casina* (720) of Plautus, the Cook is a thief, and in the *Aulularia* (363 f.) he is a glutton. Compare Rankin's monograph, *The Rôle of the Mageiroi (Cooks) in the Life of the Greeks*, Chicago, 1907. Mr. Lester M. Prindle, of the University of Vermont, to whom I am indebted for these references, is making a detailed study of traditional types in classical comedy.

¹⁵ Strutt, *Sports and Pastimes*, p. 22.

They (Cooks) ar nat content amonge themselfe to spende
 Theyr maysters goodes in suche lyke glotony,
 But also for other glotons they do sende
 And strange dronkardys to helpe out theyr vylany,
 By whose helpe they may the vessellis make dry,
 And he that hath way to drynke at eche worde
 Amonge these caytifs is worshyppyd as a lorde.

No student of traditional types is surprised by the swinelike drunkenness of Chaucer's Cook and by the rebuke that his "heaviness" invites.

Between the Friar-Summoner and Cook-Manciple quarrels lies this great difference. In the case of the first, the churchmen's tales are as brimful of class-rivalry as their prologues; in the case of the second the quarrel is healed before the Manciple begins his story, hence there can be in this no place for a professional feud. The narrator concerns himself therefore with the two other motives that divide with class-satire the dominance of the Canterbury collection, the Deadly Sins and the woman-question. The Manciple's contribution is an admirably human example of the master's ironical method of illustrating the Vices. Very sharply defined is the contrast between the Manciple's own chiding tongue that riots among the very epithets forbidden a chider of drunkenness by the Parson (I 623 f.) and the rebuke to wicked speech implicit in his tale of Phœbus and the Crow (that had served the same ethical purpose in Gower's *Confessio*) and explicit in his long morality (H 309-361) against "muchel speking yvel-avyshed." Moreover the inevitable theme of the relation of the sexes finds large illustration both in the story of cuckoldry and in the labored analysis of a futile and fatal jealousy (H 145-195). In the deliberate treatment of these two absorbing problems, the preliminary quarrel is quite forgotten.

The strife between Reeve and Miller is thoroughly traditional. In order fully to appreciate the relation between these worthies and their reasons for war, we must regard for a moment the functions of each. A survey of the duties of the Reeve is made easily possible by Miss Lamond's excellent edition (1890) of Walter of Henley's *Husbandry* with other mediæval tracts on Agriculture—a book that should be in every Chaucer library. From the anonymous treatise in Anglo-French, *Seneschaucie*, we learn that, under the lord of the manor, are three officers (pp. 84 f.): the seneschal or

steward, incidentally described at some little length in Chaucer's General Prologue (A 576 f.)¹⁶, who "ought to know the law of the realm, to protect his lord's business and to give assurance to the bailiffs, who are beneath him, in their difficulties"; the bailiff who had the general oversight of all that went on in the manor, and saw that the lower officers were faithful and active, the demesne properly tilled, the grain properly garnered, the cattle duly tended, the produce sold in best market, and accounts faithfully rendered to the auditors;¹⁷ and finally, the provost, not a paid retainer but a serf or lord's chattel, elected by the peasants, having under his control the care of stock and grain, manorial plowings, reapings and threshings, and aiding the bailiff in his accounts. Although such an authority as Vinogradoff¹⁸ identifies the English reeve with the provost or *praepositus*, still he recognizes that on many an estate this overseer was subordinate only to the seneschal and discharged a bailiff's functions. Chaucer's Reeve is rather bailiff than provost, dealing directly with his lord, outwitting auditors, ruling by terror under-bailiffs, herds and other servants, and winning wealth by his purchases—certainly no ordinary serf, but such a person as Robert Oldman, Bailiff of Cuxham, whose accounts¹⁹ cast such a flood of light upon fourteenth-century farming.²⁰

¹⁶ It is significant that Chaucer paves the way for the spirited portrait of the Reeve by devoting fully half of the immediately preceding picture of the Manciple, the faintest of all his sketches, to an account of law-bred "stiwardes of rente and lond," from whom bailiffs receive their instructions.

¹⁷ Compare with Chaucer's account of the Reeve, (A 593-594), "Wel coude he kepe a gerner or a binne; Ther was noon auditour coude on him winne," the requirements of the audit in the *Seneschaucie* (p. 109), "The auditors ought on their account to the bailiff to forbid that any comble of corn be received from the grange into the garner, but that one takes nine quarters for eight in sure measure striked from the stackers, and that the bushels and half bushels and the cantles and the rest which were wont to be hidden and forgotten, and are to the advantage of the provost if not tallied, be all tallied and all accounted for with the other." Miss Davenport, *Economic Development of a Norfolk Manor*, 1896, p. 23, points out that the bailiff received for his services two shillings, doubled at a later time, a robe worth twenty shillings (Is this not Chaucer's "cote and hood"?), and a dwelling at the cost of the lord (the "woning ful fair upon an heeth").

¹⁸ *Villainage in England*, p. 318; compare Traill, *Social England*, II, 92.

¹⁹ Compare the "reues rekenynges" of *Piers Plowman*, B V, 427.

²⁰ Thorold Rogers, *Agriculture and Prices in England*, 1866, I, 18, 506 (cited by Skeat); *Six Centuries of Work and Wages*, p. 48.

Now what of the relation between reeve and miller—a relation so close that Langland speaks of the two classes in one breath (*Piers Plowman*, B II, 110-111):

Rainalde the Reue of Rotland sokene,
Munde the Mellere, and many moo other.

Sir Walter Scott's sketch of the mills in Scotland²¹ is equally applicable to conditions in mediæval England: "All the world knows that the cultivators of each barony or regality, temporal or spiritual, in Scotland are obliged to bring their corn to be grinded at the mill of the territory, for which they pay a heavy charge called the intown multures Those of the Sucken or enthralled ground were liable in penalties, if, deviating from the thirlage (or thralldom), they carried their grain to another mill." In England, too, the sole right of grinding corn, sometimes of making malt, was vested in the lord, and tolls derived from the privilege formed an important item.²² This privilege he leased to a tenant and put the mill in order for his use. The books of the Cuxham Bailiff Oldman show that in 1299 Robert Newman was tenant of the mill at a rent of 40 s. the year, the landlord making all repairs and finding all machinery.²³ We read in these same accounts that in 1330-1331 this Bailiff or Reeve made two journeys to London to arrange for and consummate the purchase of millstones for the Oxfordshire estate and to direct their transportation by river and road. On the Norfolk manor of Fornsett,²⁴ in the very county of our Reeve's "Baldeswelle," the miller was, in the thirteenth century, a stipendiary of the lord, receiving a fixed fee, but later farmed the mill as a paying tenant. The Reeve, therefore, came frequently to the mill, not only to supervise the grinding of the corn, like the college manciple of his own story (A 3991 f.), but to collect rents and to supply or resist demands for repairs and machin-

²¹ *The Monastery*, chap. XIII.

²² See *Agriculture and Prices*, I, 502 f.; *Fleta* lib. 2, chap. 71 (cited by Seebohm, *English Village Community*, p. 456.); Hone, *Manor and Manorial Records*, pp. 85-86; *English Register of Godstow*, E. E. T. S., Orig. Ser. 142 (1911), III, p. lvi.

²³ Here is an item from the Cuxham Reeve's reckoning, 1316-1317 (*Agriculture and Prices*, II, 617): "Idem r. de xl s. de firma molendinae aquaticae per annum. Et de xiii s. iiid. de firma molendinae fullonicae per annum. Summa liii s. iiid d."

²⁴ Miss Davenport, *Economic Development of a Norfolk Manor*, p. 24.

ery. What large room for altercation! Certainly there was no one better fitted than a reeve to pass judgment against a miller's honesty or to illustrate his rascality with a pointed tale.²⁵

But in the give and take between the traditional enemies, Miller and Reeve, it is hardly fair tit for tat. The Reeve has an admirable story against a miller—very well found, for it fits, as if made to measure, his “deadly opposite,” the stout, red, wide-mouthed carl of the General Prologue. Simkin, like his pilgrim prototype, is a good wrestler, handy with sword and buckler, a heavy drinker and a practised thief, who wins, as the meed of his pilferings, a sharp conclusion. With changed name the fable is narrated. But the Miller has no story against a reeve. How then can he deal first blow? Chaucer has, however, up his sleeve a churl's tale against a carpenter, quite too good to be lost, so he turns to his General Prologue, introduces two lines (A 613-614) making the Reeve a carpenter—and the battle is on. This is, of course, only surmise, but there are certain good reasons for believing that the story suggested the trade, rather than the trade the story.^{25a} There is no traditional connection between a bailiff and the carpenter's calling. It must, however, be immediately admitted that the carpenter and the smith on estates were usually tenants who gave their services in quittance of rent,²⁶ so the Reeve, before rising to his present office, might fittingly have been “a wel good wrighte”; but surely Oswald and “the riche gnof,” the carpenter of Oxford, had professionally little in common. Then there is already a Carpenter in the General Prologue. Why introduce another, save to meet the exigencies of story? Moreover, the final line of the Prologue sketch of the Reeve seems to foreshadow faintly his quarrel with the Miller, “And ever he rood the hindreste of our route.” Why? Is it too daring to suggest—because his enemy, the Miller, rides in front,

²⁵ My colleague, Dean Joseph L. Hills of the College of Agriculture of the University of Vermont, tells me that even today a story of a miller “tolling thrice” is widely current among farmers and managers of estates and never fails to arouse laughter.

^{25a} This view is quite in accord with Professor Tatlock's statement (*Development and Chronology*, p. 143). “When Chaucer wrote the end at least of the Prologue, he had probably planned and perhaps written the first group or so, the Knight's Tale was ready to hand and Chaucer's Apology (725-742) seems to have reference to the Miller's and Reeve's Tales.”

²⁶ Hone, *Manor and Manorial Records*, p. 73.

"bringing us out of town with his bagpipes"? In any case, whatever the reason, the two foes went forth far asunder.

If the shafts of the Miller's class-satire seem to fall beside the mark, as the kinship between our capable Norfolk Reeve and the silly Oxford carpenter is so remote, Chaucer puts in his churlish hands a far more effective weapon, the love *motif*. Thus armed, he assails Oswald not only as a quondam carpenter, but as a suspiciously sensitive husband (A 3150-3161):

This dronken Miller spak ful sone ageyn,
And seyde, "leve brother Osewold,
Who hath no wyf, he is no cokewold.
But I sey nat therefore that thou art oon;
Ther been ful gode wyves many oon,
And ever a thousand gode ayeys oon badde,
That knowestow wel thy-self, but—if thou madde.
Why artow angry with my tale now?
I have a wyf, pardee, as well as thou,
Yet nolde I, for the oxen in my plogh,
Taken up-on me more than y-nogh,
As demen of myself that I were oon;
I wol beleve wel that I am noon."

Quite as essential to the setting of the Miller's story is the Reeve's long and world-weary comment upon his foolish old age (A 3867-3898).²⁷ The obvious parallel between the Reeve and the victim of the Miller's Tale lies not in their common trade, which is forgotten so utterly that a double reminder in the Reeve's Prologue (A 3861, 3915) is necessary, but in their like cuckoldry, the traditional fate of eld mated to youth. The story, absolutely pointless as an attack upon a profession, is eminently successful as a fabliau of the futile jealousy of age. "For al his keping and his jalousye," of which there has been constant mention, the old carpenter is easily beguiled by young like-to-like. The Reeve's Tale, so potent in its class-satire against thievish millers, is also brimful of illicit love, baffled jealousy, and outraged parenthood; but the Miller is far too careless a husband to feel aught but the conviction and penalty of dishonesty. Thus the ridicule of classes and the woman-question are blended, now one element uppermost, now

²⁷ For two of the elements, anger and covetousness, in the Reeve's dreary picture of old age one turns, not in vain, to Cicero, Seneca, Egidio Colonna, and a host of mediæval allegorists and poets. But the direct source of the Reeve's lament is still to seek. Hie on!

the other. In all this, no suggestion of capital Sins, for the influence of the Parson's Tale and its category of Vices is not exerted until later in the collection.

The three chief quarrels of the Canterbury Pilgrims are alike in this—that each represents a clash between traditionally hostile classes, rather than the chance encounter of individuals—yet in details of treatment they vary widely. The contention between Friar and Summoner is artistically the most successful, inasmuch as the class-feud is skilfully maintained throughout the stories of both, and is most dextrously interwoven, as in Langland, with the exemplification of Wrath, one of the baleful Seven. The quarrel of Manciple and Cook, rich in typical elements, is supported only throughout the Manciple's Prologue and yields entirely in his Tale to the combined interest of popular theology—the perverse illustration of Sins of the Tongue—and the *querelle des femmes*. And the professional hostility of Miller and Reeve, admirably sustained in the story of the second, not only invokes to its aid, in the tale of the first, the desperate makeshift of the carpenter's trade, but must there rely for its effect upon the ever-present problem of the sexes.

FREDERICK TUPPER.

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VIVES ON EDUCATION.

In a letter from Louvain in 1518, Erasmus says: "Here we have with us Luis Vives, who has not passed his twenty-sixth year. Young as he is, there is no part of philosophy in which he does not possess a knowledge which far outstrips the mass of students. His power of expression in speech and writing is such that I do not know anyone who can be declared his equal at the present time." Sir Thomas More wrote in 1519: "Certainly, my dear Erasmus, I am ashamed of myself and my friends, who take credit to ourselves for a few brochures of a quite insignificant kind, when I see a young man like Vives producing so many well digested works. How great is his knowledge of Greek and Latin; greater still is the way in which he is versed in branches of knowledge of the first importance. Who is there who surpasses Vives in the quantity and depth of his knowledge?"

Such testimony from Erasmus, the prince of the literary world, and Sir Thomas More, the most fascinating personality of the time, must claim an interest for Juan Luis Vives.

Vives was a Spaniard, born at Valencia in the year of the discovery of America by Columbus, that *annus mirabilis* that also saw the conquest of Granada and the expulsion of the Moors from Spain. Vives was a brilliant student in the University of Paris, but by a severe struggle, worked out his literary salvation, by passing from the Cimmerian darkness of the mediæval scholasticism to the "good letters" of the Renaissance interest in classical authors. He taught at Louvain, then went to England, where he was attached to the court of King Henry VIII and Queen Catharine of Aragon, his compatriot. He also lectured on humanist subjects at Oxford, being associated with the newly established foundation of Corpus Christi College. Between 1523 and 1528, by special arrangement, he was allowed to complete his academic and courtly work in half the year and spend the other half in Belgium, chiefly at Bruges. He was dismissed from the English Court on account of his friendliness to the cause of Queen Catharine of Aragon, at the time of the divorce. He died at Bruges in 1540.

Vives is the typical instance of the humanist classical scholar in the first half of the sixteenth century, who regarded scholarship, not as an end in itself, but as a means for social service. He

said: "We (scholars) must transfer our solicitude (from princes) to the people"; and again: "This is the point of all studies; this is the goal. Having acquired our knowledge, we must turn it to usefulness, and employ it for the common good". Consequently, being at a transition stage between mediævalism and modern times, he is remarkable for his instinctive fascination for the lines of development afterwards taken in the progress of modern thought. Again, this is true of him to a greater degree than it was true of Erasmus. He is the pioneer, for instance, of Bacon in the advocacy of observation and experiment in the natural sciences, and in his employment of the inductive method. He wrote the first modern history of philosophy. He is the father of the empirical treatment of psychology. He is the first writer to suggest in detail an organized system of poor-relief as a civic and natural duty. Along with Erasmus he claims the highest recognition as an apostle of universal peace among nations.

Such a remarkable combination of interests, together with pioneering work in each is unique in his period.

When these facts are borne in mind, we are prepared to find that a man of such wide knowledge and interests would write a book of great significance in relation to his times, on the subject of Education. His work has been described as "way-breaking" for modern times.

The work of Vives on Education is entitled: *De Disciplinis*. It is divided into two parts: the *De Corruptis Artibus libri vii* and the *De Tradendis Disciplinis libri v*. The former part deals with the degeneration of knowledge since the classical times when the liberal arts flourished. There is to be found here an immense amount of interesting material, probably, on the whole the best picture in a single work of the state of the whole range of knowledge, at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The second part, the *De Tradendis Disciplinis* or the *Transmission of Knowledge*, may be described as the positive or constructive side of Vives's treatment of Education, with his Educational theory. The five books deal with *Educational Origins*, *Schools*, *Language Teaching*, *Higher Studies*, *Studies and Life*, and a charming study of *The Scholar's Life and Character*, as it should manifest itself both to itself and to the world.

Vives is the first writer to ground Education on psychology. "Observe the child, and adapt your aims and methods to his

needs," may be said to be his main principle. Only those fit for the higher learning should proceed to it. The slow wits are more to be trusted than the quick. But conferences of masters of each school should meet every few months and determine individual procedure for each boy. The vernacular should be the medium of instruction, not Latin. Boys should be allowed (contrary to the custom of the times) to speak in the vernacular in playing-times. All languages, Latin included, should be taught by the direct method. Grammar teaching should be brought to a minimum. Reading of authors, the acquisition of the knowledge-material to be found in foreign writers is the chief and first concern. Vives was the first to attach importance to the teaching of modern history. He thinks that Froissart, Monstrelet, Comines and the Spanish Valera "are not less worthy of being known and read than the majority of Greek and Latin historians. He has much to say as to the importance of religious education. Pupils should "enter into their schools full of reverence, as if into holy temples." Education has for its purpose the culture of the mind. It is not merely the instrument for acquiring honours or money." Payment of teachers should not be based upon capitation fees, but should be arranged by the state, so that teachers' salaries should be "just as much as a good man would desire, but such as a bad man would despise." Teachers should not be anxious for large numbers of pupils, but for excellent, intrinsic work. "Christ taught for our service, not for His own ostentation." "Who can bewail the fewness of his scholars, when the Creator of the world was satisfied with a school of twelve men?"

The special quality of Vives's treatise is this demand for the highest and best disinterested work of the teacher, and the glow and love of acquisition of knowledge on the part of the pupil. Sir Thomas More had written his *Utopia*, where even the seafaring man was excellently trained in Greek as well as in Latin. Vives, who was one of the happy band of visitors to More's house at Chelsea is characterized by the same spirit. Both were not only learned men, but also lovers of knowledge. The spirit of Vives's treatment of education, in this work now translated into English for the first time¹ may be stated in his own words: "If

¹ Vives: On Education. A translation of the *de Tradendis Disciplinis* of Juan Luis Vives. Together with an Introduction by Foster Watson, D.Lit. Professor Emeritus in the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth, Cambridge (England): at the University Press, 1913.

you think, friends, that I seem to offer right judgments, see well to it that you give your adherence to them, because they are true, not because they are mine. . . . You, who seek truth, make your stand, wherever you think that she is."

FOSTER WATSON.

London, England.

REVIEWS AND NOTES.

THE GERMAN LANGUAGE. Outlines of its Development, by Tobias Diekhoff, Ph.D., Lit.D., Junior Professor of German, University of Mich., New York, Oxford University Press, American Branch, 1914. Pp. xxxi + 524.

This book is much needed in this country. Its publication is unusually timely as the popular clamor for quick practical results has become so strong and general that, as the author remarks in the Preface, "We have allowed our work to grow more or less superficial, giving more attention to a favorable appearance, to entertainment of the learner than to serious study with its sure and lasting reward." The author has not only done good service by raising this timely note of warning, but he has tried to remedy the evil by presenting a work that may give teachers of German a broader conception of their work and a deeper insight into the life of the language.

The book that is now so much needed by teachers of German ought not only to be permeated by sound learning, but it ought also to be couched in language that will reach those for whom it is intended and arouse their interest. There ought of course to be many such books adapted to different grades of development, but there is in this country so little interest in language studies, even in large institutions of learning, that there has been little call for books of this kind. A few students who have been favored with a good linguistic training can use the scholarly books written in German for a better trained class of workers. To the great mass of our teachers of German these learned German books have no meaning whatever in spite of the vast wealth of their inner content. Professor Diekhoff has conceived the idea of writing a book that will bring to our students and teachers of German somewhat of these rich stores of German learning. Has he found suitable language and taken the proper point of view, so that he will interest and arouse American students?

This question was what stirred the reviewer as he took the book into his hands. The book has been read carefully and with great joy. Alongside of sound learning we find on every page careful attention to the needs and deficiencies of our American students. The author has not tried to parade his erudition but with the clear vision and the sure instincts of a real teacher who sees and knows the ignorance of the American student of linguistics he weaves into the study of German the necessary elementary study of the growth and life of language, phonetics, etc., all with a skill born of experience in the classroom.

Although this book is in general an elementary work written in simple language, it contains much that is interesting to a mature scholar, for it is based upon original investigation as well as upon German learning. It is to be hoped that the book will be widely useful by doing good service to different classes of students. There are very few teachers in this country that do not need it, for even in our largest institutions there are teachers who know very little of the life of the German language. To the teachers of our high schools and those preparing to teach there it will open up a new world.

The author has used discretion in the selection of material and employed sound judgment in selecting his position from among the conflicting views of scholars. In different questions of this nature, however, error is often unavoidable and there are moreover in some cases other possibilities of interpretation or explanation that are naturally overlooked by every author who has accustomed himself to view linguistic phenomena from his own angle of observation. In working through this book carefully the reviewer has noticed a number of things which present themselves to him in a different light. As some of these things seem important he introduces them here in the hope that they may be useful to the users of the book and to the author himself in case of a second edition.

On pages 203-207 the author summarizes the New High German developments in the inflection of nouns, but he has failed to state the most prominent tendency of this period, namely the evident desire to evolve out of the multiplicity of the older types a simple uniform type for all nouns—the *en*-plural for feminines and the unmutated *e*-plural for masculines and neuters except for those in *-el*, *-en*, *-er*, which drop the *e* in the plural. This simple rule is not yet followed as closely as the English rule of forming the plural by adding *-s*, but it has become so well established that the older types are felt as dead as proved by the fact that they have ceased to be productive. The older types are still represented by a large number of words, but only one of these types is alive in the literary language, namely the weak type for foreign masculines representing living beings provided the nouns are accented upon the last syllable, as in *der Gymnasiást, des Gymnasiásten*, plural *die Gymnasiásten*. Even here those in accented *-al*, *-an*, *-än*, *-ar*, *-är*, *-eur*, *-ier*, *-on*, *-or*, usually conform to the general rule and thus take *-s* in the genitive singular and *-e* in the plural. The author's conception that the mutated *e*-plural is a growing type is not based upon facts. It was once a very active force in the language and influenced even foreign words, but it is now slowly yielding to the unmutated form.

On page 281 the author seems to derive the future with *werden* (*er wird loben*) and the so-called conditional (*er würde loben*) from the older inchoative use of *werden* in connection with an infinitive.

Both of these forms, however, evidently developed out of the once common periphrasis *werden* + infinitive instead of the simple tense of the verb: *er wird loben*=*er lobt*; *er ward loben*=*er lobte*. As the present could be used for the future, either *er lobt* or *er wird loben* might have future force. Gradually the two forms became differentiated in that *er wird loben* took on more distinct future force. After *er wird loben* acquired distinct future force it naturally ceased to be used as a present tense. The past indicative periphrastic form *er ward loben* gradually disappeared as it was not supported by a present tense, but the past subjunctive periphrasis *er würde loben* was preserved as the usual simple subjunctive as in *lobte* often did not have a distinct subjunctive form. Thus this form is a real past subjunctive and ought to be called by its proper name, periphrastic past subjunctive. The author is in error on page 281 where he says that this periphrastic past subjunctive has acquired the special meaning of unreality, for it like any past subjunctive is employed in indirect discourse, its most common use, where it rarely has the idea of unreality. It is simply a past subjunctive with the different meanings that a past subjunctive has in different situations.

On pages 319-320 the author tries to explain the frequent use of the indicative in indirect discourse after a present tense, especially after the first person of *glauben*, *meinen*, *denken*, etc.: "The reason is that even after such words the statement has for the speaker the value of certainty." After such a verb as *wissen* he says that the subjunctive is used only after a past tense, not however after a present tense. He explains the more frequent use of the subjunctive after a past tense by the statement: "In not a few instances verbs of thinking and believing when used in the past tense introduce a statement which did not prove to be a correct surmise: "Ich glaubte, du würdest kommen." The idea of certainty and uncertainty which is here so strongly emphasized seems to the reviewer to often play a very small rôle indeed, for it does not explain the facts of the language. The subjunctive is often found after a first person: "So glaube ich, dass auch mein Auge durch die lange Beschäftigung mit dem Gegenstande nicht verblendet, sondern dank der damit zusammenhängenden reichen Erfahrung vielmehr eigentümlich gestärkt sei. (Günther Jacoby in the JOURNAL, 1914, page 379). Dr. Jacoby is here quite sure of the truth of his statement, but he uses the subjunctive because he feels that he is stating his view *indirectly*. Indirectness here is a peculiar German form of modest objectivity. If Dr. Jacoby had employed the indicative *ist* here instead of *sei* the statement would have been more personal and subjective, not at all however more suggestive of certainty. The frequent use of the indicative after the first person of the present tense results from the fact that we usually feel the words *ich glaube*, *ich weiss*, etc., as not so essential a part of the utterance as what

follows and hence feel the utterance as a whole more as a declaration of fact than as an indirect statement. Hence even after the present tense of *wissen* we find the subjunctive when we feel we are stating indirectly the thoughts of another, as in "Er weiss, er werde nie damit fertig werden" (Georg Edward), but we employ the indicative when we feel the utterance as a declaration of fact: "Ich weiss, dass sie morgen kommt." After the past tense the subjunctive is more common than after the present for the simple reason that when we speak of past events that have been told to us we involuntarily fall into a narrative mood and hence feel all that we say is a report, an indirect statement and employ the subjunctive. Here the feeling of indirectness is more prominent than the desire to represent the utterance as a declaration of fact. We feel that we are narrating, not declaring.

On page 287 the author accounts for the South German use of the Perfect tense instead of the Past by the fact that the South German loss of final unaccented *e* made it often impossible to distinguish a Past from a Present: *lobt'* not different in sound from *lobt*. The loss of final unaccented *e* may have facilitated this development, but it does not explain it entirely, for the Perfect is also widely used in the North instead of the Past although there is there no loss of final unaccented *e*. To the reviewer this widespread use of the Perfect seems to result from the desire of the speaker to attach importance to each individual utterance by representing it as an independent fact worthy of attention. The Past is the tense of narrative, i. e. it is used to state facts or events that stand in relation to each other. The Perfect is the tense for the statement of independent individual facts, i. e. facts for their own sake, not as parts of a narrative. Thus the use of the Perfect instead of the Past seems to be a kind of exaggeration and is naturally widely used in loose colloquial language in the North as well as in the South. The author is in error on page 288 where he explains this use of the Perfect instead of the Past as the result of analogy with the use of the Perfect in questions. It is not true that the Perfect is usually employed in questions. The use of the tenses here is exactly the same as in declarative sentences, as can be seen by the examples quoted by the author himself on page 284 from Wilmann's "Deutsche Grammatik."

On page 346 the author states that the attributive form of the German gerundive (das zu lesende Buch) originated in Old High German. This must be a mere slip of the pen. The oldest examples occur about the close of the 16th century, although the corresponding predicate form with the form of the infinitive (das Buch ist zu lesen) is very old.

The treatment of the separable prefixes *ab*, *an*, etc., page 130, lacks accuracy. The reviewer has discussed these prefixes at considerable length in his article "Development of Verbal Compounds" in Paul und Braune's Beiträge vol. XXXIX pages 321-361. He

feels from his own study of this subject that the nature of these prefixes ought to be explained even in rather elementary grammars. In such examples as "Er redete mich an" the particle *an* cannot be simply disposed of by calling it an adverb. It has also undoubtedly prepositional force and this function explains the accusative *mich*, which is the object, not of the verb but the preposition. In Luther's time the prepositional force was felt much more clearly: Welche nicht freiet, die sorget was *den* Herrn angehört, das sie heilig sey, beide am Leibe und auch am Geist. (1. Cor., VII. 34.). This whole question is too complicated to be discussed in this short review, but it is highly desirable that questions of this kind should be discussed accurately if we are to convey to our students a real insight into the life of language. An accurate explanation has also a practical value, for it enables the student to understand much that he will find in his daily reading of German texts. Thus in "Bin ich ihn angefahren: Was er da beim Herd zu tun hätt?" (Rosegger) the knowledge of the prepositional force of *an* in *angefahren* explains to the student the use of the auxiliary *bin*, i. e. *an* is felt as a preposition and *fahren* as an intransitive. When on a following page the auxiliary *habe* is used in exactly the same expression he sees that the particle *an* is also felt as an adverb and enters into such close relations with an intransitive verb that the resulting compound is felt as a transitive verb and takes an accusative object. Moreover, when he observes that the particle *an* is always stressed he can see that the older prepositional force is no longer distinctly felt. In certain other prefixes, however, he can plainly see that the older weak stress of the particle is perfectly preserved, as in *umségeln*, *hintergêhen*, etc. Thus he learns that in language, as elsewhere in life, there are different stages of development.

On page 144 it is stated that *hinter-* is only used as an inseparable prefix. The reviewer has often found this particle used as a separable prefix: "Die Studentenmutter stieg mit ihrem neuen Mieter ins zweite Stockwerk hinauf und führte ihn einen halbdunkeln Gang hinter" (Sperl's "Burschen heraus!", p. 291).

On pages 159-162 the author treats the subject of "compound nouns." To attain an insight into the real nature of these so-called compounds we must discard the term "compound noun," for these old forms are in a large number of cases not *nouns* at all, but old *groups*, as explained by the reviewer in his article "The Development of Modern Groupstress in German and English" in the JOURNAL, vol. XIII, pages 493-498. These old groups differ from modern groups in that the first member of the group in accordance with older usage in all groups is uninflected and is stressed, while in the modern group both members are inflected and the last member has the chief stress: *die Köpfverlétzung*, but *die Verlétzung des Köpfes*. Although the old groups are thus distinguished from the new ones by distinctive marks they are in

a syntactical sense completely identical. In the examples just given both *Kopf* and *des Kopfes* are felt as the subject of the verbal element contained in *verletzung*. In *Füsslähmung* and *die Lähmung des Fusses* both *Fuss* and *des Fusses* are felt as the object of the verbal element contained in *Lähmung*. Thus in both the old and the new groups the different members in each group may sustain various syntactical relations with each other. Although the syntactical relations in the older and the new groups are the same the two groups have become differentiated in meaning. We cannot, however, indicate that difference by merely calling the one a word or even a compound word and the other a group. Both are groups. In a book of this kind the difference of meaning between the old and the new groups ought to be taught, because there is often nothing of a corresponding nature to be found in English: "Er leidet an *Herzverfettung* und die *Verfettung des Herzens* nimmt zu." We can't imitate this in English. We feel that in German the differentiation lies in the group-stress. The sharp logical stress upon the first member calls attention to its logical force and at the same time, like the logical accent upon the first syllable of a word, gives the impression of the close unity of a word, while the stress upon the last member indicates a more mechanical stress and the looser unity of the group. Thus in the sentence just given *Herzverfettung* indicates a disease in its unity, while *die Verfettung des Herzens* suggests the individual factors involved in the disease.

While in English such old groups are usually dissolved into modern groups, as in "the fatty degeneration of the heart," they are often preserved where the logical force of the first member is quite distinctly felt. Thus we usually say *Sunday dinner*, but *Sundayschdöl* as we feel the logical contrast to *wéek-schdöl*. Such English expressions, however, with a logical stress upon the first element can scarcely be called groups. They are rather to be called compounds, as there is always in them a marked oneness of meaning. English has lost the ability to indicate logical stress in a group by placing the logically important word in the first place, as in the following German groups: Der anscheinend *múskel-schwáche* Mensch wird unter der erregenden Einwirkung gewisser Vorstellungen zu *Kráftáússerungen fáhig*, die er unter gewöhnlichen Umständen niemals hätte leisten können. In English we must say: *wéak in his músclcs, manifestátions of pówer*. We have preserved the older logical stress only in compounds, while in German it is still very common also in groups.

The reviewer has coined the term "group-word" for these old groups with logical stress upon the first element, as they have the compact form of a word but the syntactical features of a group. Our students must become acquainted with this term if we are to convey to them accurate conceptions of German grammar. For

instance, we need the term in the following rule: The logically stressed genitive of the thing prefers a position in a group-word to a place in a group: im Augenblick des *Krtegsausbruches*, die heuchlerische Maske der *Neutralitätswährung*, nach *Stückzahl* (= *der Stücke Zahl*), etc. The group-form here is largely confined to poetry: "Es fehlte nur *des Angriffs Zeichen zum Ritt ins lichte Tal*," instead of *das Angriffszzeichen*.

On page 161 the author remarks: "A noun like *antislavery movement* is impossible in German: similarly *good roads agitation*, *hot weather sports*, and innumerable others." The German language abounds in such compounds just as English: Grünwarenhändler, die Schwarzmeerflotte, Zweifrontenkrieg, Kleinkinderschule, das bleiche Armsündergesicht, Schwarzerdeboden, etc. Often written apart as in English: der silberne Kreuzbund, Society of the Silver Cross.

On page 376 the author has made the boundaries of the cognate accusative entirely too narrow. This accusative is used wherever an object is needed to indicate a meaning cognate or similar to that of the verb, or to explain more fully the idea expressed by the verb. The remark of the author that this accusative is almost always accompanied by an adjective or other characterizing modifier obscures quite completely its peculiar nature. It is inclining more and more to discard all modifiers: Er reitet Galopp, Schritt, Trab, Karriere, Post, Schule, Patrouille, etc. This productive construction stands in close relations to the common tendency to form group-words, as in "baumumgeben" = "von Bäumen umgeben." Indeed, in case of many of these so-called cognate accusatives the form is in fact not an accusative at all but a prepositional expression, in which the preposition is suppressed, as often in group-words. Thus instead of saying "mit der Eisenbahn fahren" we can say "Eisenbahn fahren." Thus in fact this is an adverbial construction. In a number of cases where the preposition is not now used we find it in older usage: Gefahr (formerly *in Gefahr*) laufen, ein Gewerbe (formerly *in einem Gewerbe*) ausgehen, to go out on an errand, etc. The dropping of the preposition usually leaves a case form of the noun that is identical with the accusative and has led to the complete confounding of the prepositional construction with the accusative, so that a clear accusative is used even where the prepositional idea is prominent: "Schon damals bin ich für mein Leben gern *Elektrische* gefahren" ("Frankfurter Zeitung," Aug. 31, 1913). It also sometimes represents an older nominative: "Ich soll nun für drei Batzen *Boten* (accusative for *Bote=als Bote*) gehen." (Hauptmann's "Der arme Heinrich," 3). The use of the simple accusative in these last examples indicates clearly that the productive accusative construction is not only extending its own natural boundaries, but is growing at the expense of other constructions.

On page 390 the author says of the accusative absolute: "But it is doubtful whether we have to do with an ellipsis because the usage is rather literary than colloquial." The author overlooks the main point entirely, namely that the omission of the tense auxiliary *haben* and *sein* is common in the literary language. All feeling for the ellipsis has disappeared, but the original syntactical relations often become clear upon a little reflection, as in the following sentence: "Dies vorausgeschickt [habend] lassen wir die Nachrichten aus den verschiedenen Revolutionszentren folgen" ("Hamburger Nachrichten," Oct. 30, 1905). This absolute accusative construction is today usually felt as an adverbial clause in which the accusative is the logical subject and the participle is the predicate. Instead of the predicate participle we now often find a predicate adverb, adjective, or prepositional phrase: So stand er da, die Füße auswärts, den Kopf empor, die Arme übereinander. Der Mann näherte sich ihm langsam, die Arme herunterhängend, die Augen starr. Most of the examples the author gives on page 389 under the head of "accusative of manner or attendant circumstance" belong here.

GEORGE O. CURME.

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HERDER AND KLOPSTOCK, A COMPARATIVE STUDY,
by Frederick Henry Adler, Ph.D. New York, G. E. Stechert
& Co., 1914, 231 pp.

It is a happy thought to bring together in one volume two men of letters whose lives ran parallel for so many years (both died in 1803), whose works introduced and formed a part of the classical literature of Germany that sprang into life in the second half of the eighteenth century, and who represented and in large measure created the literary atmosphere and spiritual content of the age in which they lived. Literary history is concerned largely with the study of various groups and schools, and it is a serious question whether many of the commonly accepted groupings ought not to be subjected to a reëxamination with a view to determining the propriety of many of the present inclusions and for the purpose of establishing connections and relationships which are at present often ignored or overlooked.

The relationship that existed between Klopstock and Herder, both personal and spiritual, is certainly closer than in the case of many poets and thinkers whose names have long been associated, and we are indebted to the author of the volume before us for the convincing proof of this proposition. That the name of Herder does not at once suggest the name of Klopstock is no doubt to be explained in part by the attractive power of the name of Goethe.

We think of Herder as the mentor and friend of the younger poet, and in emphasizing this relationship, for us perhaps more important or more interesting than the other, we fail to appreciate the strength of the bonds that united the central figure of the three with his older contemporary.

Dr. Adler begins his study very appropriately with a presentation of the "Personal Relations" and considers next the influence upon Herder,—or, as the modern psychologists would say, Herder's "reaction" to Klopstock's *Messias*, and concludes his First Part with a similar chapter upon "Herder and Klopstock's Lyrical Poetry." In the second part the author considers "The Conception of the Poet," "Religious Views" and "Patriotic Endeavors."

In these days of international storm and stress it is interesting to read that Herder, the great apostle of *Humanität*, rebuked his countrymen for slumbering while their nation was threatened on all sides: "Would they kneel before a foreign people? Do they no longer respect their forefathers or value their own heart, their language, everything? He who does not protect himself is not worthy of freedom. The Germans must not look to the court and church for protection; the duty of preserving the fatherland lies upon the people themselves." The third and last part of the volume includes "A Treatment of Klopstock's and Herder's Poetic Language," a "Conclusion" and a "Bibliography." The chapter on Klopstock's and Herder's poetic language, while perhaps of less interest to the general reader, contains in the opinion of the writer the most valuable, certainly the most specific contribution which the author has to offer. It has long been known in a general way that the German language was greatly enriched by the influx of words and phrases which were not so much coined as rather endowed with a hitherto unfelt depth of meaning by the German Pietists. But Dr. Adler has taken the pains to show with care and precision just what terms are involved in this innovation. This he does by a detailed comparison of Herder's and Klopstock's poetic language with that of Zinzendorf, Gryphius and other representative Pietists, and by an ingenious use of the anti-Klopstockian literature promulgated by the rationalists of the school of Gottsched.

It is perhaps ungracious to criticize a book for what it fails to give, or perhaps purposely omits. But we cannot refrain from suggesting to the author the desirability of supplementing his presentation of the points of agreement between Klopstock and Herder with a study of those features in which they are contrasted, or where at least there is a divergence between them. Certainly Herder was incapable of the sustained poetic effort that is evidenced in the *Messias* and in the best of Klopstock's odes. But neither can we imagine Klopstock the author of that sympathetic, suggestive and often brilliant survey of man in the midst of and as a

product of nature that is found in Herder's *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit*.

In his conclusion Dr. Adler expresses the modest hope that his book may be "the humble means of arousing an interest in the life and work of these two masters, and thus introduce, if but a very few readers to that great world of ideas comprehended by both Klopstock and Herder." After all this is the main achievement of the literary critic and historian, and unless this aim is attained his work is of doubtful value. Read your Klopstock, and read your Herder! They are not antiquated nor have they been "überwunden," least of all by those to whom their works are sealed volumes. If Klopstock's *Frühlingsfeier*, *Die frühen Gräber*, *Das Rosenband* and many more of the *Oden und Geistliche Lieder* are not poetry of the purest water where shall we turn to find such? And he who can rise from the reading of Herder's *Ideen*, the *Schulreden*, or the *Stimmen der Völker* without feeling that he has been face to face with a vital and noble spirit *dem ist*,—to use a phrase that has already done service elsewhere, *dem ist so wie so nicht zu helfen*.

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Oscar James Campbell, Jr.: *THE COMEDIES OF HOLBERG HARVARD STUDIES IN COMPARATIVE LITERATURE*, vol. III, Cambridge, 1914, 363 pp.

COMEDIES BY HOLBERG, JEPPE OF THE HILL, THE POLITICAL TINKER, ERASMUS MONTANUS. Translated from the Danish by Oscar James Campbell, Jr., Ph.D. and Frederic Schenck, B.Lit., Oxon. with an Introduction by O. J. Campbell, Jr. New York, The American-Scandinavian Foundation, 1914, 178 pp.

Holberg is so distinctively Danish and the term by which he is so often referred to in the country which became his real home, Father Holberg, connects him so intimately with the beginnings of modern Danish literature that one is inclined at first to resent the statement in the opening paragraph of Dr. Campbell's Introduction, that "the works of few men afford such ample material for an instructive study in comparative literature." The full justification of the remark is to be found in the pages of the book under review, for in his ability to absorb intellectual nourishment from abroad and to apply this to the production of the most thoroughly Danish plays ever written lies Holberg's chief claim to greatness. As a cosmopolite he was able to meet the requirements of the definition, as one who knew even his own country.

In his long residence abroad as a preparation for a close interpretation of the life and character of his countrymen Holberg shows an interesting parallel to Ibsen and Dr. Campbell's suggestion that Holberg's later neglect of local satirical comedy was in large part due to the fact that "when the life about him became utterly familiar again, its incongruities disappeared," is worthy of serious attention. It is possible that in the case of Ibsen, who actually composed his prose dramas abroad, distance lent not enchantment but clearness to the view.

Dr. Campbell's opening chapter gives a brief but clear account of Holberg's life, which is in the main distinguished by accuracy. Indeed, here, as elsewhere in the book, remarkably few errors, either of form or statement, were noted. This is especially refreshing in a work containing so many names and titles in different languages. The date of the publication of Peder Paars, page 24, is 1720 not 1719. Dr. Campbell's explanation of Holberg's failure to write comedies during the pietistic reign of Christian VI, as a result of his being "written out," while opposed to the generally accepted view, is suggestive and the reasons advanced are sound. The burial place of Holberg is the abbey church, not "the old cathedral at Sorø." Chap. 2 gives a classification and a brief description of the comedies. The following four classes are given: 1. Domestic Comedies of Character, in which are included the three plays in the volume of translations. 2. Simple Comedies of Character. This resembles the first class in exposing the foibles of some central figure, but differs from it in failing to emphasize the relation of this figure to his family and to society. 3. Comedies of Intrigue, in which the interest is mainly concentrated upon a series of tricks, usually managed by roguish servants. One of the titles here is given as *Masquerades*, instead of the singular form. 4. Comedies of Manners, differing from the first two classes in that "each one satirizes some social or political folly which is not treated as the particular foible of an individual." *Ulysses von Ithacia*, given here, really deserves a class by itself, as a parody of the German plays popular in Holberg's time. The only play discussed in detail is *Erasmus Montanus*. Here, as in the translation Per Degn is called Peter the Deacon, which is clearly incorrect, the nearest English equivalent is parish clerk. Chap. 3 deals with Holberg and Molière and in it the author takes definite issue with the authorities, represented by Legrelle, who find in Holberg simply a Danish Molière. While admitting the immense indebtedness of the Danish author to his great French predecessor, both in character types and in comic situations, Dr. Campbell attempts, and it appears to the reviewer with success, to show "how the Danish author invariably contrived to make these borrowed forms express his own individual spirit," page 94. In the relation of the characters to one another Holberg in the main follows closely the method of Molière, but in the real

nature of his satire he is essentially different. "The satire of the two authors thus becomes an expression of two essentially unlike comic spirits." Dr. Campbell finds in Molière a correction of serious faults of character, in Holberg, a promoter of "social amenity." "Molière's idea of the comic expresses some of that mixture of gaiety and intensity characteristic of the Renaissance; Holberg expresses the easy urbanity of the eighteenth century," page 131. A further difference between the two authors is suggested as a result of the different classes of audiences addressed by them, Molière writing for the court, Holberg, for the *bourgeoisie*. Chap. 4 dealing with Holberg's indebtedness to the *Commedia dell'Arte*, contains much new and interesting material. The author finds that "Holberg's debt to the *Commedia dell'Arte* . . . was evidently fundamental and vital. The perfunctory plot of the lovers is equally perfunctory in his plays." But just as Holberg is no slavish follower of Molière so in his use of the typical figures and situations of the Italian form "to every element that he has borrowed he has added his own touches of realism." It is probably owing in no small measure to Holberg's introduction under various names of these figures that the pantomime of Pierrot owes its immense success in Tivoli gardens. Chap. 5 deals with French influences other than that of Molière. Among the authors mentioned are Le Grand, in connection with *Plutus*, an original suggestion, Destouches and Boursault. The general idea of *Barselstuen* is traced to a popular French satirical tradition, the immediate prototype of Holberg's comedy being found by Campbell in the *Recueil Général des Caquets de l'Accouchée*.

In the discussion of English influences Campbell takes the undoubtedly correct view that Holberg was but slightly, if at all, acquainted with or influenced by Shakespeare. The resemblance between the Induction to the *Taming of the Shrew* and *Jeppe paa Bjerget* is almost certainly due to a common ultimate source, in spite of the fact that Shakespeare's comedy was performed in London while Holberg was in England. The discussion of Holberg's relation to Ben Jonson is interesting and in the main convincing. A real contribution is the attempt to connect the story of *The Political Tinker* with the tale of *The Political Upholsterer* in *The Tattler*. But more important than this single example of indebtedness to *The Tattler* is the suggestion that much of the inspiration of the comedies is to be found in the English essays. Like Addison and Steele, Holberg seeks in an urbane way to correct the minor follies and fashions of his time and in a number of instances cited by Campbell, the English and the Danish satirists deal with the same follies. The direct connection between Holberg's later *Epistler* and *The Tattler* and *Spectator* has always been recognized, but this discussion of a no less vital connection between these and the comedies is new and forms one of the most important parts of Campbell's work. The author perhaps goes a little too far,

however, when he makes this statement: "Plainly, the influence of English literature upon Holberg's plays, though on the surface it is much less complex and diverse than that of French literature, was in reality equally formative and fundamental," page 286. The slight extent of German influence upon Holberg is not surprising. Only one dramatist, Andreas Gryphius, is cited. One class of German plays, however, the extravagant *Haupt- und Staats-Actionien*, is parodied in the late comedy *Ulysses von Ithacia*. The discussion of Latin comedy is simplified by Holberg's own statement of his indebtedness to Terence and Plautus. In a brief concluding chapter the author sums up his impressions of Holberg's genius and at the same time points out his deficiencies. The bibliography is sufficiently full for the purposes of this study and the notes show excellent judgment.

The following errors, of translation, most of them of minor importance, may be noted:

Page 119 "raised to the peerage" is an incorrect rendering of "have Rang". By *Rang* is meant a nonhereditary social distinction, the outward and visible sign of which is a title or form of address. It is quite distinct from the hereditary *Adel*.

Page 153. The speech, in *Honourable Ambition*, attributed to Henrich, is really spoken by Jeronimus and should read: "I beg your pardon, gracious [not dear] sir, for receiving you in this posture." The mistake is unfortunate as it fails to show Holberg's departure from his source.

Page 299. "Now we have all come to Troy" for "Nu er vi alt kommen til Troja" and "takes a light" for "Tager et Lys." [candle].

Page 152. "Women are knocked down in the rush to reach the spring" fails to render the idiom "slaaes om."

The following corrections are made in connection with the Bibliography: D. Hansen should be P. Hansen, page 324. Genest's Account, frequently cited, was published not in London but in Bath. An important omission in the biographies is J. A. Scheibe, 1764.

The following titles in the Notes are open to correction: *Pernilles Korten Früken-Stand*, page 345; *Varvor Kilde*, 346, "the older Taming of the [a] Shrew, Shakespeare's Source," 359; *Den Forvandlede Brudgrom*, 360; E. Gegas [Gigas] 362.

It is fitting that the series of Scandinavian Classics for English Readers, recently established by the American-Scandinavian Foundation should start with a selection of Holberg's comedies, for through this little volume Dr. Campbell's estimate of Holberg's genius as a dramatist, the first attempt of the kind in English, is made vastly more valuable and instructive. This is not, however, the first English translation of one of the three comedies, *The Political Tinker*, although the earlier rendering is probably not widely known in this country. It was made by T. Webber and

was published in Copenhagen in 1884 under the title, "The Blue-Apron Statesman." It is an extremely unidiomatic translation, evidently made by one whose knowledge of English was derived mainly from the dictionary, and it furnishes a good model of how not to translate Holberg. One is tempted to apply to Holberg's comedies Georg Brandes's epigram that "lyric poetry is untranslatable, although it is often translated." Holberg, like Ibsen, seems to be more difficult to render into English than into German. This difference, especially in Holberg is due in part to the fact that Danish has several characteristics, not found in English, that play an important part in the dialogue and on which the point of the comic situation often turns. The most striking of these is the distinction between the formal and the informal second personal pronoun and the use of the third person in direct address. The second of these is wholly obsolete in modern Danish, but its use in Holberg is perfectly familiar to all Danish readers. Another difficulty for the English translation lies in the impossibility of rendering in a natural and intelligible way the comparative values of certain conventional titles of address. When Geske in *The Political Tinker* objects to being addressed as *Madame*, the English reader unfamiliar with Danish conditions naturally attributes Geske's objection to national prejudice. The same is true of the distinction between *Fröken* and *Jomfru*. This distinction is but slightly observed in twentieth century Danish, but it is still perfectly intelligible. The eighteenth century clerical title *Hr. Poul, Jeppe of the Hill*, I, 1, corresponds exactly to the Elizabethan use of *Sir* in similar cases. The difficulty of rendering the term *Rang* has already been mentioned in the first review. In ignoring the distinction between *Du* and *De*, as in *Erasmus Montanus*, II, 2, the translators undoubtedly follow the proper course, but here, as in many similar cases, the failure to preserve the original effect should be explained in a note. Even in the one volume popular edition of Holberg's comedies published in Copenhagen forms and references that are no longer in use in modern Danish are explained in footnotes, and if this is considered necessary where the effect is merely obscured, how much more important is it where the effect is entirely lost. These notes, which are suggested as a useful feature of a later edition of this volume and as a regular feature of other volumes in the series, should be strictly confined to such passages as cannot be made clear by the use of ordinary English books of reference. Such a feature, which need not extend beyond a few pages, is especially appropriate in connection with this series, one of the main purposes of which is to help bridge over the gap between Scandinavian and Anglo-Saxon culture. Of a different character is the occasional failure to render a title by the corresponding English form. It has already been noted that *Degn*, occurring both in *Jeppe of the Hill* and *Erasmus Montanus*, does not mean *deacon*. *Amtmand*, *Erasmus Montanus*, I, 4, would be better

rendered by *Lord Lieutenant of the County* than by *Governor*, especially in view of the connotation of the latter title in this country. *Oldermand*, *The Political Tinker*, does not mean *Alderman of a guild*, but *master*, *Ridefoged*, *Jeppe of the Hill* clearly means not *bailiff* but *steward*, in *Erasmus Montanus* it may mean *bailiff*.

The following errors of translation were noted:

Page 6. "Jeg er dog saa skikkelig," "I am so gentle,"

Page 12. "maaler" means not "pour" but "measure."

Page 17. "Jeg følede intet dertil" is "I didn't," not "I don't feel a thing."

Page 26. "The table is all set." "Bordet er alt dekket." "I am for sweet things" is a correct but not an idiomatic rendering.

Page 33. "Your sojourn in paradise," while not incorrect, is hardly in keeping with the speaker, *Jeppe*.

Page 37. "In the castle," "paa et slot," implies that *Jeppe* knew where he had been and "a glass of brandy would taste magnificent," while literal, is again out of keeping "Fine" would be more natural.

Page 60. "Franz Parykmager" is a *wigmaker*, not a *cutler*.

Page 66. "den Ovinde" should be "that woman," not "the woman."

Page 67. "studering" means "reflection," not "study."

Page 71. "the latest paper" should be plural.

Page 72. "give us a glass of brandy" should be singular.

Page 82. "i morgen" means "tomorrow," not "tomorrow morning."

"Have a great deal of say with the borgomaster" is neither strictly literal nor idiomatic.

Page 93. "The madam" is an unfortunate rendering of "hendes Velbaarenhed."

Page 97. "hendes kiereste" means not "those dear to you," but "your husband."

Page 123. "deponere" means not "graduate" but "enter" the University, corresponding to the modern phrase "blive student."

Page 130. Almost the full effect of the original can be preserved by keeping the Latin "probe majoren," instead of the meaningless "Probe the major."

Page 151. It is neither necessary nor desirable to render "Sviigersøn" by "son."

Page 153. "How can you believe such a thing is good" is a far cry from "hvormed kand I giøre saadant got."

Page 159. "brave Folk" means "worthy, excellent" not "fine people."

Page 165. "hans Hoved-Dyd" means "his chief," not "his one virtue." "Erasmus Montane" is evidently a slip, as the original has the correct form.

Page 174. "Exercicerne" is "drill or manual," not "exercises."

Although this translation of Holberg cannot be regarded as distinguished, it is in the main correct, but it is not Holberg. The raciness of Holberg's dialog is lost. Whether it is possible to preserve the real flavor of the Danish author in an English translation is another question.

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MILTON AND JAKOB BOEHME. A study of German Mysticism in Seventeenth-Century England. By Margaret Lewis Bailey, Ph.D., sometime Fellow at the University of Illinois. In *Germanic Literature and Culture*, A Series of Monographs, edited by Julius Goebel. New York, Oxford University Press, 1914. Pp. vii, 200.

This instructive and promising monograph is the first of a series, whose plan, says the general editor, "does not limit its scope to German literature, but includes also the literatures and civilizations of the peoples of kindred origin." The choice of subject for the initial volume is doubtless as characteristic as it is fortunate, since it betrays Professor Goebel's own fruitful interest in German Neoplatonism, while it reminds us that from him and his circle of friends and scholars at Urbana we may expect further significant studies of English and German mystics. The comforting thought leads one on to the pious wish that some philosophical philologist might trace the history of Neoplatonism, not for German literature alone, nor yet primarily for this and related literatures, including English; what we need is a systematic history, beginning with Plotinus and his origins, taking account of Jewish and Alexandrian sources, and coming down the centuries—but with especial reference to the literature of the Middle Ages and, in the Renaissance, to literature south of the Alps. The ideal work would be more comprehensive, and more concerned with poetry, than the excellent essay of Whittaker (*The Neoplatonists*, Cambridge, 1901); it might be a study of Plotinus, on the order of Zielinski's *Cicero im Wandel der Jahrhunderte*. At all events, we need some general sketch of the influence of Neoplatonism, not simply for students of philosophy, but for literary students, who, when they encounter Neoplatonic ideas in Dante, or Milton, or Wordsworth, cannot immediately appraise them, for want of a satisfactory standard. Such an outline would supply that perspective which the reviewer craves—and which Miss Bailey does not quite possess.

Her monograph, representing labors for the doctorate at the University of Illinois, supplemented by a year of study abroad, consists of an Introduction, five other chapters, and a Bibliography.

The introductory chapter gives a cursory survey of Neoplatonism, with emphasis upon German mystics, leading up to Boehme. Chapter II treats of English mysticism before Boehme, and prepares for Chapter III (the longest), which deals with the spread of his writings in England after the year 1644, and with the prevalence of ideas similar to his in various individuals and sects. These two chapters, with the Bibliography, constitute the most valuable parts of the work. They may be consulted with profit by a student of Milton, or of the period, for the light they throw upon the background of popular thought, religious and otherwise, in England during the seventeenth century. But, be it noted, the word "popular" is here used advisedly; for Miss Bailey tends to stress the influence from the side of the Reformation, which was an influence through popular leaders upon the masses, and to neglect the influences from the side of traditional learning—from the Platonism and Neoplatonism of the universities and of Italy. Thus, in the case of Milton, a writer for the fit though few, she slights the debt to Spenser, who, as Milton told Dryden, was his "original," who, like Milton, was devoted to the study of Plato, and whose poems are full of Italian Neoplatonism. Though she mentions Giordano Bruno, she says nothing of his visiting England in 1583; yet this is one of the capital incidents in the history of English mysticism. And in touching on a later period, if she speaks of Henry More, she does not even allude to Cudworth. One must flatly say that she seems to have formed no just estimate of the revival of Platonic studies among the learned, or of Milton's possible participation therein.

Chapter IV contains a discussion of the grounds for believing that Milton must have been acquainted with the writings of Boehme. While Miss Bailey has found no direct evidence of this—no specific or obvious reference to any work of Boehme in any of the works of Milton, or in his early biographers,—she makes out a plausible case on the basis of probabilities; and, though Milton commonly gives unmistakable indications respecting the authors to whom he is indebted, the present writer is not unwilling to believe that the English poet was aware of the German mystic. Yet it would be easy to divert some of the indirect evidence in support of the opposite contention. Let us suppose that Milton's orthodoxy begins to wane, and his belief to verge toward Arianism,¹ about 1644, the year of "the first printed mention in England of Jakob Boehme"; if so the coincidence would be too close to be significant, since Milton's change of position was not hasty. It is argued that the poet could read German; but it is obvious that he occupied himself far more with Italian, not to speak of French, or of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. It is

¹The term "Arianism" does not occur in the monograph; I have in mind passages on pp. 57, 119, but I describe Milton's theology in the light of Bishop Welldon's article on the subject—see the reference near the end of this review.

argued that he was on friendly terms with Hartlib; but it is not clear that Hartlib's Neoplatonism was entirely derived from Boehme; and Milton's disparaging allusion to Comenius is not reassuring as to his sympathy with other German authors that Hartlib might recommend.

Chapter V, on the "Similarity between Milton and Boehme in Religious, Philosophical, and Political Ideas," contains many parallel passages, with intent to show that *Paradise Lost*, *Paradise Regained*, and the treatise called *The Christian Doctrine* are heavily indebted to the German mystic. Some of these parallels are very interesting, and some are forced. I found the one at the bottom of page 154 and top of page 155 convincing enough until I ran across the same thing in Plotinus.² In the sixth and concluding chapter, the Neoplatonism of Milton, derived according to Miss Bailey from Boehme, is regarded as the first sign of "Romanticism" in England; the general notion is excellent, but the particular lineage too specific. There follows a Bibliography, in the main devoted to Boehme, and particularly useful for the information on English translations and editions of his works. Finally, there is an Index, in which proper names greatly predominate over topics.

It is easy to see that the author of the monograph is much more deeply interested in Boehme than in Milton; and though her immediate familiarity with the text of Milton may be deemed sufficient, the knowledge she displays concerning what he read, and concerning what Neoplatonic writers he *may* have read aside from Boehme, is inadequate to the sort of comparison she has instituted in Chapter V. This is not to deny the value of the comparison, for I wish to insist that it has a real value. Nor is the fault entirely hers. Great discredit must attach to English scholarship so long as there is no first-rate edition of Milton's prose works, fully annotated and indexed (which would afford a conspectus of his authorities), and so long as there is no guide, even in bare outline, to his reading; no such guide, for example, as we have for Shakespeare in the work of Anders.³ But Miss Bailey hardly intimates that Milton read anything save Boehme and the Bible. Yet of other Renaissance writers she says: "Everard quotes Plato, Plotinus, Proclus, Origines, Dionysius, St. Augustine, St. Bernhard, St. Francis" (p. 45); Rous "quotes Thomas à Kempis, St. Bernhard, and Dionysius the Areopagite" (p. 46); Henry More (1614-1687—compare the dates of Milton, 1608-1674) "read Proclus and Plotinus," "Dionysius the Areo-

² *Select Works of Plotinus*, tr. Taylor, ed. Mead, London, 1914, pp. 226 ff.

³ *Shakespeare's Books*, by H. R. D. Anders. I do not forget the excellent editions of separate works of Milton, prepared under the direction of Professor Cook at Yale. And it is proper to note that Dr. Allan H. Gilbert of Cornell has made, and hopes shortly to publish, a list of all the books which Milton is known to have consulted.

pagite was one of his dearest friends," and "he was steeped in the sincere mysticism of the *Theologica Germanica*" (p. 49). Indeed, she cites with approval (p. 30) the statement of Troeltsch that the system of Boehme himself, in certain respects, was founded upon impressions from Paracelsus, Schwenkfeld, and Weigel, adding that Troeltsch "might well mention Sebastian Franck also."

If Boehme, with his scanty education, drew ideas from more sources than the industry of scholars as yet has laid bare, what shall we say of Milton? This is not the place to discuss the industrious and select reading which is everywhere evinced in *Paradise Lost*; nor even to point out the main channels through which Milton obtained those Neoplatonic conceptions that Miss Bailey has done well to indicate. Nevertheless, a few remarks on the topic may be ventured. Milton's Neoplatonism is not likely to have come from any one source—neither from Spenser, nor from Dante, nor yet from his own interpretation of Plato. But more of it probably came from such authors as Plotinus, Philo Judaeus, Proclus, Porphyry, Origen, and St. Augustine, that is, from the true Neoplatonists and the Fathers, than from writers of his own time. And his demonology and angelology, when they do not reflect the Bible or his gleanings (of which we know so little) from Hebrew commentators on the Talmud, and the like, find closer analogues in mediæval theorists such as Michael Psellus and the Pseudo-Dionysius than in any author of the Renaissance.⁴ Of the men of learning near to him in point of time, aside from interpreters of the Bible like Calvin, and poets (above all, Spenser), he doubtless owes most to the Italians. It is useless for Miss Bailey to say (p. 117) that his journey to Italy "was entirely one of artistic and literary stimulation," if she thereby means to dismiss the possibility of a direct influence from Italian Platonists and Neoplatonists. On page 7 she remarks: "Under the patronage of Cosimo de Medici . . . Marsilius Ficinus (1433-1499) made masterly translations of Plato and Plotinus and various other Neoplatonists. He interpreted Plato entirely according to the spirit of Plotinus, and consciously attempted to bring their philosophy into accord with Christian doctrine." When Milton at Venice put on board a ship destined for England the books he had collected in Italy, the notable work of Ficino on Plato was doubtless among them, unless he had access to it previously during his study of the dialogues at Horton. And there is reason to suppose that he knew the little tract of "the Platonic Constanti-

⁴ Milton could find a use, however, for a compendious work like that of Thomas Heywood, *The Hierarchie of the Blessed Angells, Their Names, Orders, and Offices, The Fall of Lucifer with his Angells* (London, 1635), in which authors of every period are freely quoted; as we know he found a use for the compendious work on geography, *Purchas his Pilgrimage*, containing digested materials from many sources.

nopolitan Michael Psellus" (as Coleridge calls him), *Περὶ Ἐνεργείας Δαιμόνων*, of which Ficino published a text and a Latin translation.

So much in general. We may now take up a few matters in particular. It must account for many similarities in Milton and Boehme when we realize the substantial truth of what we read on page 163: "Boehme's only authority is the Bible"; and "in his *Christian Doctrine* Milton's only authority is the Bible." There assuredly they have something in common not only with each other, but with seventeenth-century Protestantism as a whole. But when we read (p. 146): "So there is in God an eternal contrariety or opposition of forces"; we must add: if such be the notion of Boehme, he is in this not very much like Milton. And again, Boehme's conception (p. 143) of the Divine Being as "in Himself the Abyss [or Chaos] . . . an Eternal Nothing" is not Miltonic. If "the mystery of evil was the keynote of Boehme's thought" (p. 100), the same is not true of Milton. Milton does not deem the Godhead to be "the abyss out of which all being issues . . . the eternal silence, the All and No-thing"; nor is there for Milton "an eternal contrast" "in God's own hidden nature" (p. 26).⁵ These are ultra-Neoplatonic ideas, much older than Boehme, however he may have come by them; Milton is touched with Neoplatonism, not dominated by it. Again, if war was "an abomination" for Boehme (p. 29), it was not so for Milton, either in the tractate *Of Education*, or in *Samson Agonistes*.

One cannot therefore go so far as to agree with Miss Bailey that "Milton penetrated into 'the Teutonic philosophy,' beneath the veil of language that obscured its meaning, and became one of the first to share Boehme's *Weltanschauung*." For example, one cannot agree with her opinion that "Milton thinks of the Godhead not as a personal God" (p. 141); especially when one recalls the fashion in which *The Christian Doctrine* was exclusively compiled from the Bible. Nor may we concede that "a first evidence of Milton's interest in Boehme is his choice of the full subject of his great poems *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*." The subjects of Milton were not the special property of any one Continental writer. They were as much the property of Italians like Andreini and Vida as of the Lutheran Boehme, or of Grotius in Holland—or of Milton in England; for the best recent discussion of the point one may consult Professor Ernest N. S. Thompson's *Essays on Milton* (pp. 170-196). Finally, when Miss Bailey says of the main conception in *Paradise Regained*, "There is no other source than Boehme from which he [Milton] could have obtained this idea of the temptation" (pp. 160-161), the only reply is that if Milton did not himself develop it from the Biblical account, to

⁵ A goodly collection of passages representing the chief theological positions in Milton is found in the article of Welldon to which I again refer later on.

which he is very true, he might have gathered it from a commentator on the Bible—for example, from Calvin.⁶

It is hoped that the reviewer's respect for this monograph will not be hidden by the foregoing strictures, nor by the following objections to minor details. It is preferable to call Milton's tractate, not *On Education*, but *Of Education*. On page 116, for the word "scholastic" substitute "scholarly." On page 140 are the words, "The epic, which incorporated *some* of these early speeches";—the italics are mine. Unless the passage refers to Milton's preliminary drafts or arguments, which were not "incorporated" in *Paradise Lost*, one speech must be what is intended—that is, Satan's apostrophe to the sun, *P. L.* 4.32 ff. The material on J. V. Andreae and his works, pp. 16 ff., is not well inserted. Miss Bailey begins again on page 20: "Another of the Germans whose life had received new inspiration from his Italian journey was Johann Valentin Andreae"; as if he had not previously been mentioned. On page 63, line 2, delete the comma in "Raymundus, Lullius"; on page 106, a word seems to have dropped out of the phrase "for excellent gift"; and on page 73, lines 1, 2, "Marcaria" doubtless is a misprint for "Macaria."

In the Bibliography, the brief list of works on Milton ought probably to include the volume of *Studies in Milton* by Alden Sampson, and certainly the thesis of P. Chauvet, *La Religion de Milton*, Paris, 1909, and the authoritative article by Welldon on *The Theology of Milton*, in *The Nineteenth Century* for May, 1912. In the more general list at the end, one misses the work of Whitaker, and the chapter on *Platonists and Latitudinarians* by J. Bass Mullinger in Volume 8 of the *Cambridge History of English Literature*.

But we must not close with a note of censure. Miss Bailey has shown considerable power in treating a most perplexing subject; how perplexing only they can understand who have considered the elusiveness of Neoplatonic thought, its hidden ramifications, and its reappearance in the most unexpected places. She has, unquestionably, illuminated the literary history of England in the seventeenth century. She has pointed out not a few similarities between Milton and a Continental mystic—one who reflected and anticipated many ideas that are characteristic of modern poetry. More than this, she has clearly grasped the fact that much of what goes under the name of "Romanticism" is neither more nor less than Neoplatonism. It is to be hoped that she will continue her studies, and will develop the suggestions made in her final chapter. The Neoplatonism of Wordsworth is not wholly due to Henry More, nor that of Coleridge to Boehme; both Coleridge and Wordsworth, like Milton himself, were students at Cambridge; and the stream of Platonic and Neoplatonic influence in England has

⁶ Calvin, *Commentary on a Harmony of the Evangelists*, tr. Pringle, Edinburgh, 1845; on Matt. 4.1-11.

primarily come through the universities from Italy—until the days of Jowett, through Oxford less than Cambridge. Is this the reason why Cambridge has produced more than her share of the modern English poets?

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THE RUNIC ROODS OF RUTHWELL AND BEWCASTLE, WITH A SHORT HISTORY OF THE CROSS AND CRUCIFIX IN SCOTLAND, by James King Hewison. Pp. xii, 178. Glasgow: John Smith & Son, 1914.

This is a well-printed quarto, containing nine chapters and three appendixes, in which the author traverses much of the ground occupied by my monograph, *The Date of the Ruthwell and Bewcastle Crosses* (hereafter referred to as *Date*), published in 1912, and some of that occupied by my book, *Some Accounts of the Bewcastle Cross between the Years 1607 and 1861* (referred to as *Accounts*), which has appeared since Dr. Hewison's. He follows me in rejecting the seventh century as the date of the two crosses, but his main thesis is that they were produced by St. Dunstan or under his direction, and therefore in the tenth century, instead of in the twelfth, as I had attempted to show.

The titles of the chapters are: (I) Introductory—A Short History of the Cross and Crucifix in Scotland; (II) Sites: Traditions: Emergence into History; (III) Descriptions of Ruthwell Cross and of Bewcastle Obelisk or Cross; (IV) The Inscriptions; (V) The Sculpture on both Monuments; (VI) Symbols and Doctrine; (VII) Early Art in Northumbria; (VIII) The Dates assignable to the Runic Roods; (IX) The Dream of the Rood. The appendixes are: (I) Place-Names—Ruthwell and Bewcastle; (II) The Mysterious Cynewulf; (III) Anglian and Anglo-Danish Sculpture; (IV) Weight of the Monuments. The Index is unfortunately incomplete in its citations.

The plates are numerous, and, for the most part, useful, though not always as clear as might be desired—a result due in part, perhaps, to the clouding involved in the half-tone process of reproduction. I append a list of the chief correspondences with my plates, which may be useful for comparison (Roman numbers for his, and my numbers in parenthesis, *Date* [Fig.] and *Accounts* [page] being indicated by D. and A.): I (D. 3, 15, 16, 17); IX. 1 (A. 130); IX. 2, 3 (A. 13, 14); X (D. 19; cf. 2, 20, 23); XI. I (A. 15); XI. 2 (A. 24); XII. 1, 2 (D. 33; A. 110, 71; cf. A. 37, 124); XII. 4 (D. 22); XIII, XIV. c, XXIV. A (D. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8); XIV. b (D. 15, 16, 17); XIV. a, XXIV. A (D. 12, 13, 14); XIV.

d, XVI (D. 9, 10, 11); XV (D. 20; 13, 13a); XVII (D. 18); XVIII (D. 30, 31, 32); XIX, XXVII (D. 27, 28, 29); XX (D. 24, 25, 26); XXI. 3 (D. 2, 20, 21); XXIII. 1 (D. 24, 26); XXIV. B (D. 4, 12); XXV. 1 (D. 8); XXV. 2 (D. 12, 20); XXVI, XXVII (D. 24, 25, 26); XXIX (D. 34, 35). The reconstruction of the Ruthwell Cross (Pl. XXIV; cf. 38,¹ 39) is not very convincing; only the most expert examination could decide even so much as whether decision were possible. No plate bears out, so far as I can see, the author's statement about the Nativity (119; cf. 34). In Pl. XXII, his readings of the runes from Mr. Montgomerie's photograph of the cast are often quite doubtful; and, except as a curiosity, one does not quite see the use of the plate in the light of his statement on page 152: "They [the runes] have not been decipherable for centuries." Among the most useful plates are the parallel figures of Christ (XV) and of the Baptist (XXV. 2).

In so far as Dr. Hewison repudiates the theory of a seventh-century origin for the crosses, I am of course heartily at one with him. When he quotes an author not generally known, like Archibald (13) or Captain Riddell (172-3), we can only be grateful for these additions to our knowledge. His remarks on Acca's Cross (136) are acute, and his investigation of the Langbar stone (46, 47; XXIII. 2) is especially welcome.

His chief originality, however, lies in his attempt to show that Dunstan was responsible for the erection of the two crosses. Even this is hardly original, for already in 1854 Maughan (*Accounts*, p. 35) had fancied that, by combining the last letter of the first line in the long Bewcastle inscription with a few of the first in the second line, he might "possibly obtain the word DUNSTANO"; but, as he was then inclined to place the cross after 1014, he rejected the idea, though he held that Dunstan might "without impropriety be classed among the contemporaries of that period." But, be that as it may, here is the conception which we are called upon to believe (142 ff.)—that Dunstan took part in the battle of Brunanburh (A. D. 937), having been born (*teste* Symeon of Durham) in 919 (whereas all other authorities, ancient and modern, agree upon 924 or 925). Since, eight years after this battle, King Edmund gave all Cumbria to Malcolm, King of Scots, "on the condition that he should be his coöperator both on sea and on land," "this was the most favourable time for a peace-memorial"; accordingly, Hewison suggests that in 946, "or while St. Dunstan lived," the latter was instrumental in having the cross at Ruthwell erected, at or near the place (according to one theory) where the battle of Brunanburh was fought. Dunstan's abilities were ample for this task, and for writing the *Song of Brunanburh* (144, 168)—nay, *The Dream of the Rood* (92, 150), and all the poems of Cynewulf (168-9)—for was he not "poet, linguist, wizard, travel-

¹ The author's pages will always be referred to in this way.

ler, mechanic, artist, sculptor, bell-founder, builder, musician, instrumentalist, preacher, priest, politician, premier, and primate of England" (145)? "Such a genius, associated with all his brilliant contemporaries of the Benedictine Order," was surely "able to found and design, perhaps also carve the finer presentments . . . on both monuments" (146). But, "if Dunstan and his students at Glastonbury could not provide artistic craftsmen to raise such crosses," his chief scholar, Æthelwold, could. "Dunstan, as a designer, was a host in himself, able to paint and carve." "Dunstan's was a master mind obsessed with one great idea—the Cross." He "particularly favoured literature in its popular and vernacular character. Hence the inscription of an English poem on an English cross is a fact in keeping with the genius of the politic statesman" (149, 150).

When Dr. Hewison calls Dunstan a poet (150, 168), he must be thinking of the distichs attributed to him by William of Malmesbury (quoted below, page 299). Stubbs evidently overlooked these when he said (*Memorials*, p. cix) that "of Dunstan not a single literary monument survives"—unless, indeed, he considered them the coinage of a later time; however this be, they hardly suffice to establish a literary reputation, and the same may be said of the distich which Stubbs cites (*Memorials*, pp. cix, cxi):

Dunstanum memet clemens rogo, Christe, tuere
Tenarias me non sinas sorbisse procellas.

As to Dunstan's artistry, it has been conjectured with some probability that he sketched his own figure and that of Christ in one Bodleian manuscript (138; Stubbs, *Memorials of Saint Dunstan*, pp. lxxxv, cxi), and with *no* probability (103) that he drew the portrait of his own brother as a boy in another, the conclusion of Stubbs (*op. cit.*, p. lxxvii) being that perhaps Wulfric was not Dunstan's brother, and, if he was, that he was the elder, in which case Dunstan would hardly have executed his portrait as a lad. Apart from this one possibility, all that we know of Dunstan as an artist is contained in certain statements by his early biographers concerning his skill in calligraphy, music, metal-work, and the use of the graver. His harp-playing and handwriting do not concern us here, but it is desirable to examine on what authority he has been called "mechanic, artist, sculptor, bell-founder" (145). This statement must repose upon the texts which I shall proceed to quote. His first biographer, writing about A. D. 1000, a dozen years after his death, says (*Memorials*, p. 20): "Artem scribendi necnon citharizandi pariterque pingendi peritiam diligenter excoluit," and proceeds to tell of his painting the design for a stole, which was afterwards to be wrought with gold and precious stones. His next biographer, Adelard, has nothing to say on the subject. The third, Osborn, writing in the last decades of the eleventh century, describes Dunstan (*Memorials*, p. 79) as "manu aptus ad

omnia, posse facere picturam, litteras formare [so far like the first biographer], scalpello [v. l. sculpello] imprimere, ex auro, argento, ære, et ferro, quicquid liberet operari." He was, then, a worker in gold, silver, copper, and iron (cf. Osborn's reference to his iron-working, *Memorials*, p. 84); but he could also *scalpello imprimere*. Does this mean that he was a sculptor? *Imprimere* hardly suggests anything on the large scale; we might proceed to reason on what it did precisely mean, were it not that the fourth biographer, Eadmer, writing about 1120, gives us his interpretation, which excludes all thought of sculpture in sandstone. His words are (*Memorials*, pp. 169-170): "Peritia namque scribendi, pingendi, quicquid vellet in cera, ligno, vel osse sculpendi, et ex auro, argento, ferro vel ære fabricandi [the text has *-do*], ita claruit ut a multis quam maxime admirationi haberetur." Here Stubbs punctuates *pingendi quicquid vellet*, with a comma after *vellet*, but the correction is obvious. Dunstan's sculpture, then, was partly in wax; and here we are reminded of Miss Stokes's remark (*Early Christian Art in Ireland*, pp. 34-5) that the Irish monks, such as Dunstan studied with at Glastonbury, were not only proficient in music, painting, and carving, but also employed waxen tablets for writing, as well as parchment. Secondly, his sculpture was in wood. Thirdly, it was in bone or ivory. Fourthly, he wrought in gold, silver, iron, and copper, involving the use of the graver, as we have seen before. According to the *Dict. Nat. Biog.* (16.230): "Among Dunstan's mechanical works were two great bells that he made for the church of Abingdon (*Chron. Monast. de Abingdon*, i. 345), and crosses, censers, and various vestments that he made for Glastonbury." William of Malmesbury, his fifth biographer, expatiates on his skill in instrumental music (*Memorials*, p. 257), and speaks of the large bells, the organs, and the cast bronze water-vessel which Dunstan gave to Malmesbury, without asserting that any of them were the work of his hands (*Memorials*, pp. 301-2): "Miræ magnitudinis signa, . . . organa . . . in quorum circuitu hoc distichon litteris æreis affixit,

Organa do sancto præsul Dunstanus Adhelmo;
Perdat hic æternum qui vult hinc tollere regnum.

De fulvo ære vas aquatile fusili opere, in quo scriptum erat cernere,

Idriolam hanc fundi Dunstan mandaverat archi—
Præsul ut in templo sancto serviret Adhelmo."

Here William expressly says that the bronze vessel was cast *by Dunstan's orders*. We see clearly, therefore, that, as late as 1120, there was no question of Dunstan's having been a statuary, or sculptor in stone, but only of his skill as a draughtsman or illuminator, his ability with respect to casting metals, and his practice of the arts which required the use of the stylus or graver. Accordingly, Stubbs adheres pretty closely to his authorities when he calls Dunstan "a scholar, an artist, a musician, a cunning craftsman."

In order to gain a clearer understanding of the arts in the period under consideration, we may consider the activity of Bernward of Hildesheim, whose life overlapped that of Dunstan. They resembled each other in many respects. Bernward was a bishop (993-1022); was the friend and counselor of Emperor Otto III; made a visit to Rome; founded churches and cloisters, succored the poor, made peace between man and man, promoted the manufacture of books, and was a craftsman, and a patron of craftsmen, in various arts. In the words of his biographer, Thangmar, who had been his teacher (*Vita*, chapters 6, 8: *Mon. Germ. Hist., Script.* 4.760-2): "There was no art that he did not attempt, though he might not reach perfection in it. . . . He neglected neither painting, nor sculpture, nor the arts of goldsmithry and gem-setting, nor anything choice which he could excogitate in such arts. . . . He adorned with exquisite and brilliant painting the walls and ceiling of his church. . . . He made evangeliaries which gleamed with gold and precious stones, and censers of extraordinary weight and value; moreover, he constructed with marvelous industry various chalices. . . . Besides, he hung in the church a crown of marvelous size, shining with silver and gold. . . . Outside the walls he built a splendid chapel in honor of the life-giving cross, and placed there a fragment of it, a present from his imperial master, Otto III, set in blazing gems and the purest gold."

A modern authority, Molinier (Michel, *Hist. de l'Art* 1.854-5), tells us that we have no reason to conclude that Bernward worked with his own hands, but that among well-known productions of his school are bronzes, candelabra, fonts, doors, and jewelry. The result corresponds with what we have seen in the case of Dunstan. Both bishops fostered the arts rather than practised them, and the arts that they fostered were the minor ones, chiefly goldsmithry and calligraphy, with some bronze-casting, and, in the case of Bernward, mosaic and wall-painting. No piece of sculpture in stone has ever been attributed to Bernward, and the carvings on Bernward's tomb are of the rudest description (Rivoira, *Lomb. Arch.* 2.310). Now, if Bernward, the founder of a celebrated school of art, who, a dozen years after Dunstan's death, had enjoyed the advantage of residing for six weeks at Rome as the guest of Otto III, has never had a single piece of stone-carving ascribed to him, what are we to think of the probability that two large and elaborate monuments were sculptured by Dunstan, or under his supervision? Moreover, any one who wishes to convince himself that the artist who delineated the Christ of Plate V, Fig. 5 (cf. Hickes, *Thesaurus: Gram. Anglo-Saxon*, opp. p. 144) could not have sculptured our crosses, has only to compare it with Hewison's, Plates XIII and XV, or my Fig. 6 (cf. Figs. 13 and 20).

Dr. Hewison lauds the crosses in extravagant terms—"superlatively lovely art" (91), "the superexcellence of the sculpture and the refinement of the execution of the high-toned themes

portrayed," etc. (140; cf. 10, 38, 77, 87, 88, 91). Similarly, we are told of Dunstan (forgetting Alfred at least) that, "possessed of an extraordinary genius, he was the greatest Saxon before the Conquest" (144); cf. "the greatest events in the early history of the Anglo-Saxon race took place in the tenth century" (153).

It is this tenth century to which he refers the erection of our crosses (142-3); yet Symeon of Durham's characterization of Malcolm (142) is the author's refutation, and to this we may add various passages from Green's *Conquest of England* (New York, 1884); thus (p. 330): "Northumbria, indeed, remained without a monastic house to the verge of the Conquest"; and, again (pp. 447-9): "The old anarchy had deepened with the settlement of the Danes. . . . The rude violence of their life was unchecked even by religion. . . . Since the conquest of the north by the Danes not a single monastery of any historic importance survived in the land once thronged by religious houses" (cf. 152).

Our author maintains (146) that "King David had no reason, as far as is discoverable, for adorning the waste places of his realm with roods"; and he explicitly rejects the theory that the "crosses are examples of David's method and practice of Christianizing his Cumbrian dominion" (147). Yet, in his very first chapter, where he is dealing with early conditions in Scotland, he says (5): "Crosses, plain and ornate, were erected everywhere—at preaching sites, on the arrival of the missionary; in the church, to symbolize the Divine Founder; on the church and in the churchyard, to declare their sacred character; in the market-place, to draw the wondering eye where business was associated with religion," etc. Would Dr. Hewison, then, be prepared to maintain that Bewcastle and Ruthwell may not have been preaching-sites, supposing there were no churches there when the crosses were erected? Might not Bewcastle Cross—and Ruthwell Cross too, if it were originally erected out of doors—have served in early times, whatever their original object, the purpose of a market-cross? In Small's *Scottish Market Crosses* (Stirling, 1900), which Dr. Hewison himself quotes, we find (Introduction, p. ii): "There is every reason to believe that the Market Cross as an institution had its beginning in the Cross Ecclesiastical, originally the sign of the consecration of special districts in the early days of the Christian missionaries in Scotland, who, in token of their message to the pagan people, erected in their midst the visible ensign of the Christian faith. Saint Kentigern, a legend relates, erected many noble crosses [cf. *Date*, p. 112], and that set up by him at Glasgow was said to be of immense size, requiring the combined strength of many men and machines." And again (pp. iii-iv): "Where the Cross Ecclesiastic was found in the centre of a town or village, it would serve for both purposes—the religious and the civic. . . . Not a few of the earliest forms of the Market Cross, bearing the true ecclesiastical character, and dating back to mediæval times, still survive. . . . It is not surprising to find as early as

the time of William the Lyon (1165-1214) the Market Cross referred to as an already existing institution. In the 40th assise of that reign it is provided that "all merchandises salbe presentit at the mercat and mercat croce of burghis." Indeed, it is probable that crosses were sometimes erected, and churches built, on ground that previously had served for civil purposes. Thus Green says (*Conquest of England*, pp. 14-15): "The village church seems often to have been built on the very mound that had served till then for the gatherings of the tunsfolk. . . . The church thus became the centre of village life; it was at the church door as in the moot, that 'banns' were proclaimed; marriages or bargains made; even the 'fair,' or market, was held in the churchyard." In the light of the Bewcastle Cross, another statement is significant (Small, p. xi): "The dial also forms a very suitable and useful adjunct to the Market Cross, and we find it occurs in a great many instances and combinations. It is prominent in Inverkeithing, . . . an early—if not, for reasons already given, the earliest—example of the dial in this situation."

Dr. Hewison himself tells us (148) of the market-cross at Ruthwell in 1509, and no one can say how long it had existed at that time (cf. *Date*, pp. 136 ff.). It is certain that there was a church at Ruthwell in 1275, and it would not have been surprising had there been a market as early, seeing that four years later, in 1279, permission was obtained for a fair and market to be held at Bewcastle (*Date*, p. 99). If the Ruthwell Cross was then safely housed in the church, of course it could not have served as a market-cross, but that at Bewcastle may easily have done so, for it is clear that Bewcastle church—and therefore the parish—was of more consequence in the earlier centuries than in the later. No one would think of holding a fair and market there now, but, according to Hutchinson in 1794 (*Hist. Cumb.* 1. 78): "Bewcastle seems to have anciently been an extensive town, by the scites and ruins of houses, which yet remain. . . . From its vicinity to Scotland, it was continually subject to the spoils of war. In 1298, this territory suffered greatly. . . . In the expeditions of Robert Brus and Edward Brus, Gilsland was the particular mark of their fury. In 1333, Lord Douglas made great ravages here, and in the 19th year of King Edward III, the country was pillaged and destroyed." The church-living was valued in 1291-2 at £19; in 1318 (after some of the Scotch devastations) there was not enough to pay a chaplain²; and in 1546 it was worth £2 in peace, and nothing in war (*Date*, p. 99; Hutchinson, *op. cit.*, p. 79). It

² In a mandate of Bishop Halton, of Carlisle (Dec. 23, 1302), Bewcastle (Bothe-castre) is mentioned in a list of parishes which, because they had been totally destroyed and burned, and were then in course of being repeatedly ravaged by the daily (*quotidianas*) inroads of the Scots, were unable to pay any tithe whatever, even the smallest (Raine, *Hist. Papers and Letters from the Northern Registers*, p. 262). For 1385, see Trevelyan, *England in the Age of Wycliffe*, p. 286. cf. Froissart, ed. Lettenhove, 10. 390-7.

may be noted, by the way, that Hutchinson, p. 79, contrary to Hewison (10), speaks of it as dedicated to St. Mary, though he is aware that Nicolson and Burn, 1777, regard it as dedicated to St. Cuthbert; Maughan agrees with Hutchinson (*Accounts*, p. 32).

As for the preservation of market-crosses in the wholesale destruction of religious objects at the Reformation, the author himself tells us (8): "Market crosses, probably defaced, were allowed to stand." Does not this circumstance perhaps throw light upon the condition of the Bewcastle Cross to-day?

Dr. Hewison must have quite overlooked the views of Collingwood and Prescott (*Date*, pp. 97-8), in order to be able to invent the extraordinary etymologies for "Bewcastle," in which "Bew-" is successively *bu*, a dwelling; *Buu*, "a terrible Danish admiral in the tenth century"; and *bot*, a beacon (166). Moreover, *bu* (or *bo*, which he asserts to be Gothic) suggests to him French *beau*, and so "the Bo- or Bu-ceaster of the Northmen had an easy transference into the Norman-French tongue, when it became a *beau chastel*, a fine castle." All this in face of the fact that Bewe does not appear till 1488, and that the earlier forms are Buthe- (1249), Bothe- (1294, 1302, 1357-8, 1401), etc.

Not less remarkable is his dealing with the name Ruthwell. I had shown (*Date*, pp. 137 ff.) that the earliest known form was probably Ryvel (ca. 1329; also 1438, 1454, 1474), and that other early spellings were Ryvale (1411), Revel (1494, 1529, 1690, 1697, 1704), Ruvel (1546). Ruthwall is not found till 1642 (13; but this may well be an error for Ruthwell), Rothwald till 1690, Ruthwell till 1703 (Jonas, *Icel. Gram.*, p. 5), Ruthvel till 1726, Ruthwald till 1755. Other modern forms are St. Ruel's (1697), St. Ruth's³ (1695; see Hewison, p. 15). Dr. Hewison adduces still other forms (164): (from *Acta Parl. Scot.* A. D. 1509, 2.274-5) Rubale(tenement), Ruvale (once). He might have added, from the same pages, Ruwell, Ruvel, Ruvale (twice). Then he quotes (from *Acta Parl. Scot.* 8.77) Ruthvell (1672); but this occurs four times there, not merely once. Ruthwall is explained as *Ruthæ Vallum* in Walter Macfarlane's *Geographical Collections* (Edinburgh, 1908) 3.189 (by Dr. George Archibald, ca. 1700). From all this, and from the fact that the modern pronunciation is Rivvel,⁴ it must be evident that the authentic form is something like Ryvel, which, tending toward Ruvel, gets, through analogy or an effort at interpretation, such spellings as Ruthvel(l), Ruthwell, Ruthwall, Ruthwald, etc. Perhaps this analogy was favored by the pronunciation of Ruthven: readers of Scott will remember, in *Waverley* (chapter 51), the "pedler called Ruthven: Ruffin, or Rivane." The learned men of the later centuries may have reasoned thus:

³ Bishop Nicolson knew also (letter to Thoresby of Feb. 25, 1698) of a St. Ruth's Church in Wauchopdale, fifteen or twenty miles from Ruthwell.

⁴ Referring to *Date*, p. 140, I found last summer (June 9, 1914) that the local pronunciation at Rievaulx Abbey is Rivvis, not Rivers.

If Rivane (otherwise Ruffin) may be spelled Ruthven, why should not Ryvel (otherwise Ruvell) be spelled Ruthvell? Ruthwell would then simulate derivation from "well," Ruthwald be assimilated to Mousewald, Tinwald, etc., the names of neighboring parishes (*Date*, p. 141)—and Ruthwould become Rood or St. Ruth.

Dr. Hewison is acquainted with the successive forms of the word, or most of them (164), but he rejects the above interpretation. Choosing not the forms of the first three hundred years, none of which have *th* or *d*, he fixes upon a quite isolated form, Rothwald (1690), as the field for his German etymology. Since German *roth* [but properly *rot*] means "red," and since German *wald* means "wood, forest," he concludes that, as there is in the parish "a patch of very hoary, venerable pines, of nature's planting," the name of Rothwald is derived from the fact that "in the setting sun these red-barked stems and branches were flushed with bars of glowing crimson," until "the forest became a red wood (*rothwald*), no less magical than in autumn, when their companion oaks lent their ruddy foliage to complete the charm of the scene." Yet he knows that the name of the parish is not German; he cites the Old English word *rēad*; and he is certainly aware that, if the name means "red wood," the early form of it must have contained the letter *e* in the first syllable (*Rēadweald*, -wald; later, Redwald, -wold). How, then, from Redwald could he get Rothwald, and how from either of them could he obtain the pronunciation Rivvel?

But the general carelessness and lack of scholarship shown in this work would discredit it, in any case. There is a lack of perfect scrupulousness in acknowledging his specific debts to his predecessors—to Miss Stokes, Lethaby, G. B. Brown, Champneys, and others. There is repetition in the book (e. g. the arms of Kirkcudbright, 43, 118); much that is irrelevant (thus, for example, the long paragraphs on 86, 87, and the biographies, 71-74); and some patent absurdities, such as the assumption that the Cadmo or Cadmon who witnessed two charters (in 946 and 949) might "indicate an oriental, Alexandrian, peregrine sculptor who found a position in the brilliant staff of St. Dunstan, and left proof of his practical art, if not his name, on the Rood of Ruthwell" (138; cf. 61, 103); or that Scott's line (*Lady of the Lake* 5.12; cf. 1.6; 4.17), "Of Bochart the mouldering lines," refers to our Bewcastle (which Scott has in *Guy Mannering* and in *Bridal of Triermain* 3.1) instead of to the Roman intrenchments a mile west of Callander (see Sinclair, *Stat. Account of Scotland* 11.607-8; *New Stat. Acc.* 10.354). There are contradictions, as where he enumerates the contents of the Vercelli Book differently (57, 167), gives Taylor's readings differently (66, 68), or calls the figure usually interpreted as John the Baptist bearing the Agnus Dei (43), St. Cuthbert with the head of Oswald, while elsewhere referring to the nimbused lamb's head (118), etc.

The author's mistakes in transcription are too numerous to give in detail. Certain pages abound in errors: thus, page 21 (l. 28) "Beau-" for "Beu-"; (l. 29) "planè" for "haud planè"; (l. 30) "deprivationem" for "depravationem." He has failed to note such a fact as that, according to a recent investigator (Macalister, in *Essays and Studies presented to William Ridgeway*, Cambridge, 1913, p. 305), the Lindisfarne Gospels are probably not to be dated about 700 (83, 127), but about 830. He insists on the ecclesiastical character of the garments worn by certain figures on the crosses (33, 37, 42, 43, 117; cf. 35), though Joseph Braun, whom he elsewhere cites (116, 117), and who is perhaps the first authority in the world on ecclesiastical vestments, wrote me a year or so ago with regard to the Christ of the Anointing and the Christ Blessing, that there is no possibility of the garments being liturgical. In his endeavor to find an original for the falconer, he combines men of four (possibly five) distinct ranks—perhaps half a dozen individuals.⁶

Dr. Hewison has involuntarily suggested a rather cogent proof for the lateness of the crosses. He animadverts (64, 65) upon the "unpardonable form of spelling" of Jesus Christ—*Gessus Kristtus*—on the Bewcastle Cross; "this most unusual spelling," he says, "renders it [what?] suspect." Upon this, he proceeds to refer to "Sérour d'Agincourt, in *History of Art by its Monuments*, Lond., 1847, ii., taf. xxi. fig. 13," which, as he says, "shows a crucifixion with GESUS on cross-head in front of altar given by Pope Celestin in 1144 to the Cathedral, Citta di Castello, in Umbria" (cf. Michel, *Hist. de l'Art* 1². 671). Now if he had consulted Maughan's *Memoir* at this point, he would have found the following (*Accounts*, p. 67): "We may presume that the Italian mode of spelling the word 'Gessus' with a G was in use from an early period." Why not, then, assume that the Northern spellings come from the Italian, and conclude that the Bewcastle Cross was erected subsequent to 1144 (unless an earlier date for Italian "Gesús" can be found), and that Italian workmen were concerned in the execution? What more plausible hypothesis could he form to account for the runic spellings of the North?

As there is much discussion about the date of our crosses, without a general agreement concerning the principles to be observed, I venture to suggest for consideration a few such principles. They are these. So far as the archæological element is concerned, these

⁶ Of those that he cites (Birch, *Cart. Sax.* 2.472, 473, 554, 576, 581, 594, 600; 3.31, 37, 99, 155), the various ranks are these: prince (*princeps*), thane (*minister*), knight (*miles*), huntsman (*venator*), and footman (*pedisequus*), besides one who is called both thane and knight. He does not hesitate (167 ff.) to identify Cynewulf, whose poetic activity is placed by practically every authority in the eighth century, with Dunstan, who died in 988; and similarly he makes the name Kyniburg, "the royal-borough, the-head-borough, or the-war-borough" (75; 70, 152, 166), signify Bewcastle, as Maughan had done in 1854.

crosses must be dated by ecclesiastical stone-sculpture whose approximate period is beyond reasonable doubt. They must be dated by stone-sculpture, because the minor arts, with which comparison has frequently been made, flourished before the age of mediæval stone-sculpture in northwestern Europe; and since the crosses, taken together, are predominantly ecclesiastical, they should be considered in relation to approximately contemporary specimens of that class. It is not sufficient to show that forms resembling these are to be found at a given period on ivories (cf. 114, 120, 90), or in manuscripts, or incised in wood. It is not sufficient to assume that a given person *might* have desired to erect such a monument in order to commemorate some other person, or to glorify himself. It is not sufficient to show that the monument in question bears a particular name, because (1) there may be various persons of this name, (2) a person may be commemorated by a monument of much later date. On the latter point (for the former, cf. p. 305) I have already quoted J. Romilly Allen (*Date*, p. 111): "The cross in Kells churchyard is inscribed 'Patricii et Columbæ Crux,' . . . and since neither of the saints here mentioned were buried at Kells, and the character of the ornamentation of the cross shows it to belong to the ninth century, it is clear that the monument is commemorative." It is not sufficient to show that work of the same general character was, or had been, produced in some other part of the world, and hence to deduce that the authors of such work executed our crosses, if there is no possibility that these authors could have been in England at the time designated, or, being in England, have been at the disposition of the person desiring to erect the crosses, or have been able to receive orders from him in a tongue which they could understand. It is not sufficient to arrange any number of monuments in a series, and assign to our crosses their place in the series, if no member of the series can be approximately dated—not by conjecture, but by convincing evidence. It would not be sufficient to show that verses on the Ruthwell Cross originated in a certain period, and thence to infer that this was the date of the cross, unless it could be proved that such verses could not have been copied with more or less correctness at a later date, either from a manuscript or from some preceding lapidary inscription (cf. *Date*, pp. 30-32). Finally, one kind of evidence must not be pressed, and all the rest ignored; but everything must be shown to point to the same general conclusion. I should not insist upon these rather self-evident truths if they had not been repeatedly ignored by conspicuous writers on the subject

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A NEW VARIORUM EDITION OF SHAKESPEARE. THE TRAGEDIE OF CYMBELINE. Edited by Horace Howard Furness. Philadelphia. J. B. Lippincott Company. 1913. 8vo, pp. xx, 523.

It seems fitting that *Cymbeline*, which Dr. Furness deemed "the sweetest, tenderest, profoundest of almost all the immortal galaxy," should be the last of the Shakespearean plays to engage his attention. From his deathbed he wrote: "All the Commentary is ready for the printer, and the Preface almost ready. The source of the Plot, and Date of Composition, all finished and typewritten." Three days later he passed away, having finished also a noble life devoted to the highest ideals of scholarship. And now his son presents to us this volume, without change or addition, as the swan song of the greatest Shakespearean scholar that America—is it saying too much to add "or Europe?"—has produced. Every student of Shakespeare feels an inexpressible debt of gratitude to him, not only because the new Variorum Edition brings together in convenient form and with remarkable completeness and accuracy all of importance that critics have said about the several plays, but also—perhaps most—for the contributions which Dr. Furness himself has made to Shakespearean criticism. From every point of view the volumes in this edition are admirable; and now that their editor has gone, they remain as his monument, recording his industry, his judgment, his enthusiasm, and his sound scholarship.

That Dr. Furness in the ripeness of his experience should have given to the world an edition of *Cymbeline* is fortunate, for in many respects it is the most difficult of Shakespeare's plays. The numerous corruptions in the text, the frequent obscurity in the thought, and the mass of conjectures and criticisms heaped up by commentators make it formidable to the scholar. In all this labyrinth it is a blessing to have the guidance of so clear a head. Had Dr. Furness lived to further study the text as it passed through the press he might possibly have altered a few notes, or added here and there to his store of original comments; yet the edition as we have it doubtless represents the reflection and loving study of many years.

Although he could not, as was his custom, supervise the printing of the volume, that task has been well performed by his son, Mr. Horace Howard Furness, Jr. The text is an accurate reproduction of the First Folio, even to such minute details as broken type, standing quads, wrong font letters, crooked lines, and poor spacing. I have collated several scenes with Lee's Facsimile, without discovering an error. It is a comfort to feel that the text is beyond suspicion; and this gives us confidence in the accuracy of the rest of the work. Possibly if Dr. Furness had been alive

he would have avoided an occasional awkward disposition of the notes (for example, pp. 248, 286, 296); and he certainly would have prevented the misplacement of Dowden's note on page 14, under the discussion of *farre*—it should be under *ioyne*. But these are trivial matters. In the main the printing of the volume has been well cared for.

In his Preface, Dr. Furness has attempted to solve the problem of the authorship of the play. In this task he displays the enthusiasm of absolute conviction, much humor, and frequent sarcasm. To an inferior playwright he attributes all the Cymbeline portion of the play. He says: "Regarded broadly, I believe that the Imogen love story and all that immediately touched it interested Shakespeare deeply; the Cymbeline portion was turned over to the assistant, who at times grew vainglorious and inserted here and there, even on the ground sacred to Imogen, lines and sentiments that shine by their dullness. Nay, one whole character was, I think, confided to him. It is Belarius—who bored Shakespeare. To rehabilitate the hoary scoundrel was not (I may say) too great a task for Shakespeare, but one that would divert him from fairer and more entrancing subjects." This contention Dr. Furness proceeds to establish by quoting many passages that are wretched in thought and style; and at the conclusion he remarks: "Oxen and wainropes cannot hail me to the conviction that the passages which I have specified in the foregoing pages are Shakespeare's. Whose they are I care neither to know nor even to surmise. I know only that they are not Shakespeare's."

The compilation of the textual and critical notes has been executed with the editor's usual care and taste. Over these notes he presides as a judge, pointing out their weakness or their strength, awarding the decision with cogent reasons, and when necessary advancing his own explanation. At all times he displays rare common sense, and a shrewdness developed by his life long study of Shakespeare and of Shakespearean criticism. Moreover he often gives his judgments with a sly humor that relieves the tedium of a long, dry, and technical discussion. He delights in quiet chuckles, and exclamation points enclosed in brackets. For example, after quoting Dr. Samuel Johnson, he nudges the reader thus: "JOHNSON (1773): 'To vomit emptiness' is, in the language of poetry, 'to feel the convulsions of eructation without plenitude.' [Any difficulty, in any passage, is cheaply bought at the price of such pure Johnsonese!]" Perhaps at times the temptation to be humorous led Dr. Furness too far. I am not sure that the serious student enjoys lighting upon such levity as the following, attached to the phrase *travailing a bed*: "An utterly frivolous mind would attribute this to Shakespeare's prophetic sense, and accept it as an anticipation of the modern sleeping car.—Ed." The jest is unworthy of the Variorum Edition. And now that I am in the mood of faultfinding, I will call attention to another

minor flaw in the volume: there is at times a tendency on the part of the editor to be impatient with those who seek to clear up obscure passages. For example, after quoting two pages of comments on a speech by Imogen, all unsatisfactory, Dr. Furness exclaims: "What cared she for colons, or commas, or constructions?" If she did not, we may suspect that Shakespeare did. Again, in commenting on another passage, he says: "Any time or thought, however, expended on these lines, so utterly inappropriate as coming from Imogen's sad, sad heart, and never written by Shakespeare, is utterly wasted." We can sympathize with Dr. Furness's fine scorn of the playwright with whom Shakespeare chose to collaborate; yet we must accept the play as we have it, and any effort to better the text or to explain apparently unintelligible lines, even though the lines came from the pen of the collaborator, is not "utterly wasted."

As an addition to the note on "ingenuous Instrument" (IV. ii. 241), I wish to call attention to a passage in *Jack Drum's Entertainment*, 1601, (ed. Simpson, p. 169): "Thy brother's like the instrument the merchants sent ouer to the great *Turke*: You need not play vpon him, hee'le make musicke of himselfe, and hee bee once set going." From this passage it seems clear that Hunter is wrong in thinking that the reference is to the Æolian Harp. The passage in *Cymbeline* is as follows:

Bel. My ingenuous Iustrument,
(Hearke *Polidore*) it sounds: but what occasion
Hath *Cadwal* now to giue it motion? Hearke. . . .
Gwi. What does he meane?
Since death of my deer'st Mother
It did not speake before. All solemne things
Should answer solemne Accidents. The matter?

When Cadwal a few moments later enters "with Imogen dead, bearing her in his Armes," Belarius exclaims:

Looke, heere he comes,
And brings the dire occasion in his Armes,
Of what we blame him for.

The meaning of the whole passage (which was written by the collaborator) is this. Belarius had an "ingenious" musical instrument, which he had set in motion on the sad "occasion" of the death of Euriphile, the supposed mother of the two boys. Since then the instrument had not been allowed to "speake." But now, when Cadwal discovered Imogen dead, he felt that this "occasion," too, demanded something unusual; and remembering that the instrument was reserved for "solemne Accidents," he gave it "motion."

"Emendations at this late day," says Dr. Furness, "will be approved by no human being but the proposer himself, and prove food for mirth to every one beside." Accordingly I offer the fol-

lowing to the reader as a pleasantry. Act I, scene ii, lines 77-79, read in the Folio as follows:

O disloyal thing,
That should'st repayre my youth, thou heap'st
A year's age on mee.

The metre of the second line is defective, and the third line is awkward. Moreover "a year's age" seems inadequate to express the great anger of the king. I should like to read as follows:

O disloyal thing,
That should'st repayre my youth, thou heap'st an age
Of years on mee.

Compare *The Thracian Wonder*, I. ii:

Love's a desire, that to obtain betime,
We lose an age of years, pluck'd from our prime.

In the Appendix are included a discussion of the date of the play; reprints of the several sources; a valuable summary (with liberal quotations) of Durfey's version, 1682, entitled *The Injured Princess, or The Fatal Wager*; and a collection of "Criticisms" chosen with Dr. Furness's usual good taste. Dr. Benson B. Charles has added a useful Index.

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MILTON'S KNOWLEDGE OF MUSIC: ITS SOURCES AND SIGNIFICANCE IN HIS WORKS. A Dissertation presented to the Faculty of Princeton University in candidacy for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy by Sigmund Gottfried Spaeth, Princeton, the University Library, 1913.

In Dr. Spaeth's dissertation there are five chapters, five appendices, a list of abbreviations, a glossary of musical terms used by Milton, a bibliography, and an index. Altogether, the little volume of one hundred and eighty-six pages offers convincing evidence of well-directed industry. The broad scope of the investigation is indicated by the chapter headings, which are as follows: *English Music in the Seventeenth Century, The Life of Milton as a Musician, Milton and the art of Music, Milton and the Theory of Music, The Significance of Milton's Knowledge of Music.*

One obvious peculiarity of the writer's organization of his material appears in the relation to the main body of the thesis of the five appendices. Instead of being subsidiary to the preceding chapters, a collection of the by-products of the investigation, these appendices really furnish the material from which the deductions are drawn, and might profitably be read first. Indeed one might not unreasonably begin by reading the glossary, which is the most informing and significant part of the work.

Though Dr. Spaeth's work deserves unstinted praise as a whole, his admiration for Milton seems in one or two instances to have betrayed him into making statements that are at least debatable, if not positively erroneous. On page 81, for example, we read: "It would be a mistake not to regard him as the natural product of his time. He was not an exception, a unique prodigy, living apart from his environment, and having no share in its intellectual life. . . . Milton differed from most other men of his generation in that he was a thinking man. The Cavaliers were not conspicuously intellectual. And, though the Puritans really claimed the right of private judgment, yet even the most independent of them were so possessed of a single idea that their thought was stunted into bigotry. But Milton thought always." This appears slightly misleading. That Milton to any considerable degree monopolized the intellectuality of even Protestant England in his generation would be a thesis hard to prove. When the author so cavalierly dismisses the Cavaliers as "not conspicuously intellectual," he appears to have in mind the courtly lyrists, of the type represented by the Earl of Rochester. To such as he the stricture would undoubtedly apply. But the shallow and cynical Rochester, and others of his kind, in no sense adequately represent the Royalists; nor can a lack of intellectuality on the part of the upholders of the divine right be properly inferred from them. To assert that Bishop Taylor, Sir Thomas Browne, Fuller, Clarendon, Hobbes, Locke, or even Samuel Butler present an antithesis to Milton in the matter of intellectuality, would surely be absurd. Nor was Milton's habitual thoughtfulness wholly unique even among his Puritan contemporaries. In Bunyan, certainly, whose controversial antipathies were confined to Papists and Quakers, "thought" could hardly be said to be "stunted into bigotry."

Though Bunyan is perhaps more typically a Puritan than Milton, his tolerance does not suffer by comparison with the poet's. Yet on page 95 we read: "There is nothing narrow in Milton's type of Christianity. It is free from Puritan fanaticism. It is so broad as to be potentially all-inclusive." This seems to be a statement open to question. Completely to absolve Milton from all narrowness and sectarian bigotry would be indeed a difficult task. Taking into account, for example, his well-known belief in polygamy—a belief based upon an uncritical acceptance of practices recorded in Old Testament history as divinely approved (*Paradise Lost*, IV, 762); or considering his hatred of forms of prayer (*Paradise Lost* IV, 736-738), his dislike of a salaried clergy (*Paradise Lost* IV, 193), and his unreasoning contempt for Roman Catholicism (*Lycidas* 128-129, *Paradise Lost* III, 474-475), we can hardly acquit Milton of sharing to some degree the limitations of the sectarian point of view.

But to find fault with occasional inaccuracies is ungracious where there is so much to commend. The writer's aim, and his accom-

plishment, is to make us realize that music was not to Milton a mere external accomplishment, like his skill in fencing; but that it suggested, and was a part of the universal harmony with man, with nature, and with God, for which, both as a poet, a philosopher, and a Christian he so sincerely longed.

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LA THÉOLOGIE DANS LE DRAME RELIGIEUX EN ALLEMAGNE AU MOYEN AGE, par Georges DURIEZ, Professeur à l' Institution de Marcq-en-Baroeul. René Giard, Libraire-Editeur, Lille, et J. Tallandier, Editeur, Paris et Lille, 1914. 646 pages, fr. 15.00.

LES APOCRYPHES DANS LE DRAME RELIGIEUX EN ALLEMAGNE AU MOYEN AGE, par Georges DURIEZ, Lille et Paris, chez les mêmes, 1914. 112 pages, fr. 3.00.

The purpose of the present books is a twofold one, first, a philological study of the texts of the liturgical dramas in Germany, especially those of the XIVth, XVth and XVIth centuries, as compared with the canonical texts of the Bible, the Apocrypha and the Tradition; second, an æsthetic study of the general spirit and artistic value of these dramas. The author has deliberately eliminated from his program questions of the origin, development and decadence of the religious drama. Rightly or wrongly, he takes for granted that these questions are settled and generally known. His principal aim is to investigate in how far the authors of the religious dramas of the periods in question are indebted to the letter and spirit of Biblical tradition, to establish their deviation from the common source and their influence upon each other in such deviations. It is in this sense that the author adopts the term "theology."

In the introduction M. Duriez definitely sets forth his plan as follows: "Since a study in pure theology is not the object of the present work, I have scarcely touched upon the involved problems at the bottom of religion. I had to confine myself to the data of the drama and, as the Mysteries make use chiefly of the bypaths or even of the petty issues of the science of theology, I necessarily had to deal only with such trifles, such paltry points and questions of detail."¹

Whoever has read one of these German religious dramas from the beginning to the end, and then has undertaken to read others, must certainly have been struck by the monotony and the tedi-

¹ *La Théologie*, Introduction, p. 27.

ousness of this kind of literature. "Qui en a lu un, en a lu vingt," M. Duriez laconically remarks. One must possess the courage of a philologist to read more than one, and the endurance of a man-of-the-cloth, to devote to this subject the long years of research necessary for analyzing hundreds of them for purposes of an exhaustive comparative study. A work such as this could have fallen into no better hands than those of M. Duriez's whose philological interest has been nourished and stimulated by the love of the subject natural to his profession. There is perhaps no field of literary research where fair mindedness and religious tolerance, as well as a sympathetic disposition towards the matter to be treated, are as indispensable to the philologist as in the case of the religious drama of the Middle Ages and the Early Renaissance. Few lay philologists can claim a sufficient acquaintance with the Scriptures and with matters pertaining to theology and medieval liturgy, to permit them to attempt a comparison of the religious drama with scholastic doctrines, to identify all the words and images taken from the Scriptures, or to present in its true light their relation to the liturgy of the Church.

Moreover, a thorough knowledge of the general culture of the time is essential for a fair appreciation of the intrinsic value of these dramas. It is impossible to explain the striking roughness of numerous lines, the irreverent, often cynical, tone of all the scenes and passages, in which the dramatists tried to amuse their audiences, or to understand the childlike spirit which prevails at the bottom of all these productions, unless one enters into the mental state itself of the times. Whenever the true popular element shows itself in the jeering, jovial, comical or satiric remarks scattered throughout the plays to enliven the dialogue,² or when the dramatists give free expression to their indignation against the enemies of Christ. Modern criticism is, on the one hand, easily inclined to look upon the mentality of a medieval audience with mingled feelings of pity and mockery, or, again, accuse medieval writers of being too realistic in their stagecraft, and too brutal, if not immoral, in their diction.

An attempt to trace the German medieval religious dramas to their remotest theological sources is found in a relatively small number of editions. The only ones to be mentioned in this respect are the editions of the Plays of Erlau,³ of the Tyrolian Passion,⁴ of the St. Gall Play,⁵ of the drama of the Ten Maidens⁶ and of the

² "On y a vu apparaître aussi des épisodes qui n'ont plus aucun lien avec le récit biblique ou la tradition ecclésiastique et qui servaient uniquement à exciter le gros rire du public." *La Théologie*, p. 498.

³ K.—F. Kummer, *Erlauer Spiele, sechs altdeutsche Mysterien*, Wien, 1882.

⁴ J.—E. Wackernell, *Die ältesten Passionsspiele in Tirol*, Wien, 1887, and *Altdeutsche Passionsspiele aus Tirol*, Graz, 1897.

⁵ J. Klapper, *Das St. Galler Spiel von der Kindheit Jesu*, Breslau, 1904.

⁶ O. Beckers, *Das Spiel von den zehn Jungfrauen und Katharinenspiel*, Halle, 1855.

play of the Last Judgment.⁷ Mr. E. Mâle's invaluable works on the Religious Art in France during the Middle Ages,⁸ deal principally with the artistic productions of France, and throw light solely on the correlation existing between the theatre and the art of the Middle Ages. Aside from the difference of language, French and Germanic Mysteries vary but little, for they have their subject matter drawn in common from the same source. A general treatment of the German religious drama, which would comprise the minute philological details as well as the broader problems of theology and of æsthetic appreciation, has been lacking.

Such a work, M. Duriez has given us in the two volumes before me, and I am glad to say at once that I have rarely read scientific books on a similar subject where the depth and objectivity of judgment, the vivacity of presentation, the scientific thoroughness of execution, and the sympathetic attitude of the author have so favorably impressed me. Some few details which, as we shall see, are amenable to criticism, do not diminish the value of the works as a whole. They undoubtedly offer the best treatise thus far on the German liturgical drama.

The general plan followed by M. Duriez is to take as points of departure the various articles of dogma and to determine how and to what extent the medieval dramatists have utilized and treated them. A review of the conclusions reached for each single play naturally leads towards a comparative study of the literary relationship that exists between the various groups or families of such plays. In the introduction the author gives an outline of the history of the earlier liturgical dramas and lays before us, as the object of his special investigation: "Les sources théologiques du drame religieux: La Sainte Écriture, la Tradition, les Pères, les commentateurs, les mystiques, les théologiens, les apocryphes." Thus we are instantly acquainted with the material used in his endeavour to trace all the German religious plays to their respective sources. Each of the twenty chapters into which the work is divided, deals with a definite theological problem or article of faith. I cannot imagine a better way of giving the readers of this review an adequate idea of M. Duriez's skillful analysis of the subject, than to reproduce here the mere chapter headings:" 1) La Trinité. Les trois personnes divines, leur distinction, leur union: *De Deo uno et trino.* 2) La création. *De Deo operante ad extra.* 3) Les anges. Époque de leur

⁷ K. Reuschel, *Untersuchungen zu den deutschen Weltgerichtsdichtungen des XI. bis XIII. Jahrhunderts*, Diss. Leipzig, 1895 and *Die Deutschen Weltgerichtsspiele*, Leipzig, 1906.

⁸ Emile Mâle, *L'Art Religieux du XIII. siècle en France*, Paris, 1898 and *L'Art Religieux à la fin du moyen âge en France*, Paris, 1908. Especially for the history of the Easter Plays, see C. Lange, *Die lateinischen Osterfeiern*, Munchen, 1887. For a general treatment of the subject see W. Creizenach, *Geschichte des neueren Dramas*, Halle, 1893, zweite Aufl. 1911.

création. Nature des anges. Liberté. Confirmation dans le bien. Nombre. Hiérarchie. Ministère envers Dieu et envers les hommes. Michel et Gabriel. L'ange gardien.-. 4) Les démons et l'enfer.-. 5) L'homme. Pourquoi l'homme a-t-il été créé? Comment est-il l'image de Dieu? En quel endroit a été formé le premier homme? Création d'Ève. Défense portée par Dieu. La tentation, la chute et l'exil. Caïn et Abel. Lsur offrande à Dieu. Mort d'Abel. Episode de Lamech. Naissance de Seth. Mort d'Adam.-. 6) Patriarches; prophètes; Sibylles; les préfigurations.-. 7) L'Incarnation.-. 8) La vie cachée de Jésus. Parenté terrestre de Jésus: Saint Joachim et Sainte Anne. La vierge Marie: sa naissance, sa vie au temple, son mariage avec St. Joseph. L'Annonciation. La Visitation. Doutes de St. Joseph. Bethléhem. Les bergers. Les mages. La Présentation. La fuite en Égypte. Le massacre des Saints Innocents. Hérode. Le retour d'Égypte. Jésus dans le temple à douze ans.-. 9) La vie publique de Jésus. De la prédication de Jean-Baptiste à la dernière Cène.-. 10) La Rédemption.-. 11) Jésus au jardin de Gethsémani. L'agonie de Jésus. Le sommeil des apôtres. L'apparition de l'ange. La trahison de Judas. L'arrestation du Christ. Malchus. La fuite des apôtres.-. 12) Jésus devant Anne et Caïphe. Interrogatoire de Jésus. Mauvais traitements qu'on lui inflige. Reniement de Pierre. Sa rencontre avec Marie. Son repentir. Réunion du Sanhédrin.-. 13) Jésus devant Pilate et Hérode. Triple interrogatoire. La flagellation. Le couronnement d'épines. Caractère de Pilate.-. 14) Le chemin de la croix. Jésus est condamné à mort. Jésus est chargé de sa croix. Jésus tombe. Jésus rencontre sa mère. Jésus aidé par Simon. Jésus et Véronique: les Impropres. Jésus console les filles de Jérusalem. Jésus est dépouillé de ses vêtements. Jésus est attaché à la croix: mode de crucifixion; partage des vêtements; les sept paroles de Jésus en croix; Jésus meurt sur la croix; symbolisme de la neuvième heure; prodiges qui s'opèrent à la mort du Christ. Le centurion Longin. Pensons à la Passion de Jésus.-. 15) La compassion de Marie et les *Marienklagen*.-. 16) La résurrection. *Osterfeiern*: La scène du Tombeau. La course des apôtres. Jésus et Madeleine. A quel moment se jouaient ces petits drames?-. *Osterspiele* I: Les trois Maries. Le marchand de parfums. Les saintes femmes et les anges. Le jardinier et Marie. Les saintes femmes et les apôtres. Jésus et Thomas. La course de Pierre et Jean.-. *Osterspiele* II: Entrée de Pilate. Le conseil des Juifs. Les Juifs demandent des gardes à Pilate. Les gardes au tombeau. La résurrection de Jésus. Les gardes après la résurrection. La descente aux enfers. Apparition de Jésus: aux disciples d'Emaüs; à S. Pierre; aux apôtres réunis; à Joseph d'Arimatee; à la Sainte Vierge.-. 17) L'Ascension et la Pentecôte.-. 18) L'Assomption de Marie. Litanies de la Sainte Vierge. Puissance de Marie. Le drame des

dix Vierges.-. 19) L'antéchrist. Le drame de Tegernsee et le jeu de Lucerne. La venue de l'antéchrist. Les satellites de l'antéchrist. Énoch et Élie. Chute de l'antéchrist.-. 20) Le jugement dernier. *Das Spiel von jüngsten Tag*. Les Prophètes et les Peres ont annoncé le jugement dernier. Les 15 signes du jugement dernier. La vallée de Josaphat. La Sainte Vierge et les Apôtres au jugement général. Les élus et les réprouvés. Le Cantique des élus.-.

The final conclusion reached by M. Duriez is very simple: Consciemment ou non, les différents auteurs de Mystères ont tous puisé aux mêmes sources."⁹ The more important divergences in the treatment of these sources appear only in the handling of the Apocrypha, especially of the *Gesta Pilati* and the *Transitus Beatae Mariae Virginis*.

In the various liturgical dramas there are not only many words and lines almost identical, but even whole scenes seem to have been borrowed from previous types. This does not necessarily lead to the conclusion of systematic plagiarism—although this was quite a common practice in medieval literature—, nor of servile imitation of an older model. Such resemblances or parallels can be explained by the very fact that the authors in treating the same subject, with the same end in view, were naturally bound to keep strictly within the bounds of their common source. Unless he abides by this fundamental consideration, a modern critic is apt to discover relations and direct imitations, where none exist, as, for example, M. Wilmotte did in his treatise on the influence exerted by the Early French religious drama on the German Passion-Plays.¹⁰

In the endeavour to establish what is personal to each of the authors of these dramas, there seem to be only a few factors which might prove useful. First, the personal interpretations of the Biblical texts and the commentaries connected with them. Then the satirical or merely comical additions which are scattered through all these plays. Stage instructions and the general scenic display may be considered as another criterion. Undoubtedly these religious dramas had originally a purely liturgical purpose and were a sort of dramatic illustration of the mysteries of Religion. Gradually the secular element crept into them, but they remained edifying and instructive throughout their evolution, in spite of many seemingly disparaging additions. The more we consider them as a part of the general culture of their times, the more we must be struck by the many parallels which we discover between their evolution and that, for example, of the epic poetry, especially the very *Chansons de Geste*. Both have their origin in the Scriptures or in the religious legends which constitute the spiritual folklore

⁹ *La Théologie* , p. 638.

¹⁰ Maurice Wilmotte, *Les Passions Allemandes dans leur rapport avec l'ancien théâtre français*, Paris, 1898.

of the Middle Ages, and both develop slowly into profane literature, preserving, however, through several centuries, an undeniably edifying purpose. It may suffice to quote here¹¹ the categorical instruction given by the most accurate theorist of the thirteenth century, the Parisian magister Johannes de Grocheo, where, after having given as examples for the *Cantus gestualis* not only the *Historia regis Karoli*, but also the *vita beati Stephani protomartyris*, he expresses his views as to the purpose of these epic poems in the following words: *Cantus autem iste debet antiquis et civibus laborantibus et mediocribus ministrari, donec requiescant ab opere consueto, ut auditis miseriis et calamitatibus aliorum suas facilius sustineant et quilibet opus suum alacrius aggrediatur.*

To understand the spirit of the ecclesiastical literature of that time, one must search in the contingent domain of medieval art for the plastic counterparts illustrating the general mental state, the candid belief and even the superstitious faith of the Middle Ages. The miniatures in the manuscripts, especially those depicting the Miracles, in which the devil plays a prominent rôle, show us what pleasure the illuminators took in picturing the horrors of hell. But above all, it is in sculpture that the artists seem to rival one another in striving for the most drastic expression of their visions. There is scarcely a Gothic cathedral which does not offer hundreds of such illustrations and the magnificent sculptures of the Last Judgment can give a more faithful idea of the mentality of their respective time than medieval writers or their modern critics do. One must place himself in the very atmosphere of such sculptures and retain the mood which they give the spectator, in order to be prepared to understand the medieval religious dramas. What would otherwise impress a modern reader as irreverent, ridiculous, crude or brutal, this sympathy with the mentality of ages goneby will reveal as a very natural, frank and energetic expression of medieval belief. These artists and dramatists did not hesitate to make use of every possible means to make the spectators share their feelings, especially their indignation, their anger and their sacred rage which they showed against the enemies of Christ. For example: according to the Acts of the Apostles, the traitor Judas Iscariot did not give up his soul in the ordinary way, but, dying, "*crepuit medius*" and the devil took possession of it. The compiler of the Passion of Frankfort gives the following stage instruction: *Diabolus ex ventre ejus capit animam.* This was not yet drastic enough and in order to impress his audience still more strongly and to show that the devil really was in the body of the traitor, the author of the drama of Don-aueschingen prescribes that: "*Judas sol ein schwartzen vogel und etwas tärmen (intestins) vor im busen han, den sol im Belczebub*

¹¹ For a more complete treatment of this subject see my article: *La Musique des Chansons de Geste*, in *Comptes Rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, Paris 1911, page 39 ss.

uff rissen daz es usher vall." The nerves of a medieval audience were certainly stronger than those of the average modern theatre goers!

M. Duriez faces admirably the problem of critical assimilation and one of the best qualities of his work is that he does not judge the medieval dramas from the point of view of a modern æsthetic critic; he always attempts to mix with the crowd and to put himself in the psychological condition of a modest and profoundly pious contemporary spectator. And having taken this attitude, he reaches the most ideal viewpoint ever taken by a student of medieval drama when he declares: "J'ai pourtant fini par les aimer, malgré leur dure écorce; car ils envisagent au fond des questions pour moi capitales: Dieu, Jésus-Christ, La Sainte Vierge, L'Église et sous leur forme fruste ils sont les sûrs témoins de l'amour des siècles de foi pour tout ce qu'il y a de beau, pour tout ce qu'il y a de grand."¹² I am inclined to believe that such an attitude is the primary condition necessary to render justice to the spirit of the Middle Ages.

There are only a few critical observations which I feel called upon to make on M. Duriez's work. Because he is so thoroughly familiar with questions of faith and liturgy, I am afraid that he has gone too far in supposing that the average reader is equally well informed in this special field. How many philologists know how to handle a *Liber Gradualis*? More information concerning rather special questions of liturgy and liturgical texts, like the anthems, responsories, offertories, etc., might have been welcome. For the same reason M. Duriez's exposition would have gained in strength and clearness, if he had shown systematically how a short primitive anthem gradually developed into a drama of thousands of lines. To fill this gap I shall refer to the excellent studies of Mr. Karl Young,¹³ especially on: "The Origin of the Easter Play" where the author, one of the foremost students of medieval drama, has shown, in an absolutely convincing manner, how the multitude of the later Easter Plays have their provenience in the primeval liturgical passage: *Respondens autem angelus dixit mulieribus: Nolite timere: scio enim quod Jesum quæritis, alleluia.* The gospel of Holy Saturday taken from St. Matthew, XXVIII, (*Vespere autem sabbati—Ecce prædixi vobis*) is the basis of the anthems and responsories of that day. Several of these anthems contain all the essentials of a drama: description, narration and dialogue. They were moreover chanted, the *precentor* (soloist) alternating with the choir¹⁴ and lent themselves quite easily to

¹² *La Théologie* , p. 27.

¹³ See below, note 17.

¹⁴ "Le caractère dramatique de ce trope (*Quem quæritis, o Christicolæ?*) n' échappait à personne; on l'accentua encore en faisant sortir des stalles les deux parties du chœur, dont l'une chantait les paroles des trois Maries, l'autre celle des anges, et cette petite mise en scène devait déjà rendre beaucoup plus sensible aux fidèles l'événement dont l'Église fêtait le souvenir." *La Théologie* , p. 462.

real, although rudimentary dramatic scenes. At the time when the mania of interpolating regular liturgical texts of the office of the Mass introduced hundreds of new compositions, known as tropes and sequences, the anthem: *Nolite timere* was gradually troped, dramatized, and gave rise in connection with the Introit of the Easter Mass *Resurrexi alleluia* to a true, dramatic ceremony known under the title *Visitatio Sepulchri*. Mr. Karl Young concludes his study on this point as follows: "It appears that even as an appendage of the Introit, the trope achieved a considerable textual development, and that this growth continued until long after the time when the trope of the Introit (*Quem quæritis in sepulchro, o Christicolæ?*) became also a trope of the responsory (*Angelus Domini*) or of the Te Deum, and began its productive dramatic career as a *Visitatio Sepulchri* at the end of Easter Matins." Independently of Mr. Young, M. Duriez established, on a broader scale than the former, how the Gospel and the Ritual furnished the first elements of the numerous *Osterfeiern* and *Osterspiele*. With regard to the time at which the Osterfeiern were held, M. Duriez finds that they must have taken place after the Te Deum, at the last Nocturn, *antæquam Matutinum inchoent*, that is, about four o'clock in the morning.¹⁵

Although on several occasions M. Duriez touches upon such questions of origin, unfortunately he does not comprise in his work a complete treatment of this more technical problem concerning the influence of the liturgical ceremonies upon the formation of the religious drama. He seems to be so firmly convinced of the liturgical origin of the drama that he considers it unnecessary to go into all the details of its history. Although I agree entirely with his viewpoint, I regret, nevertheless that he has failed to show, by means of a systematic study of this very point, that the primitive anthems sung during the Office contained the germs of dramatic scenes; that these anthems, taken from the Scriptures, were amplified, during the XIth and XIIth centuries, when the artistic innovation of interpolating the liturgical texts awakened the poet's Muse in the Occident, that the half lyric, half epic poems on the life of Saints and, above all, on the Passion of Christ constitute a counterpart, in vernacular, of the textual and musical accretions to the liturgical, Latin texts and, finally, that the evolution of the religious drama goes hand in hand with that of other branches of medieval literature.

There are some philological trifles which seem to have escaped the attention of M. Duriez. It would have been interesting, for example, to attempt a study of the names of persons acting in the

¹⁵ M. Duriez bases his conclusion on a passage of Durand de Mende, of the XIIIth century, taken from the *Rationale Divini Officii*. But there is another criterion: the very nature of the liturgical anthems which are interpolated in these scenes can furnish some valuable data concerning the hour at which they took place, as these anthems belong to definite offices of the Church which were held at strictly fixed hours of day or of night.

various groups of dramas. For instance, of the 34 types and names of devils, quoted on page 103 ss.: "Satan, Rossenkranz, Peltzenpock, Welial, Astaroth, Ruffo, Amon, Welphegor, Titinil, Wal, Seltnfrum, Spränz, Lesterer, Sturpaus, Nichtsumsunst, Untreu, Urnell, Krumnase, Lykktappe, Funkeldune, Lasterpallch, Nottir, Bone, Milach, Raffenzann, Binckenbangk, Spiegelglantz, Krentzlynn, Federwisch, Beryth, Schorbrandl, Helhundt, Schoppenstugk, Hellekrugk," only a few are commonly known. I do not think that these types and names are mere poetic fancies of the various dramatists: it is more likely that the names are peculiar to certain idioms and that they might be of great help when localized.

In the chapter dealing with the Virgin,¹⁶ it might also have been appropriate to insist on the immense influence exercised by the *sequentiae* of the thirteenth century upon the formation of the *epitheta* of the Virgin, out of which grew the litany. There are very few of the traditional attributes of the Virgin that cannot be traced back either to the *sequentiae* or to the motets and other compositions of that time. These *sequentiae* and motets were undoubtedly known to the medieval dramatists, who, as a rule, belonged to the clergy, and it is quite natural to assume that they were utilized in their religious dramas.

In the bibliography, I miss the fundamental essays of W. Meyer (aus Speyer) and those of Mr. Karl Young,¹⁷ dealing with the liturgical drama; in fact all the English publications on the subject.¹⁸

It is to be hoped that some day M. Duriez will give us a more strictly historical presentation of the medieval liturgical drama, comprising at least all those written in Latin, French and German. That he is perfectly qualified to accomplish such a great task, the present works give ample guarantee.

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¹⁶ *La Théologie*, p. 566 ss., and *Les Apocryphes*, p. 69 ss. It would have been interesting to learn whether the numerous liturgical anthems which were often verbally translated in the dramas were to be recited or sung, and in the latter case, whether the original melodies were used for such purposes.

¹⁷ Of the studies of Mr. Karl Young, the following may be listed here: *The Harrowing of Hell*, Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters, Vol. XVI, part II, p. 889-947.-. *Observations on the Origin of the Medieval Passion-Play*, Publications of the Modern Language Association of America, XXV, 2, p. 309-354.-. *Phillippe de Mézière's Dramatic Office for the Presentation of the Virgin*, Publ. of the M. L. A. of A., XXVI, 1, p. 181-234. *A Liturgical Play of Joseph and his Brethren*, Mod. L. N., 1911.-. *Officium Pastorum*: A study of the dramatic developments within the liturgy of Christmas, Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters, XVII, Part I, p. 299-396.-. *The Origin of the Easter Play*, Publ. of the M. L. A. of A., New series, Vol. XXII, No. 1, p. 1-58.-. *La Procession des Trois Rois à Besançon*, Romanic Review, IV, 1, p. 76-83.-.

¹⁸ This regrettable gap may be filled by consulting the works of Mr. Karl Young. M. Duriez's apparent unfamiliarity with the English language has

severely handicapped him in his task. This manifests itself in many cases, for example, on page 191 he rejoices candidly in having discovered the source of the spiritual-allegoric *débat* between *Misericorde*, *Paix*, *Justice* and *Vérité*, in the *Meditations upon the Life of Christ*, of S. Bonaventura. This discovery, however, had already been made in 1907, in a Bryn Mawr Dissertation by Hope Traver, under the title: *The Four Daughters of God*. A study of the Versions of this Allegory, with especial reference to those in Latin, French, and English. (Bryn Mawr College Monographs, Monograph Series, vol. VI.)

NOTES

Professor Max Förster has contributed to Streitberg's *Germanische Bibliothek* an *Altenglisches Lesebuch für Anfänger* (Heidelberg, 1913, M. 1. 40, Leinwandband M. 2. —). The book runs to 67 pages, the space being about equally divided between text and glossary. The text contains thirteen specimens, which offer considerable variety,—a selection from the *Epinal Glosses*, *Cædmon's Hymn*, an excerpt from the *Vespasian Psalter*, a passage from the *Winchester Annals*, a specimen of the twelfth century poetic version of passages in the *Book of Daniel*, etc. The selections have been made, the editor declares, in the interest of linguistic, rather than literary and historical studies. "Unsere künftigen Lehrer der neuenglischen Sprache und Kultur," he says, "auf einem so vielseitigen, umfangreichen und schwierigen Wissensgebiete sich Erkenntnis anzueignen haben, dass die Erlernung der altenglischen Sprache für sie nicht mehr Selbstzweck sein kann, sondern in erster Linie der Einsicht in die Entwicklung der englischen Schriftsprache zu dienen hat." In pursuance of this plan Professor Förster has enriched his vocabulary by recording after the Anglo-Saxon words modern English derivatives (including dialect forms), as well as cognates from the Germanic dialects. Moreover, in his definitions of words he seeks to show the historical development of their meanings. In preparing the text the editor has in many cases made use of facsimiles and photographs. "Im allgemeinen habe ich mich einer ziemlich konservativen Textgestalt befleißigt." A complete *varia lectio* is given, however, only in the case of *Cædmon's Hymn*. In his brief literary and historical introductions to the several texts, Professor Förster has given more room to theological matters than is ordinarily accorded in textbooks, because he thinks that "eine Verbreitung der Forschungs-ergebnisse der wirklich wissenschaftlichen Theologie in den Kreisen unserer Gebildeten nicht nur das Einzelleben vertiefen, sondern auch unser spannungsreiches Gemeinschaftsleben erleichtern würde."

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Professor Benjamin Rand of Harvard University has edited for the Cambridge University Press (1914) Shaftesbury's *Second Characters or The Language of Forms*. The volume was so entitled because it was intended as a complement to the "Characteristics," his "charges" being in general, as he declares, "the raising of art and the improvement of virtue in the living, and in posterity to come." It was Shaftesbury's plan to incorporate in a single work *A Letter concerning Design*, *A Notion of the Historical Draught or Tablature of The Judgment of Hercules*, *An Appendix concerning the Emblem of Cebes*, *Plastics or the Original Progress and Power of Designatory Art*. This programme was carried out, with the exception that he did not live to write the projected *Appendix on the Emblem of Cebes*. In lieu of this, Professor Rand has published a translation of *Cebes' Tablet* which he found among the Shaftesbury manuscripts in the Record Office but which is not in Shaftesbury's handwriting. It is conjectured by the editor that the Notes to the translation might at least have been dictated by Shaftesbury as their "language and thought bear such a close resemblance to the contents of a letter written to Pierre Coste." The inception of the book

"was due, it is said, to a conversation with his noble patron, and its final aim is described as the revival of art, particularly in England. The most striking feature of it is an abiding faith in liberty and in the artistic judgment of the people as the true foundation of any revival in liberal arts. Persistent efforts, he argues, must therefore be made, with the growing freedom, to secure the best models, to seek correct standards, and to found academies of instruction, in order to create a cultivated taste in the general public."

The treatise entitled *Plastics*, which its author regarded as the most important of the four mentioned above, appears for the first time in Professor Rand's edition. It is of interest as a supplement to the *Characteristics*, turning to practical account the speculations of that treatise. "The counterpart of 'First Characters' is to be found in 'Second Characters.' The former is speculative, the latter practical. The 'Second Characters' correspond as it were to the under-parts of a drama." Shaftesbury here maintains that Truth in art "is not so much a copy of reality as of appearance"; he defends "the part played by instinct and natural sagacity as the source of the idea of the beautiful"; and "plastic truth and decorum are deemed as with Plato the culminating excellence of artistic production." Setting up, then, a standard of decorum, Shaftesbury looked to nature as well as to ancient models to correct the imperfect taste of his time. He considered it the mission of art to touch life at every point, carrying over into the life of the community such inspiration as had produced the artist's work. "In future generations," writes Professor Rand, "wherever there is refinement and true culture the influence of this modern classical philosopher must be felt."

* * * * *

The latest addition to Professor Herford's admirable *Arden Shakespeare* is *The Winter's Tale*, edited by H. B. Charlton of Victoria University, Manchester (D. C. Heath and Co.). Like previous issues in the series, the book contains besides Text and Introduction, a considerable body of Notes, two Appendixes on the Early Version of the Story and the Metre respectively, a Glossary, an Index of Words and a General Index. The Introduction is made up of sections on *The Date and Literary History of the Play*, *Source of the Plot*, and *Critical Appreciation*. Mr. Charlton thinks that *The Winter's Tale* "marks the time when Shakespeare had arisen from the depths of tragic gloom and could look on life serenely and with infinite pleasure and pity; when he saw deep wrongs righted and human nature justified in the majestic fortitude of its sufferers and the native goodness of its children: when repentance, forgiveness, and reconciliation were his theme and his faith." But in the light of Professor Thorndike's work, with which Mr. Charlton seems to be acquainted, isn't all of this somewhat out of date? In the second division of his Introduction, the editor compares *The Winter's Tale* and the *Pandosto*, and has something to say with the aid of Mr. Wolff's *Greek Romances* about the sources of Greene's story. He refers to Caro's study in an early volume of *Englische Studien*, but we find no mention of de Perrott's article in Herrig's *Archiv* (v. 130) dealing with the interesting analogue of the sheepshearing scene to be found in Feliciano de Silvas' *Amadis de Gracia*.

* * * * *

For J. C. Smith's *Select Plays of Shakespeare* (Clarendon Press, 1914), Mr. H. J. C. Grierson has edited in a refreshingly competent way the tragedy of *Macbeth*. After a judicious criticism of the text he reaches the conclusion that "all that we can say with confidence of the play as it stands is that, with the exception of the Hecate interludes, no parts of the play can be safely detached as certainly not Shakespearean. His hand has touched everything." The editor's analysis of the characters of the chief persons of the drama, including a highly original comparison between Macbeth and John Bunyan, his consideration of the play as one rooted in Celtic and popular tradition, and the careful study of the plot in relation to its source, all unite to make the Introduction an uncommonly sub-

stantial and stimulating essay. Mr. Smith, the general editor, has written for the edition two Appendixes, one on the *Structure and Staging of the Play*, the other on its *Prosody*. The editors have further provided *Notes* and a *Glossary*.

* * * * *

In *The Oxford Book of American Essays* (Oxford University Press, 1914), Professor Brander Matthews has found places in the company of Irving, Emerson, Thoreau, and Lowell for twelve writers still living, these constituting a little less than a half of the whole number represented. Among them one looks in vain for any of the younger generation, President Butler and Professor Trent being the youngest in the group. The editor has excluded from the volume literary criticism and "all set orations." These self-imposed restrictions fail to account, however, for the omission, let us say of Professor Perry, from a volume, which is large enough to include Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Lodge. On the whole, however, the pleasing variety of the matter which the book contains and the lively or substantial interest of the individual essays happily attest the taste at once catholic and eclectic of the accomplished editor.

* * * * *

Mr. W. T. Young, Lecturer in English Literature in the University of London and Joint Editor of the *Cambridge Anthologies* has written an *Introduction to the Study of English Literature* (Cambridge, England: University Press, 1914). The volume is recommended as an introduction to the *Cambridge History of English Literature*. It maintains "fairly rigidly" a division into prose and verse for each period.

* * * * *

Mr. A. Hamilton Thompson has edited for the Pitt Press Series (Cambridge University Press) the *Essays of Elia* in two volumes. The edition is furnished with a brief introduction and numerous notes, which have been conveniently indexed. In an appendix are printed passages omitted from the text of the collected essays.

* * * * *

Professor Frederick Tupper of the University of Vermont and Professor James W. Tupper of Lafayette College have added to the Oxford English Series (Oxford University Press, 1914), *Representative English Dramas from Dryden to Sheridan*. The book contains twelve plays with an introductory essay for each, *Notes*, and a *Bibliography*.

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SCHILLER'S ATTITUDE TOWARD LINGUISTIC PROBLEMS¹

During the Middle High German period Swabia had led all Germany in linguistic and literary matters. The fourteenth century witnessed the revival of a number of dialects as a means of literary expression. This period was succeeded by the gradual rise of the imperial *Kanzleisprache* to general recognition. By the end of the fifteenth century, Swabian had developed its vowel system in the direction of Bavarian and Austrian, but had kept aloof from the more radical consonantal departures in these as well as in Alemannian, and so it was once more considered as a model of good and refined speech, and for the more remote regions it could, especially in its use in literature, pass as the best representative of the *Reichssprache*. This again was radically changed through the unparalleled rise of the literary dialect of Upper Saxony, due to the enormous influence of Luther's writings. In the century following the Thirty Years' War, Swabia lapsed into a state of intellectual torpor. To a large extent this was due to the pitiable political condition, the despotism and tyranny of the

¹Schiller's works are quoted according to the Säkular-Ausgabe in sechzehn Bänden (*Schillers sämtliche Werke*, Stuttgart und Berlin, 1905), volumes in Roman numbers, followed by page and line numbers in Arabic figures. Quotations from verse dramas are by line only. His letters are quoted according to the edition by Fritz Jonas (*Schillers Briefe*, Kritische Gesamtausgabe in sieben Bänden; Stuttgart, Leipzig, Berlin, Wien o. J.), the date being given together with indication of volume and page. In addition to this *Schillers Briefwechsel mit Körner*, 2te Ausgabe von Karl Goedeke, Leipzig 1878, and *Briefwechsel zwischen Schiller und Wilhelm von Humboldt*, dritte Ausgabe von Albert Leitzmann, Stuttgart 1900, have been used. Furthermore: Julius Petersen, *Schillers Gespräche*. Berichte seiner Zeitgenossen. Leipzig 1911, and Flodoard Freiherr von Biedermann, *Schillers Gespräche und andere Zeugnisse aus seinem Umgang*. Volkstümliche Auswahl. Leipzig o. J. (1913), both being cited by page and number. Of the literature on the subject Hermann Michel, *Schillers Ansichten über die Sprache*, Euphorion XII (1905), 25-42, and Friedrich Kluge, *Die sprachgeschichtliche Stellung Schillers*, in *Bunte Blätter*. Kulturgeschichtliche Vorträge und Aufsätze. Freiburg i. B. 1908, and Adolf Socin, *Schriftsprache und Dialekte im Deutschen nach Zeugnissen alter und neuer Zeit*. Heilbronn 1888, must be mentioned. Goethe is quoted after the new edition by Karl Alt et al. (*Goethes Werke*. Vollständige Ausgabe in vierzig Teilen. Goldene Klassikerbibliothek. Berlin, Leipzig, Wien, Stuttgart o. J.).

dukes of Wuerttemberg. It was further emphasized by the reactionary tendencies of the chief seat of learning in the country, the University of Tübingen. In this stronghold of pedantic scholarship and rigid orthodoxy, theology held the whole higher intellectual life of the country in bondage,—belles lettres were at best tolerated, and the Muses were rigorously excluded, poetic activity being strictly relegated to the production of religious hymns. From the literary point of view, Swabia, about the middle of the eighteenth century, was barely more than a desert, with a faint suggestion of an oasis here and there, while in all other regions where the German tongue was spoken the day of another and greater efflorescence of art was dawning.

The memories of her erstwhile leadership in Middle High German times, "the Swabian epoch" as it was termed in Wuerttemberg, and the conscious efforts of some well-meaning native writers failed to rouse Swabia from her somnolence. She was, however, gradually awakened by the ridicule and mockery showered upon her by outsiders, who spoke sneeringly of Swabian barbarism and Philistine self-content.² Her best minds now assiduously devoted themselves to the refutation of such charges. Historic presentations, pamphlets, lengthy lists of literary and learned notables, in Swabian magazines, were to convince the *Ausland*, i. e., the rest of Germany, of Swabia's pristine and present merits. Names like Thomas Abbt, Wieland, Schubart, could be pointed to with pride, and even Saxony and Brandenburg could not afford to ignore them.

However, what vexed and nettled the good-natured Swabians more than the charge of their unproductiveness in literature, what concerned the people as a whole and all the educated circles in particular, irrespective of æsthetic creeds, was the sometimes tacit assumption, sometimes vociferous assertion, of the inferiority of their speech overagainst the literary dialect of Upper Saxony.³ Not only because, as general observation teaches us, the same

² "The Swabians are usually accused of not beginning until the others are through with their day's work, and in this respect—blessed be the arrival of the Swabian Muses' Almanach!" Schiller's review of the *Schwübischer Musenalmanach auf das Jahr 1782*; XVI, 166, 19.

³ If I do not misjudge the American temper, the average American would pass over an Englishman's assertion that American literature did not measure up to the standard of British with placid indifference. He would feel quite differently if he were told the same thing with regard to his speech.

intolerance in linguistic matters that prompted the charge forbade its admission on the part of the accused; nor was it because—for such was not the case—the Swabians had more or less generally advanced to the insight of Schottel (*Ausführliche Arbeit von der teutschen Haubtsprache*, Braunschweig 1663), Leibnitz (*Unvorgreifliche Gedanken betreffend die Ausübung und Verbesserung der teutschen Sprache*, about 1680), Bödiker-Frisch (*Grundsätze der deutschen Sprache*, five editions from 1690-1746), and even Gottsched himself (*Sprachkunst*, 1748, sixth edition 1776), concerning the nature of “High German,” namely that it was a literary language not indigenous to any one place or region, but an eclectic speech to be cultivated alike by all German tribes and one that each could speak with beauty,—but rather, the chief argument of the Swabians was that their country had produced the dominant language. They failed to recognize the fact that Modern High German was not a lineal descendant of Middle High German; nor were they much to blame for the misapprehension, which is not even now entirely extinct. The claims of Upper Saxony as to the absolute superiority of its dialect over all the others,—in the main upheld by Gottsched, in spite of the more correct insight just quoted,—were as bitterly fought by the Swabians as they had been combated shortly before by the Swiss school, after Bodmer had given up his more conciliatory original attitude. Since Wuerttemberg and the greater part of Switzerland had embraced Protestantism, religious motives did not in these cases enter into the fight as in Catholic Bavaria and Austria, where the language of Upper Saxony encountered the fiercest opposition as the medium of expression, if not indeed the creation, of the arch-heretic Luther. Indeed, the language of the reformer had long since impressed itself indelibly upon the pious Swabians, among whom, to this day, the Bible is read more thoroughly than in any other German-speaking country, and where quite naturally the diction of even the most educated under strain of emotion, in fact whenever their speech rises above everyday discourse, is likely to teem with Scriptural phrases and allusions.⁴

⁴The influence of the Bible can be traced even in the works of Schiller's mature manhood, when he had long since broken away from all orthodox faith. Its evidence in his youthful productions has often been observed. That it comes unsought is strikingly shown by his review, in 1782, of the *Kasualgedichte eines Wirtembergers* (XVI, 171, 30): “Proof of this is furnished by

When Schiller first entered the Ducal Military Academy, in 1773, a lad of thirteen, and during the first six years of his attendance at the institution, instruction in German was not contained in the curriculum.⁵ Nevertheless, the pupils of the school enjoyed advantages in perfecting themselves in their mother tongue that were not found in the other schools of the country. More than elsewhere a fluent and idiomatic rendering of the ancient classics into German was insisted upon. Debates were held in the vernacular; oratorical and other exercises, e. g., in letter writing, furnished the opportunity for training in style and rhetoric. The professors constantly urged the duke to provide for systematic instruction in the mother tongue, and in 1779 he appointed the first special teacher of German language and literature. As Schiller left the Academy in 1780, he derived no benefit from the development of this branch of study. The courses taken by him were oratory in 1775 (when he was still enrolled as a student of law), belles lettres under Professor Abel in 1777-78, and "German Language, Diction, and Taste" under Haug in 1779. Nast, his professor of Greek, was the son of the foremost Swabian grammarian who with Fulda in 1777-78 published the *Teutscher Sprachforscher*, and although it is doubtful whether Schiller ever looked into a copy of that book, the younger Nast must have in some way acquainted his pupils with his father's work and indirectly influenced them in accordance with it. In the final examinations of the year 1779, the memorable occasion graced by the presence of Goethe and Duke Karl August, we find Schiller as a *Respondent*, i. e., taking the affirmative, in the public debate on Haug's theses on German language and style, and he was to have been the recipient of a prize for his work, but this fell to his fellow pupil Elwert, with whom he had to draw lots for it.

What personal pleasure Goethe and Karl August may have had from Schiller's share in the debate must have been seriously impaired by his dialectic pronunciation (in which, of course, he was no worse than his fellow students, professors, and, in all

the very first number, the ode on the death of his father, which, notwithstanding the bold and splendid thoughts that it contains, loses some of its poetic value here and there through Biblical expressions and trivial phrases."

⁵ On this and the following, cf. Karl Berger, *Schiller. Sein Leben und seine Werke*. Erster Band (München 1905), pp. 620 and 622, notes to pp. 84 and 230.

likelihood, the Duke of Wuerttemberg himself). It is necessary here to enumerate briefly the chief peculiarities of Swabian pronunciation, as one must know them to do justice to Schiller's rhymes. These are often attacked with undue severity as impure, which they are from the point of view of standard modern pronunciation; but most, if not all, of them must have been absolutely unobjectionable to his compatriots, as indeed they are today. In its vowel system, Swabian differentiates between the *ai*-sounds according to their provenience from Middle High German *i* and *ei*,—only the latter, as e. g., in *heim* agreeing with the standard pronunciation (like English *i* in *high*), while *ei* from MHG *î* sounds like *äi* (e. g., *äis*=Eis).⁶ The first part of the diphthong *au* approaches the sound of an open *o*. In unstressed positions *e* is not slurred, but given a distinct *e*-sound, which at as late a period in life as the composition of his *Jungfrau von Orleans* made the poet rhyme Könige: Berges Höh'; similarly zitterten: Liebenden, Begrabenen: Hoffnungen, Segnungen: Wiedersehn. The mutated vowels *ü*, *ö* and *äu* are not rounded and scarcely to be distinguished from *i*, *e* and *ei*, respectively.⁷ Before nasals, *u* approaches *o*, and *i* as well as *ü* become practically *e*, that is, both sounds are lowered. This accounts for such rhyme monsters—to the delicately attuned ear of a North German—as Menschen: wünschen, wimmert: aufgedämmert, Schöne: Trauermiene, Trauerbühne: Szene, dahin: sehn, finden: wenden, Sternbühne: Träne, Diademen: rühmen, Münze: Grenze, bändigen: sündigen, Finger: Sänger, some of which occur a considerable time later than his Swabian period. In the consonant system *sp* and *st* become *schp* and *scht* throughout, not only initially; there are, however, no such rhymes in Schiller as heischt: Geist, Gischt: ist, but he rhymes, contrary to his pronunciation, Geist: fleusst, stösst: fest, Geist: heisst. With South-German in general, Swabian knows only the voiceless *s*-sound, and *b*, *d*, *g* are not mediae, but voiceless lenes, so that they become identical with the voiceless explosives in unstressed positions. Hence rhymes like Schosse: Rose, entblößen: lösen, Moden: geboten, Hasen: lassen, heissen: mitzuspeisen, Grösse: Getöse, Norden: Engelsporten, Wesen: Er-

⁶ Schiller, however, early in his poetic career, began to rhyme the two different sounds, as in Fleiss: Schöpfungskreis, Fleiss: Geheiss.

⁷ The second and fourth cantos of the *Æneid* as translated by Schiller contain 67 cases of *ü*: *i* rhymes, 30 *ä*: *e*, 17 *ö*: *e* and 26 *eu* (*äu*): *ei*.

dengrössen, öden : Sturmesnöten, Getose : Schosse, verödet : getötet, Planeten : reden, Zeitenschosse : Lose. The letter *v* always has the value of *f*; hence Rudersklaven : schlafen, Sinnenschlaffe : Sklave, Nerve : unterwerfe.⁸ Some cases where long and short vowels are rhymed are due to Swabian pronunciation, as kamen : schwammen, hin : blühn; others, the great majority, are due to carelessness, as Wiesen : küssen, Narzissen : Füßen, Füssen : küssen, Schloss : Schoss, begrüßte : Küste, Esse : Gefässe, Gefässe : Messe, fassen : Strassen, besten : trösten, eingebissen : Füßen. True to his native pronunciation, Schiller never rhymes *g* with *ch*; e. g., zeigt : reicht, flucht : kreucht, or trug : Fluch cannot be found anywhere in his writings.

Naturally all this provoked the merciless satire of personal opponents who were natives of other German regions, e. g., of A. W. von Schlegel in the lines, "Wenn jemand Schosse reimt auf Rose, auf Menschen wünschen und in Prose und Versen schillert, Freunde, wisst, dass seine Heimat Schwaben ist." Similarly Bürger, deeply hurt by Schiller's review of his poems, alludes to him in his *Hübnerus redivivus, das ist: Kurze Theorie der Reimkunst für Dilettanten* (1791), when he says: "It is not likely, therefore, that any one will wish to rhyme *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u* with one another, unless he be one of those rude and uneducated Swabians who hear as falsely as they speak and are capable of rhyming *sonst* and *Kunst*,⁹ *können* and *sinnen*." As to rhyming rounded and unrounded vowels, Schiller's own generation, even in the North, was less sensitive. To quote again Bürger, himself one of the most careful poets in the choice of his rhymes,¹⁰ l. c.: "Still the vowels *ä*, *e*, *ö*, likewise *i* and *ü*, as well as the diphthongs *ei*, *eu*, *ai*, and *äu* are much more closely interrelated. How are they to be treated?—If one wishes to be entirely exact and strict, then Tränen,

⁸ To Humboldt, who had objected to some of these, Schiller writes (September 7, 1795; IV, 258): "Why did you mark the rhymes Sklave : Schlaffe, Nerve : unterwerfe? I know of no difference in pronunciation, and the rhyme need not be for the eye The elisions of *i* in willige, acherontischen, etc., are indeed objectionable, but since all rhymesters from the oldest times have made use of them, I took the same liberty."

⁹ A rhyme of this type, however, does not occur in Schiller, so far as I am aware. It is found in the poetry of the Silesian Opitz.

¹⁰ As indeed he must have been one of the most accurate observers in linguistic matters, and may be regarded as a forerunner of modern phoneticians; cf. his remarks on the *ich*- and *ach*-sounds, which he was the first to name by that term.

sehen and stöhnen; Lehre and Sphäre; Meer and Speer; Liebe and trübe; Blick and Glück; träumen and leimen; Freund and Feind, are not entirely correct rhymes. Here, however, the dissonance is not so striking. A good reader, by lowering the one and raising the other, can make the two sounds resemble each other more or less. There is such a great lack of rhymes in our language, and for that reason, the authority of all, even our best poets, without exception, protects them. Therefore, one is justified in calling them if not entirely exact, at least pardonable rhymes, which caviling critics have at least to condone. Nevertheless, a poet of delicate ear, especially in those lyric poems where he strives after the highest correctness, will first turn in every direction, and use such rhymes only when there appears to be absolutely no other way out of the predicament."¹¹

Schiller remained loyal to his dialectic pronunciation during his whole life; not as a matter of principle, but because he regarded it as an irrelevant externality. His friend Andreas Streicher, the faithful companion of his flight and exile from Stuttgart, tells us that it was Schiller's dialectic pronunciation more than anything else that spoiled the reading of his *Fiesko* before the Mannheim actors and almost lost him the chance of having his play accepted for examination. Charlotte von Kalb, on hearing him read the first act of his *Don Carlos*, finally burst out laughing and assured the poet that it was the worst thing he had ever written,—a statement that she at once took back after reading the lines herself. A Weimar actor, Genast, in his *Erinnerungen eines alten Schauspielers*, has preserved for us some of Schiller's words in his characteristic rendering of the sounds¹²: "Nach dem

¹¹ In passing it may be noted that, although we have had our ears trained by a century of exactness à la Platen and Hofmannsthal, there are cases where we not only do not feel such impure rhymes as blemishes, but on the contrary as additional beauties, viz., when, e. g., an *i* is preceded in the same line by a stressed *ü* and the rhyming word is accompanied by the correlated sound: Ach, ich bin des Treibens müde! Süßer Friede, Lispelt leise süßen Frieden und den Augen dieses Müden Nun verlass' ich diese Hütte, wandle mit verhülltem Schritte Leise zieht durch mein Gemüt Klänge, kleines Frühlingslied It would be useless to search Schiller's poems for such subtleties. The only case of which I am aware occurs in the *Leichenphantasie*: Zitternd an der Krücke wer mit düsterm, rückgesunknem Blicke which is certainly not intentional.

¹² Petersen, p. 297, No. 293.

zweiten Akt kam Schiller auf die Bühne und fragte in seinem herzigen schwäbischen Dialekt: 'Wo ischt der Vohs?' Dieser trat ihm mit etwas verlegener Miene und gesenktem Kopf entgegen; Schiller umarmte ihn und sagte: 'Nein, Vohs! Ich muss Ihne sage: Meischterhaft! meischterhaft! Aber nun ziehe Sie sich zum dritte Akt um!' Vohs musste sich anderes erwartet haben. Denn mit inniger Freude dankte er Schiller für seine unbegrenzte Nachsicht. Dann wandte sich Schiller mit den Worten zu mir: 'Sehe Sie, Genascht, wir habbe recht gehabt! Er hat zwar ganz andere Vers gesproche, als ich sie geschriebe hab, aber er ischt trefflich!'" The testimony could easily be multiplied.¹³ Some of the poet's listeners were very unpleasantly impressed by it, especially one of his students at Jena, who calls his pronunciation intolerable.

In view of all this it might appear strange that Schiller intentionally avoided dialect in his prose dramas, where he could easily have used it for characterization, to give local color, or to heighten the effect, as, e. g., in *Die Räuber* or in *Kabale und Liebe*. It would be going too far to say that Schiller purposely avoids the language of every day, and that he nowhere tries to copy it.¹⁴ Both of the dramas named clearly show a number of characters whose words are patterned after everyday speech, Miller and his untutored wife, for example. The reason for shunning dialect pure and simple is not far to seek. The young Swabian poet and dramatist had to make it a point to appeal to all readers and spectators alike in and outside of his home district. Dialectic utterance would have jeopardized the spreading of his works beyond the narrow confines of his native land and the immediately adjacent regions. This consideration was brought home to him all the more strongly when a reviewer of *Die Räuber* in their first edition pointed out such provincialisms as could not be understood in Central Germany, namely Weidenstoz, Aufstreich, jolen, zetteln, bretteln. This list might easily have been increased by words that had a different meaning in literary German, such as *heben*=*halten*, *wirklich*=*gegenwärtig*, *exponieren*=*ins Deutsche übersetzen*, and *Jauner*, the more original South German form (from

¹³ See Petersen, Nos. 169, 186, 312; Biedermann, Nos. 48, 174, 326.

¹⁴ Not, of course, in the radical manner demanded by the ultra-naturalistic school; cf. Edgar Steiger, *Das Werden des neuen Dramas*, Berlin 1898, II 28 ff., 34 ff.

Hebrew *jânâ*) of Gauner. Schiller took pains to remove a number of these from the second edition of his play, and in his second drama he tried not to let any creep in, which, the scene of the drama being laid in Italy, would indeed have been seriously incongruous. Nevertheless we find here too some traces of his dialect, e. g., when he calls Muley Hassan "ein konfiszierter Mohrenkopf" where we should now say *polizeiwidrig*, that is, repulsively homely.

Aside from such considerations, it would be unnatural to expect from the young Schiller an insight into the right of existence and proper place of dialect. Herder—in this respect, as in so many others, far ahead of his time,—had as early as 1767¹⁵ enthusiastically defended the rights of dialect and called the *Idiotismen* beauties that would be irretrievably lost in any translation. But the time was not yet ripe for such a liberal point of view, and Schiller did not attain it during his whole life. He never knew what to make of the studies of his brother-in-law Reinwald, who had compiled a *Hennebergisches Idiotikon*.¹⁶ It might have been different had Reinwald been a man of wider horizon and inspiration. To Goethe, who had acquainted him with some poems of the Nuremberg dialect poet Gröbel, a precursor of Hebel, Schiller writes on February 2, 1798 (V, 336): "Your Nuremberg master-singer appeals to me like a voice from a bygone epoch and has amused me greatly. In writing to Knebel, please ask him to enter my subscription for one copy with frontispiece. I really deem it necessary to subscribe for this little book beforehand, because otherwise it may not be published at all, for our good friend has outlived his epoch and will hardly be shown the recognition he deserves. How would it be if you would write a few pages in the *Horen*, to introduce him to the reading public? He really seems to need it as much as he deserves it." Seven years later, February 28, 1805 (VII, 216), he addresses Goethe concerning Hebel's Alemannian poems,—"*Sonntagsfrühe* I should indeed wish to read in a pure High German poetic language, since dialect,

¹⁵ *Fragmente zur deutschen Literatur*, erste Sammlung; again, in *Blätter von deutscher Art und Kunst*, 1773.

¹⁶ Schiller jokingly refers to this book in a letter of August 24, 1794 (III, 476): "Our boy is beginning to walk in leading-strings and to talk, although his whole vocabulary so far consists in *Hotto* and so you could not yet gather much material from him for an *Idiotikon*."

especially in reading, always has something disturbing in it. The poem is excellent and of irresistible charm."¹⁷ Schiller had failed to grasp the salient point. But in fact not one of Hebel's contemporaries, not even Goethe in his genial review of the *Alemannische Gedichte* (XXXII, 239 ff.), had with conscious clearness recognized and stated whereon the peculiar charm and the specific value of dialect poetry is based. For Goethe says (l. c., p. 243): "Perhaps one might even suggest to the author, that, as it is a paramount advance in culture for a nation to translate foreign works into its language, it must likewise be a step toward the culture of the individual province if one presents to it works of the same nation in its own dialect. Let the author try to translate from the so-called High German appropriate poems into his Upper Rhenish dialect. Have not the Italians, too, translated their Tasso into several dialects?" Similarly he advocates the translation of dialect poems into literary German, and Schiller's above-mentioned desire to read Hebel's *Sonntagsfrühe* in such a form may have prompted Goethe to plan the rendering himself, although he never carried it out. Ten years later Goethe had approached the correct valuation of dialect poetry more closely. When in Goethe's presence Hebel had recited one of his dialect poems, a member of the company urged him to translate it into literary German, and the kindly poet yielded, but Goethe protested that one should do Hebel the honor of learning his language. Even a few years previous to this he had pleaded for a more liberal view. In an outlined letter to Eichstädt, November 22, 1809, he says: "I was loath to read the very unfair review on Gröbel. In the first place Dr. A. E. attacks the Nuremberg dialect, which certainly has just as good a right to poetic expression as any other. . . . Then he makes demands on the epistle such as one might at best make in cultured society. . . . What delicious morsels should we have to renounce if we were to exclude

¹⁷ In his first period Schiller would have been incapable of such a just appreciation of rustic poetry. There is a very characteristic passage in a letter to Reinwald, June 11, 1783 (I, 132): "Yesterday we had a jolly day. The peasants of the village danced in our yard, and I saw happy human beings. Bauerbach certainly is no barbarous country. I have discovered many a fine trait in these people, which was all the more valuable to me the less I had surmised its existence in rude nature. Perhaps these people differ from those who regard themselves as their superiors only as plaster casts do from paintings." From here it was a far cry to the composition of his *Wilhelm Tell*.

the lower classes of all times and nations from poetry!" On his own use of dialect, or rather, a dialectic coloring of his pronunciation and provincial style, Goethe says in *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, second part, sixth book (XXIII, 213), apropos of his experiences in Leipzig, where his linguistic peculiarities were objected to: "I had been born and raised in the Upper German dialect, and although my father always cultivated a certain purity of speech, and warned us children at an early age against all that can really be called defects of that idiom, and prepared us for better speaking, I yet retained many ingrained peculiarities that I, because their naïveté pleased me, would emphasize with delight, and this always brought me a stern reprimand from my new fellow citizens. The Upper German, and especially he who dwells on the banks of the Rhine or the Main (for large rivers, like the sea shore, always have something animating and invigorating), uses many similes, allusions, and proverbial phrases. In such cases he is oftentimes outspoken, still always proper, if one considers the purpose of the expression, even though at times something may slip in that proves repulsive to a more delicate ear. Every province loves its dialect, for it is really that element in which the soul draws its breath. With what obstinacy however the dialect of Meissen succeeded in domineering over, and for a time even excluding, the others is known to every one.¹⁸ For many years we suffered under this pedantic régime, and only by manifold opposition have all the provinces regained their old rights. What a young, lively person must have suffered under this constant lecturing will easily become clear to him who considers that together with the pronunciation, to the change of which one might at last

¹⁸ Nast, one of the authors of the *Teutscher Sprachforscher* mentioned above, gives in his autobiography the following testimony, which is highly significant in this connection: "We took in our book an emphatic stand against the Upper Saxon language despotism, and advanced genuine principles taken from the nature of language but overlooked by most grammarians. These principles are now more borne in mind and used since the intrigue has come to an end that was aroused against our book by the monopoly of the Leipzig publishers. This intrigue was so effective that because of the cry, What good can come from Swabia? our publisher could not dare to continue the publication of our work. The latter, if other provinces had joined, might in its continuation have become very beneficial for our language. But it was incompatible with the Upper Saxon autocracy to allow other provinces, particularly Southern Germany, to share in the honor of perfecting our language." (Alemania, III, 61 ff.)

resign himself, ways of thinking, imagination, feeling, and patriotic character were to be sacrificed. And this intolerable demand was made by cultured men and women, whose conviction I could not acquire, and whose unfairness I felt without being able to explain it to myself."

As we have seen, Schiller even before his flight from his native country had begun studiously to avoid provincialisms in his writings. Those that are found in his later works therefore are due to oversight.¹⁹ A very few of them may be mentioned here.²⁰ He continues for some time the use of three different forms of the numeral *zwei* (*zween* for the masculine, *zwo* for the feminine, and *zwei* for the neuter): "So musste sich das Szepter zweier Reiche in zwo Händen vereinigen," XIII, 174, 32ff., although even in his Swabian period he had begun, under the influence of literary German, to confuse the feminine and neuter forms. Like his compatriots Hauff and Uhland, he uses *sitzen*=*sich setzen* (*Don Carlos* 103 *Bis Sie auf Petri Stuhle niedersitzen*) and conjugates *stehen* with *sein* instead of *haben* (letter to Körner, January 25, 1795; IV, 95, *Ich bin an der Grenze gestanden*; *Jungfrau* 1792, *Ich bin vor hohen Fürsten nie gestanden*). He says *die Echo, die Ereignis, das Ort* (=Dorf), and uses the plural *Zufluchtsörter*. He employs what may be termed the South German double perfect for the pluperfect: "*den die herrschende Partei vertrieben gehabt*," XIV, 270, 16f. (cf. French *j'ai eu écrit la lettre* instead of *j'eus écrit la lettre*). In his endeavor to remove all traces of dialect it sometimes happens that he uses what Behaghel calls "Hyperhochdeutsch," a term which will be made clear by the following illustrations: Swabian uses only the prefix *ver-* where literary

¹⁹ Heinrich Rückert, as quoted by Socin, p. 490, says in 1864 (*Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift*, Band 107): "Formerly every writer desired to avail himself of a, or the, generally accepted language, but the power of local influences was still so great that in spite of his will he could not overcome them. Now the opposite is true. Now every educated person when he writes must make an effort to put something local and dialectic into his speech, for without such an effort only the literary German that is wholly free from local influence will come from his pen."

²⁰ For a detailed presentation of this subject I refer to Friedrich Kasch, *Mundartliches in der Sprache des jungen Schiller*, Dissertation, Greifswald 1900, and to Wilhelm Pfeiderer, *Die Sprache des jungen Schiller in ihrem Verhältnis zur neuhochdeutschen Schriftsprache*, Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur XXVIII, 272-423.

German differentiates between *ver-* and *zer-*, and so Schiller speaks of zerschiedene Szenen XVI, 19, 21; zerschiedene Eigenschaften (letter, March 27, 1783); fliehen zerstört auf die Bühne, *Fiesko* III, 151, 1;²¹ mit zerstörten Blicken, *Don Carlos* 2501,²¹ similarly 2605; zernichtete seine Hoffnung XIV, 87, 7; welche das Ansehen des Papstes zernichtete XV, 7, 34; even in *Wilhelm Tell* there occurs scheu umherblickend mit zerstörten Zügen, 3105.²¹ Analogously, being aware that literary German demanded in some cases haben as auxiliary instead of the sein to which he was accustomed, Schiller uses haben incorrectly in "wie weit ihr's gelungen hat" XVI, 16, 16, and "woran schon der Kaiser gescheitert hatte" XIV, 59, 13. A few examples may here be added from the first volume of the letters: dann gehört das Stück dennoch mein (instead of mir), p. 151, wegen meinem monatlichen Stillschweigen (instead of the genitive), 150; sind allenfalls Briefe eingeloffen, 123; the plural forms Hemder and Täge instead of Hemden and Tage, 153, 165; wirklich=gegenwärtig, 173; dürfen=brauchen, 403 (Die Professoren sind in Jena fast unabhängige Leute und dürfen sich um keine Fürstlichkeit bekümmern).

On the other hand, Schiller later adopted some Middle and North German provincialisms, such as the s-plural (an unsere lieben Frauens, letters, I, 433), die muntre Krabbe (*Pegasus im Joche*, I, 205, 31), ganzer vier Jahre instead of accusative of duration of time, XIV, 149, 18, and an occasional omission of worden in the perfect tenses of the passive: durch die Erbprinzessin ist ein neues Leben in die Stadt gebracht (letters, VII, 225).

Although familiar parlance does not, properly speaking, fall under this head, attention may here be called at least to one matter of which there are in Schiller abundant examples, viz., the double negation. A few cases chosen more or less at random will prove this: dass die Schönheit kein Resultat weder für den Verstand noch den Willen gebe XII, 87, 25f.; Aber nichts darf weder der Dichter noch der bildende Künstler darstellen XII, 353-4; Ohne diese würde es niemals weder ein Christentum noch einen Koran gegeben haben XIII, 43, 10; weit entfernt, weder zu denken noch zu reden noch zu tun XIII, 184, 14ff.; dass künftighin niemand weder Gefängnis noch Landesverweisung noch den Tod zu fürchten haben sollte XIV, 196, 21;

²¹ Stage direction.

Vorfälle in Zusammenhang, die nie keinen gehabt hatten 213, 4f.; fehlte es beim Anfang der Belagerung keineswegs weder an Lieferungen noch an Geld 353, 12f.; Alles ist Partei und nirgends kein Richter, *Wallensteins Tod*, 1985f. The double negation is genuinely German. Otfried, in the Latin preface to his Gospel Harmony, addressed to Archbishop Liutbert of Mainz (about 863), says: "Two negatives, which make an affirmation in Latin, in the usage of this (Franconian) language nearly always signify a negation, and even though I have been wary of it here and there, I have retained in my poem the idiomatic construction where it offered itself, in accordance with the usage of everyday life." The double negation is met with in the works of all the German classics (though probably in no one so frequently as in Schiller); cf. Goethe in *Meeresstille*: "Keine Luft von keiner Seite!" It is an interesting fact that it took just about a full century to find out that Lessing's "nicht ohne Missfallen" in his *Emilia Galotti* contained one negative too many.

In stating that Schiller consciously avoided the incorporation of dialect words not sanctioned in literary German, we must make one notable exception, namely, his *Wilhelm Tell*. As Kluge, l. c., p. 206, puts it, "he did not intend to write a Swiss national play, his ideas are garbed in the festive raiment of the literary language, but delicate filaments of Alemannian dialect are woven into it." Aside from geographical and family names, the use of which was necessitated by the subject matter and suggested by his sources, he employs the Alemannian diminutive forms in *Jenni*, *Kuoni*, *Ruodi*, *Seppi*, *Stüssi*, *Uhli*, *Wälti*, *Werni*, and *Ehni* (= Grossvater). The list of other Swiss words comprises the following: *Alp*, *Ammann*, *anstellig*, *Brautlauf*, *Firn*, *Fluh*, *Föhn*, *gähstotzig*, *Gemse*, *Gletscher*, *Gransen*, *Grattier*, *kommlich*, *Kuhreihen*, *Kulm*, *Lawine*, *lugen*, *Nauen*, *nit*, *Ruffi*, *Runse*, *Schutz und Trutz*, *Sente*, *tagen* (in the sense of "to hold a diet"), *Wildheuer*. Some of these had been taken over into literary language previous to Schiller's time; others, like *anstellig* and the phrase *Schutz und Trutz*,—long before recommended for adoption by Lavater and Leibnitz, respectively,—and *tagen* in its specific meaning, were felt by Schiller's contemporaries as decidedly novel, and if they no longer make such an impression on us it is because his *Tell* has such a powerful hold on all German-speaking people. A few of them even now would not be generally understood outside of their context. It is interesting

that Schiller did *not* use the word *Heimweh*, but substitutes *Schmerzenssehnsucht* in l. 846. As Kluge²² has pointed out, this word, now indispensable to the lyric poet, and long since a full-fledged literary word, would have been felt as inexcusably strange at Schiller's time; it does not occur in Goethe's works, although he uses it a few times in his letters.

In availing himself of this enrichment of the German vocabulary as suggested by his sources, Schiller acted in consonance with the advice of Lessing, who, in the *Briefe die neueste Literatur betreffend*, had censured Wieland for not using in the works written during his stay at Zürich some of the fine and pithy Swiss words not yet found in the literary German of his day. It is worthy of note that the year of Schiller's birth is also marked by the publication of the first *Literaturbriefe* and the final overthrow of Gottsched's dictatorship in matters of taste and good usage in language and literature. The fight against Gottsched had, to be sure, already been won by the Swiss school, especially through Klopstock's aid. Of all linguistic influences that Schiller experienced in his youth that exerted by the Swiss was by all means the strongest, even though it came to him indirectly, through Klopstock.²³ Of Swiss poetic works proper Schiller at that time probably did not know more than Haller's *Alpen*, and Haller, as is generally known, did not take part in the feud against Gottsched, and even removed Swiss words and forms in the later editions of this poem.

Of purely grammatical matters in this connection I would call attention to only two, viz., the use of the participle, and the form of the first person plural imperative. The Swiss had vindicated the appositive use of the participle ("Dies sagend ritt er trutziglich von dannen"—"dass er darniederfiel in seinem Blut, gemordet von den Seinen, auf dem Seinen"). Gottsched calls this innovation of the "Partizipianer" a clumsy imitation of French, a barbarous, un-German way of speaking, not to be met with in Luther, Opitz, or any other good writer. So far as prose is concerned, our own feeling still upholds Gottsched's contention, for this construction has never made its way into everyday German. Theoretically at least, Schiller in 1781, in his review of Stäudlin's *Proben*

²² *Wortforschung und Wortgeschichte*, Leipzig 1912, pp. 45-75.

²³ For a convenient summary of Bodmer and Breitinger's influence, see Oskar Weise, *Ästhetik der deutschen Sprache*, dritte Auflage, Leipzig 1909, p. 246 ff.

einer deutschen Aeneis (XVI, 157 ff.), appears to agree with Gottsched, for he says, l. c., p. 160, "Again, his verse becomes too prosaic through the many participles," and in another place (p. 161) exclaims, parenthetically, "das vermaledeite Partizipieren!" where, for Stäudlin's "der Mann, den jagend des Schicksals Hand aus Ilium erst nach Italien geführt" he proposes, "Krieg ist mein Lied, und der Mann, der von Iliums Lande der erste vom Verhängnis gejagt am Ufer Latiums ausstieg." As he himself here uses the past participle, it would seem that he objects only to the present participle. Klopstock had, in defense of the Swiss, said, "The participial construction is one of the Latinisms that we must introduce."—The beginnings of the imperative or hortatory use of the subjunctive in the first person plural (*Seien wir zufrieden! Gehen wir!*) may be found in Tatian and Otfried. Alemannian evidently had always adhered to the usage, and the Swiss critics defended it against the Low German forms with *lassen* (*Lass* or *Lasst uns gehen!*) that Luther had introduced into High German. The example of the Swiss, however, did not meet with such ready acceptance as their other innovations, being regarded as dialectic pure and simple, and Bodmer and Breitinger themselves gave it up, in favor of the North German circumlocution. Schiller, too, so far as I am aware, did not use the shorter form in his youthful writings,—the first case of it that I have noted occurs in a letter to Henriette von Wolzogen, September 23, 1786 (I, 310), "Im Ernst, liebste Freundin, versuchen wir es." In 1784, in his translation of Diderot's *Jacques le fataliste* ("Merkwürdiges Beispiel einer weiblichen Rache," II, 185, 12 ff.) he uses in brief succession the form with *lassen* no less than four times where the shorter form would be decidedly preferable: "Lassen Sie uns fliehen, lassen Sie uns vor seiner Rache uns schützen Lass uns bleiben. Lass uns abwarten."²⁴

²⁴ I am inclined to regard another example of this differently. It occurs in *Fiesko*, Act IV, Scene 14 (III, 269, 10 ff.): "Lass uns fliehen, Fiesko—lass in den Staub uns werfen all diese prahlende Nichts, lass in romantischen Fluren ganz der Liebe uns leben!" I feel a distinction between the two forms of the imperative, provided the inflection of the voice be the same. *Gehen wir* sounds to me more like an admonition or command, *lass(t) uns gehen*, more like a request. This, I believe, is due to the fact that in the former the speaker acts, more or less on his own responsibility, as the representative of the persons addressed; in the latter, the etymological consciousness of both speaker and hearer do not suffer the inherent meaning of *lassen* (=to permit) to become merely functional.

The only time that Schiller, who just like Goethe did not feel within himself a grammatical vein, occupied himself systematically with questions of language, with special reference to German and its development, was during his stay at Mannheim, 1783-85. He there was made a member of the Electoral German Society, and when this body had offered a prize for the best treatise on the history of the German language since the time of Charlemagne, Schiller was put on the committee that was to read the manuscripts entered for the competition,—not, in all likelihood, because he was so much better qualified for the performance than the other members, but because the others were conspicuously less so. This episode, as might have been expected, did not arouse in him any lasting interest in historical grammar. Still, membership in the German Society did produce a more than ephemeral effect on his attitude toward some linguistic questions. First, he became more attentive to consistency in spelling. March 3, 1787 (I, 331), he writes to Göschen: "Now a very important matter, dear friend. Who is the corrector? I have reason to fear that my copyist and I myself have not always used the same spelling. This, then, must be attended to with the greatest accuracy by the corrector. I am very anxious on this point." Nine days later (VII, 245), he expresses himself entirely satisfied that Adelung's spelling has been adopted; but in a letter to Körner, some six weeks after (I, 342), he says, among other grievances concerning the outward appearance of his *Don Carlos*,—"The worst of it is that, despite the corrector's promise, the spelling is erratic; *seyn* and *sein* interchange just as the compositor took it into his head." Körner in his reply made light of the complaint, professing not to have noticed the inconsistency. The last sign of this influence is a remark in a letter to Goethe, August 11, 1795 (IV, 234), "On account of the numerous misspellings, as well as because of some inconsistencies of usage (now *des Publikums*, now *des Publici*, etc.), I would recommend considerable attention."

But secondly, what is more important, Schiller was for a number of years anxious to avoid foreign words, although he even then never joined the ranks of the radical purists. Thus he censures the translator of Goldoni's autobiography (XVI, 194): "The language might be more pure. Is it really true that we have no German equivalents for the words *soupiieren*, *genieren*, *Doktrin*, *apathisch*, and others?" In his preface to the collection of historical

memoirs (XIII, 108) he apologizes for the title,—“I have retained the French word *Memoires*, as I know no German word to replace it with. *Denkwürdigkeiten* (*Memorabilia*) expresses it but imperfectly; rather—as they have been written down from the memory of events passed through—one might call them *Erinnerungen*, *Erinnerungsblätter*.” He cautions Körner, March 26, 1790 (III, 67): “Latin words like *Kultur* are disagreeably conspicuous in poetry.” In his youthful poems words like *Phantom*, *Harmonie*, etc., had abounded. In revising them for later editions he removed some of them, replacing, e. g., *sympathetische Triebe* (in *Die Ideale*) by *Flammentriebe*; still they occur again, in rather large numbers, in *Die Künstler* (1788), *Das Ideal und das Leben* (1795), and *Das Eleusische Fest* (1798), most of them being of Greek provenience. The dramas of his mature period, however, show markedly fewer intruders than those of his youth. His *Wallenstein*, especially the *Lager*, must not be cited as an exception to this. For here Schiller purposely employs borrowed words to characterize the speech of the time, e. g., when he makes the first chasseur in the *Lager* say, “Doch unter des Friedländers Kriegspanieren da bin ich gewiss zu viktorisieren,” or Isolani, in *Die Piccolomini*, “will alle meine Kreditoren kontentieren.” In his prose, however, the influence of the learned Mannheim society begins to wane perceptibly in the early nineties.²⁵ Ludwig Börne, *Aus meinem Tagebuche*, entry of May 18, 1830, criticizes Schiller’s letters for the abundance of unnecessary foreign words, exceeding even those used by Goethe,—“And such men, who in their works wrote such pure German! Is that not a proof that to them life and art were separate, that their minds were far away from their hearts!” In his conversation Schiller must have been even less wary, if we are to accept the testimony of Schelling, who, to be sure, as appears from the rest of his statement, must have met the poet in an ill-starred hour:²⁶ “The same man who in writing wields a depotic sway over the language is in speaking often at a loss for the least little word and must have recourse to a French one when the Ger-

²⁵ The same distinction holds good for Lessing’s prose overagainst his poetic writings, as Erich Schmidt remarks in his *Lessing*, II, 701: “Just as Schiller in his letters gives way to the contemporaneous excess of French expressions but keeps his prose free from them, so there is likewise a great difference in Lessing: his poetry is more strictly on its guard than his treatises.”

²⁶ Petersen, p. 268, No. 253.

man word fails him." A most amazing condition is presented by the preliminary work on *Demetrius* which has been preserved because the drama has remained a fragment. Here we meet a veritable host of foreign words, mostly of French origin, and the fact can be explained only on the assumption that in the haste of his work on this drama, caused by his rapidly failing health, Schiller used the next best word without any scruples as to its propriety (for we find also a number of wholly inadequate colloquialisms). The great prevalence of French words is due to the fact that his sources happened to be chiefly French. Even leaving the *Vorstudien* properly so called—consisting of the *Studienheft* and the *Collectanea*—and the *Skizzenblätter* out of account, and confining ourselves to the third stage of progress, the *Szenar*, we count on some twoscore pages the following words of foreign extraction, hardly one of which would, or could, have been left standing in the finished play: *féroce*, *sans aveu*, *Grandezza*, *Devouement*, *introduzieren*, *intriguieren*, *konstituieren*, *Partikularitäten*, *Introduktion*, *Indignation*, *Partei* (= *Entschluss*, French *prendre son parti*), *sinister*, *exegieren*, *solizitieren*, *Attention*, *Passion*, *konzipieren*, *kollidieren*, *poussieren*, *Qualität*, *religios*, *aktuell*, *Introduktionszene*, *exekutieren*, *repugnieren*, *Emissäre*, *Revolutionäre*, *unter soldatischem Apparat*, *etablieren*, *dissimulieren*, *konfrontieren*, *desavouieren*, *kontrastieren*, *exaltieren*, *Funktionen der Hausoffizianten*, *Invasion*, *malkontent*, *Notizen*, *affektieren*, *retardieren*, *machinieren*, *Retardation*, *Gradation*, *supponieren*, *Peripetie*, *haranguieren*, *Agitation*, *Expedition*, *Kriegstheater*, *mènes*, *alièna*, *Nuntius*, *lavieren*, *hazardieren*, *indulgieren*, *accueillieren*, *Instigation*, *attaschieren*, *Rivalitäten*, *temporisieren*, *balanzieren*, *sous main*, *konträr*, *Resume*, *griefs*, *Exorbitantien*, *Dissidenten*, *Tableau*, *kommunizieren*, *Kommunikation*, *Usurpator*, *Archimandrit*, *Respekt*, *Attentat*, *invidia*, *Usurpation*, *Exposition*, *Argument*, *adoptieren*, *passioniert*, *Omen*, *Disposition*, *Sukzess*, *Totalität*, *prägnant*, *koexistent*, *Alarm*, *Neutralität*, *Schisma*, *Manifest*, *pro*, *contra*, *Gewissensskrupel*,—ninety-four in all, some of them occurring several times. It would be interesting but take us too far afield to follow up one particular portion of the play and trace it through the successive stages of the poet's work with regard to linguistic expression. Suffice it to say that in the final form of the first act and a half, which would still have been subject to an ultimate revision at the poet's hands, the foreign words have all

disappeared,—with the exception, that is to say, of those that he retained for specific reasons. One of these reasons was the desire to provide for local color, especially in the Polish Diet, where in the very first speech, the archbishop's, the words *Rokosz* (armed opposition of the nobles to the crown), *Pacta conventa* (constitution), and *Seym Walny* (Great Diet) are brought in. In all such cases, Schiller is most careful to put unusual words in their right setting, so as to leave no doubt in the spectator's mind concerning their meaning,—one might almost think of the dramatist's watchful care in providing for a clear exposition and a proper introduction of each one of the *dramatis personae*. Thus in the following passage the borrowed word is just as clear and has the additional advantage of greater forcefulness than if Schiller had said *Wächter*: "Zar Boris zitterte auf seinem Thron und stellte seine Sastafs an die Grenzen, um scharf auf jeden Wanderer zu achten."²⁷ Another, equally cogent reason, however, to my mind, is the poet's delight in the sonorousness and euphony in many of these foreign terms,—a consideration that I surmise has in part at least caused Schiller to make Wallenstein call to his meeting with Questenberg the following generals: "Beide Piccolomini, Maradas, Butler, Forgatsch, Deodat, Caraffa, Isolani mögen kommen" (*Piccolomini*, 1004 ff.); at least that has always been my impression at every performance. It is in substance the same principle that made him use in *Das Eleusische Fest* the loan word in "Windet zum Kranze die goldenen Ähren, flechtet auch blaue Cyanen hinein," an additional reason here being that the German Kornblumen would not have submitted to the meter.²⁸

²⁷ Cf. also *Maria Stuart*, 705 f.: "Wer in der Committee ist meinesgleichen? Nur Könige sind meine Peers." Similarly in *Wilhelm Tell*, 2738 ff., the provincialism *Wildheuer* is explained in a passage that combines poetic definition and dramatic power: "ein armer Wildheuer, Herr, der überm Abgrund weg das freie Gras abmäh't, wohin das Vieh sich nicht getraut zu steigen."—A neat instance of the same general characteristic is found in a letter to Dalberg, August 4, 1782 (I, 62): "So sieht es mehr einer Reise als einer völligen Entschwägung (wenn ich das Wort gebrauchen darf) gleich und fällt so hart nicht auf."

²⁸ In his *Rechenschaft über die Veränderungen in der Nachtfeier der Venus*, Bürger says: ". . . . the reader will no doubt admit that the new version is much more noble, beautiful, rich and euphonious than the former paltry wording, and that especially the sweet melodious tone play of the last two lines, "Wann die Knospe sich entfaltet, wann die Hyazinthe blüht," can hardly be excelled in German. But one must regret at the same time that the highest

That theoretically, too, Schiller and Goethe did not approve of the extremes to which the purists of their day were willing to go, is amply evidenced by the malicious Xenion 125 (II, 107), directed against Joachim Heinrich Campe of Braunschweig named *Der Purist*:

Sinnreich bist du, die Sprache von fremden Wörtern zu säubern;
Nun, so sage doch, Freund, wie man "Pedant" uns verdeutscht.

This struck a vulnerable spot,—the man who tried to replace *Suppe*, which naturally had long since become a German word, by the formation *Gelöffel* deserved scant mercy; and yet it must not be forgotten that to this same Campe German owes the splendid renderings *altertümlich*, *Beweggrund*,²⁹ *Eigennamen*, *sich eignen*, *Flugschrift*, *geeignet*, *Öffentlichkeit*, *Umwälzung*, *verwirklichen*, *Zartgefühl*, and many more, to which the Dioscuri of Weimar and Jena cannot have objected.

Campe receives another thrust in Xenion 79 (p. 102), *Eridanus*:³⁰

An des Eridanus Ufern umgeht mir die furchtbare Waschfrau,
Welche die Sprache des Teut säubert mit Lauge und Sand,—

but this, as well as the following *Gesellschaft von Sprachfreunden* (No. 124, p. 107)

O wie schätz' ich euch hoch! Ihr bürstet sorglich die Kleider
Unsrer Autoren, und wem fliegt nicht ein Federchen an!

need not refer to Campe's fight against foreign words, but to his general intolerance in matters of grammar and diction, which had caused him to make out a long list of sins in Goethe's *Iphigenie*. The heaviest blow was delivered against Campe by the epigram on *Der Sprachforscher* (No. 114, p. 106)

Anatomieren magst du die Sprache, doch nur ihr Kadaver;
Geist und Leben entschlüpft flüchtig dem groben Skalpell,—

if this is not, instead, aimed at Adelung, the most influential of all German grammarians. Adelung's claim as to the superiority

and purest sonorousness of a German verse can rarely be achieved otherwise than through the aid of a foreign word." This is not the place to argue the question with Bürger; but in the song of Ariel and his sprites, in the beginning of the second part of *Faust*, than which nothing more melodious has ever been written in the German tongue, there is not one word of foreign origin.

²⁹ In this form; for *Bewegungsgrund* had been introduced previously, by Christian Wolf, the Halle philosopher.

³⁰ Referring to the Ocker river near Braunschweig.

of Upper Saxon over all the other dialects was ridiculed by Schiller in the distich on the *Elbe* (in *Die Flüsse*, I, 272)

All ihr andern, ihr sprecht nur ein Kauderwelsch,—unter den Flüssen
Deutschlands rede nur ich, und auch in Meissen nur, deutsch,—

and in Xenion 78 (II, p. 102) *Zeichen des Wassermanns*

Übrigens haltet euch ja von dem Dresdener Wassermann ferne,
Dass er nicht über euch her giesse den Elbestrom aus!

Not only on principle did Schiller vindicate the right of genius over against narrow rules, as in *Das Naturgesetz* (Votivtafeln 39; I, 149)

So war's immer, mein Freund, and so wird's bleiben: die Ohnmacht
Hat die Regel für sich, aber die Kraft den Erfolg,

but he claims for the poet certain specific privileges in departing from grammatical rules (XII, 352, 30, *Ästhetische Vorlesungen*): "The rules of grammar are less of a limitation to the poet; he sacrifices them to nature; his periodic structure grows more lax; thus, e. g., sometimes the more frequent use, sometimes the omission of copulatives is natural and suitable." He often consults Adelung's dictionary (letter to Goethe, January 27, 1804; VII, 118, while at work on his *Tell*): "Kindly return my Adelung to me, if you no longer need it. I have all sorts of questions to put to this oracle." The tone of this remark, however, is none too reverential. Nor does Schiller submit to Adelung's authority in all matters of detail: he uses words that the grammarian condemns as obsolete and "ridiculous merely because of their departure from the more modern dominant analogies," like *anheben*, *behagen*, *beginnen*, *bieder*, *Fehde*, *frommen*, *fürbass*, *Meisterschaft*; and words that Adelung classifies as dialectic and vulgar (*düster*, on which, however, cf. Campe; *dröhnen*), or very unusual in good diction (*Schrein*; *Kopf*, which he makes Gessler use in his command to Tell, while the latter uses *Haupt*; *Pferd*, instead of *Ross*, intentionally used by Thekla in *Wallensteins Tod* 3179 "Und wirft ihn unter den Hufschlag seiner Pferde"; *Aar*, instead of *Adler*, where our modern feeling is the very reverse, *Aar* now being more poetic,—Reinwald likewise in 1799 takes him to task for the use of *Aar* in *Das Eleusische Fest*). Adelung's etymologies cannot have interested Schiller, who in this respect was very much unlike Lessing. Schiller uses almost no etymologies in his works, a notable exception being *Piccolomini* 1149 f. "Und sein Sold muss

dem Soldaten werden; danach heisst er." When Schiller says—in a passage that I cannot at this present moment locate—"Es war nicht erkämpft, sondern nur gewonnen," he has no idea that the two words here contrasted mean etymologically one and the same thing. So we need not be surprised that he misunderstood several passages in Tschudi's chronicle, the chief source of his *Tell*, e. g., using *unterstehen* in its modern sense, and rendering *handlich zugind* by *handlich zuzugehn* instead of *tüchtig zu ziehen*, and *ür dieselben blaten* by *vor die Felsenplatte* instead of *an der Felsenplatte vorbei*. In 1804 Goethe planned a "truly general German dictionary" (in the first draught of a letter to be directed to C. G. Voigt, March 1804): "For this purpose I wish that a small society should quietly gather, not to collect the chaff but if possible the wheat.³¹ Our Voss would have to preside, Messrs. Eichstädt, Fernow, Voss, Jr., would join, and Schiller and I would coöperate in our own way." What Schiller's specific share would have been it is idle to speculate, but his activity would have been far remote from the ideals of Adelung.

(To be continued)

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³¹ Goethe speaks of *Kleien- und Weizenverein*, referring to the Florentine *Accademia della crusca*.

THE PHYSIOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF VERNER'S LAW

In the *JEGP.* 11, 1, ff. Prokosch offers an explanation of Verner's Law, based on Forchhammer's *Akzenttheorie*. According to Forchhammer, differences of stress are determined in ordinary speech more by widening and narrowing of the glottis than by strengthening and diminishing the force of the expiration from the lungs; widening of the glottis diminishes the stress, narrowing increases it. Applying this theory to the phenomena of Verner's Law, Prokosch finds it quite natural that the voiceless spirants should become voiced between two vowels, the second one of which was stressed, i. e., in $a-p\acute{a} > a-\delta\acute{a}$ the narrowing of the glottis for the stressed syllable began on the initial consonant of the syllable and this carried with it naturally the voicing of the consonant; this is merely a case of assimilation; and on the other hand, that in $\acute{a}-pa$ the consonant should remain voiceless is also quite natural; the opening of the glottis necessary for the unstressed syllable began on the initial consonant of the syllable, and this favored the retention of the voiceless spirant. In terms of Jespersen's symbols (ϵ =vocal chords, 1=narrow, 2=medium, 3=wide) the syllables $a-\delta\acute{a}$ represent $\epsilon 2 + \epsilon 1$, and $\acute{a}-pa = \epsilon 1 + \epsilon 2$.

The first of these two propositions is undoubtedly true, but I believe that the second one is open to objections. If I understand the proposition correctly this means that the width of the glottis on an unaccented vowel is about identical with its width on a voiceless consonant. Is such an assumption correct? Aren't the vocal chords always nearer together when vibrating, even if for an unstressed vowel, than when they are inactive, as for a voiceless consonant? (cf. Sievers, *Phon.* p. 67.) But even if the two were identical, why should the vibration cease? Furthermore, if voiceless spirant and unstressed syllable coincide, why do we find the voiced consonant regularly in the pret. pl. and past partic. of strong verbs, i. e., in the types $*sn\grave{i}\delta um\acute{a}$, $*sn\grave{i}\delta an\acute{a}$? The syllables δu , δa are no more strongly stressed than is the corresponding syllable in inf. $*sn\grave{i}panan$.

Again, if it be correct to say that the narrowing of the glottis for a stressed syllable begins on the initial consonant as in $a-\delta\acute{a}$ the question arises: why did not the spirants also become voiced at the beginning of a word which had the accent on the first syllable?

But initially we find regularly *f þ h s*. (To be sure, *þ* did later become *ð*, as Got. *þeihan*, OHG. *dihan*.) In other words, it seems to me that the Forchhammer theory of accent, which of itself is undoubtedly correct, does not furnish us with the key to a satisfactory explanation of the phenomena of Verner's Law.

I should like to present here a somewhat different statement of the facts as they appear to me. I may say that the following explanation is one that I have used in my classes for several years and was written in this form before I had read Prokosch's article. It is, therefore, in no sense a polemic against that author's excellent work. I submit it, however, because it still seems to me to be more satisfactory than other explanations which have been offered. At any rate, I hope it may evoke some criticism, either favorable or unfavorable.

In studying the physiological aspects of Verner's Law, our attention should, I think, be directed not primarily to the size of the glottis, nor to the increasing and diminishing of the force of the air-current, but rather to the *tension* and *vibration* of the vocal chords.

The retention of the voiceless spirants at the beginning of a word was due to the force of the initial dynamic accent. The voicing of the spirants medially, according to Verner's Law, is to be looked upon as an assimilation of the consonant to the surrounding voiced sounds, generally vowels. In producing a voiceless consonant, the glottis is wide open and the vocal chords are relaxed and do not vibrate; the production of voice, however, implies narrowing of the glottis with tension and vibration of the vocal chords. When a voiceless consonant becomes voiced between vowels, this means that the tension and vibration of the vocal chords is maintained, and not relaxed, throughout the three sounds. This assimilation of the voiceless spirants took place in PG. whenever the conditions of stress were not unfavorable to it: first, when the two surrounding vowels were about equally, but both slightly, stressed, as in 1st plur. pret. **hoþumá*, or perf. partc. **haþaná*; and secondly, when there was a rapid increase of stress from the preceding to the following vowel, as in **faðár*, **siþún*, because increase of stress in voiced sounds implies also increase of tension of the vocal chords; hence, in passing quickly from a slightly stressed vowel to a strongly stressed one, there is no time to relax the tension in the middle of the process; it is much easier and more

natural for the tension of the vocal chords to increase steadily and uninterruptedly, i. e., for an intervening voiceless consonant to become voiced.

On the other hand, immediately after the strong stress has reached its highest point, there is a natural tendency, by way of *relief* and *contrast* and *reaction*, to release completely for a moment the tension of the vocal chords and to open wide the glottis, i. e., to pronounce a voiceless consonant; hence, in PG., in such forms as infin. **snīpanan*, **tīhanan*, **kēusanan*, and pret. sing. **snāīpa*; **tāiha*, **kāusa*, the consonant following the chief accent resisted the assimilation.

A parallel to this phenomenon is found in Modern English in the pronunciation of *x* in a number of words; where the accent precedes the *x*, this letter has the value of *ks*, i. e., is voiceless, as in *exit*, *exodus*, *exile*, *exercise*; but where the accent follows the *x*, this letter has the value of *gz*, i. e., is voiced, as in *example*, *examine*, *exonerate*, *exist*, *exact*, *exhibit*, *exempt*.

Dr. R. M. Ihrig of Cincinnati has recently called my attention to another parallel in Old Italian in the development of Latin *t*, *k*, and *k'* (palatal *k*) which became (or remained) respectively *t*, *k*, *c* (as in 'church'), i. e., voiceless, if the Latin accent preceded; but they became respectively *d*, *g*, *g* (as in 'edge'), i. e., voiced, if the Latin accent followed. In Modern Italian, this has been rather obscured by leveling and analogy. Examples are: Lat. *mūtō*, *amātus*, *stīs*, *laētus*, *grātus* > Ital. *muto*, *amato*, *sete*, *lieto*, *grato*, but Lat. *mūtāre*, *amātōrem*, *quatērnus* > OItal. *mudare*, *amadore*, *quaderno*; Lat. *amīcus*, *amīca* > Ital. *amico*, *amica*, but Lat. *pacāre*, *acūtus*, *acūtīare*, *secāre* > OItal. *pagare*, *aguto*, *aguzzare*, *segare*; Lat. *plācet* > *piace*, but Lat. *placēre*, *vacillāre*, *ducēnti* > OItal. *piagere*, *vagellare*, *dugento*. Similarly intervocalic *p* remained voiceless if the accent preceded, but became voiced *v* if the accent followed; Lat. *cāput* > *capo*, but Lat. *capilli* > OItal. *cavelli*.

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SCOTT'S EARLY TRANSLATIONS FROM BÜRGER

It is well known that Scott corresponded with Anna Seward of Lichfield for some years, and was by no means unappreciative of her encouragement in his early efforts as a poet. In his *Life of Scott*, Lockhart acknowledges that he, too, had drawn from Miss Seward's published *Letters* "some sufficiently interesting fragments, as the biographers of other eminent authors of this time will probably do hereafter." More recently Mr. E. V. Lucas has made a diverting volume on Miss Seward, *A Swan and her Friends* (1909), for his own and the public's amusement. Mr. Lucas has been less appreciative of Miss Seward than either Scott or Lockhart, and neither he nor Lockhart used her *Letters* as effectively as they might have done. Indeed, they both missed one or two discoveries of some importance.

Let me begin with one of Mr. Lucas's minor inaccuracies which concerns Scott very nearly. In Chapter XV, page 306, Mr. Lucas says:

The Swan of Lichfield's last conquest was the Wizard of the North. It was in February, 1799, that Miss Seward first came to know anything of Sir Walter (then Mr.) Scott. Mr. Colin Mackenzie had sent her *William and Helen* and other paraphrases from Burger [sic], *The Triumph of Constancy* and *Glenfinlas* in manuscript.

Then follow extracts from her letter to Mackenzie.

Now this is not the first knowledge Miss Seward had of Scott and his *William and Helen*, though she did not earlier know the name of its author. In a letter to Lady Eleanor Butler of February 19, 1797, two years before Mackenzie's communication, she writes:

Mr. Saville, who reads finely as you well know, gave us the extracts with which the Scottish ladies of your neighborhood favoured him, from the sublime paraphrase of Burger's *Leonora*, the yet unpublished work of their friend. It is not near so close as the four rival translations which I have seen of that wild and violent poem; amongst which Mr. Spencer's, with its happy engravings, is so very prominent in poetic merit.

Many ideas and images are in the extracts Mr. Saville had obtained, which cannot be found in Burger's poem; but they vie, and in some places transcend those of the original in well-imagined horror. Chilling, grand, and horrific is the shrouded corpse

arising from the bier, and the half-perished body of the murderer swinging and creaking in the winds and rain, descending from the gibbet at the call of the equestrian spectre, and joining the ghastly train on that impetuous journey.¹

Although this reference has not been noticed in any discussion of Scott's work, or of the translations of Bürger's *Lenore* which appeared in 1796, this must be an allusion to Scott's version of that German poem. In no other, of this period at least, does the corpse of a murderer descend "from the gibbet at the call of the equestrian spectre." This was Scott's own invention and identifies beyond a doubt the poem which Miss Seward knew from extracts, even before its publication in Scotland. It must be, therefore, that Scott's *William and Helen*, in one of its manuscript reproductions, had traveled thus rapidly to the Vale of Llangollen. For the *Letters* further show that Mr. Saville had visited Llangollen and its celebrated ladies in the summer of 1796. Indeed, the matter is not one of conjecture for in the letter to Colin Mackenzie, mentioned by Mr. Lucas, Miss Seward says:

Two years since a friend of mine met with the *William and Helen* at the cottage of the celebrated recluses of Llangollen Vale. He reads finely, and he was desired to read it in their circle. It was in manuscript, and he understood unpublished; but that was a mistake. Thus he considered as an indulgence that he obtained

¹ *Letters of Anna Seward*, IV, 314. Who the "Scottish ladies of your neighborhood" were I do not know, but they may have been friends of Professor Dugald Stewart of Edinburgh. To Miss Seward, on November 30, 1802, Scott wrote: "I rejoice that you have met the ladies of Llangollen, of whom I have heard so much that I think you must have found them kindred spirits. My friends Mr. and Mrs. Dugald Stewart are well acquainted with them and great admirers of their accomplishments and manners, a eulogium which conveys a great deal to those who know Mr. and Mrs. Stewart."—*Familiar Letters of Sir Walter Scott*, I, 17. Scott visited them with Lockhart in 1825, and the latter described them to his wife in a letter of April 21, 1825, (*Fam. Let.* II, 334-5) partly given in the *Life of Scott*, IV, 308. This last the *Familiar Letters* seems to attribute to Scott himself.

That Dugald Stewart was one of the first to receive copies of the printed ballads is clear from his letter to Scott in the *Life*, I, 219. Of four copies he received, he at once transmitted two to "a friend in England," possibly some one at Llangollen. Another letter seems to imply that Professor Stewart possessed a manuscript copy earlier; see *Life*, I, 208-9.

Miss Seward regularly used the form "Leonora" for the poem, and Bürger, without umlaut sign, for the author. *Leonora* is the name of Mr. Spencer's English version of the poem, Miss Seward's favorite.

permission to make extracts from *William and Helen*, of those parts in which the poem differs from the German, by circumstances and pictures that increase the sublime horrors of the story. He knew how high Spencer's *Leonora* stood in my estimation; but he also knew my predilection for that species of translation which scruples not to throw in new matter, congenial to the subject and style, and capable of heightening their interest or their imagery. On perusing those extracts I agreed with my friend, that the new features in this equestrian ghost are more grandly horrid than in the original. Thus will it almost invariably be when poets, not versifiers, translate.²

Mr. Saville was, of course, right that the poem was still unpublished in the summer of 1796, since Scott's translations from Bürger were not printed until October.

Miss Seward, it may be said, had at first greatly admired the translation of *Lenore* by William Taylor, as it had appeared in the *Monthly Magazine* of March, 1796.³ But in July Lord Bagot presented her with a copy of Mr. W. R. Spencer's *Leonora*, "embellished" by Lady Beauclerk's designs, and ever after she was a fervent admirer of that version of the German ballad. Mr. Lucas quotes without date her letter to Miss Arden, in which she says in characteristic style: "I have not read aloud less than fifty times this violent story, adorned by the pencil of kindred genius."⁴ It was doubtless this devotion, too, which lulled her curiosity about the new version by him with whom she was to correspond on intimate terms after a few years, and whom she made her literary executor.

But the letter of Miss Seward to Colin Mackenzie is still more important. Accurately quoted, regarding the poems sent by Colin Mackenzie, it reads:

Sir,—I am extremely grateful for the bounteous and valuable present you have sent me; and I eagerly hasten to say that I am charmed with your friend's poems.⁵

To this is added a footnote by Miss Seward, and marked with her initial:

It [the present above] consisted of various poems by Walter Scott, Esq., a Scottish barrister. Two paraphrases from the

² *Letters*, V, 197.

³ See her letter to Mrs. Powis, June 1, 1796, in *Letters*, IV, 211.

⁴ *A Swan and Her Friends*, p. 221. The letter is of December 17, 1796, *Letters*, IV, 283.

⁵ *Letters*, V, 197; it is of date February 3, 1799. The above is immediately followed by the quotation on p. 4.

German Burger, published in 1796; *Leonora*, under the title of *William and Helen*; and *The Chase*; a third in manuscript, from Burger, not yet published.—*The Triumph of Constancy*, and an original poem, which has not yet passed the press, entitled *Glenfinlas*. 1799.—S.

Putting aside, as not now concerning us, the reference to *Glenfinlas*, let us look at what is called "a third in manuscript from Burger, not yet published,—*The Triumph of Constancy*."⁶ Although no poem of this name appears in Scott's *Works*, or has been attributed to him by any biographer,⁷ the allusion is so definite that it cannot be doubted. Scott must have made one more translation from Bürger than has hitherto been attributed to him.

In its relation to Bürger *The Triumph of Constancy* may be fully identified from a further reference in the same letter. After remarking upon *The Chase*, which she rates below *William and Helen* and traces to Dryden's *Theodore and Honoria*, "the source of this and perhaps all the retributory spectres with which of late the press has teemed," Miss Seward adds:

Whatever Burger may do, I am certain Mr. Scott writes finely. *The Triumph of Constancy* has sweet and novel traits, given by your friend with the freedom and the fire of genius;—but there is something ludicrous in the canine consolation for the perfidy of a charming woman. It piques the pride of the ladies not a little.⁸

⁶ Whether the punctuation of the footnote is Miss Seward's there is no means of telling, but "The Triumph of Constancy" etc., should be part of the preceding sentence. There must have been four enclosures, Scott's *William and Helen* and *The Chase* in published form, *The Triumph of Constancy*, and *Glenfinlas* in manuscript.

Colin Mackenzie, as all who know their Lockhart's *Life* will recollect, was Mackenzie of Portmore, to distinguish him from Henry Mackenzie of the *Man of Feeling*. The former had been with Scott at the Edinburgh high school, and was, as Lockhart says, "the friend of his boyhood, one of the dearest he ever had" (*Life*, I, 455). Both he and Scott served in the volunteer cavalry offered to the government in February, 1797, and gladly accepted. Their friendship is also attested by the feeling allusion to Mackenzie in the introduction to the fourth canto of Scott's *Marmion*, where the meeting of the cavalry club is described and Mackenzie's absence in Devon is deplored (ll. 191-3). Such intimacy would fully account for Mackenzie's having manuscript poems of Scott in his possession. See other allusions to him in Lockhart's *Life*.

⁷ It is not mentioned by Lockhart, and does not appear in the *Catalogue of the Abbotsford Library* made by Cochrane in 1838. I have seen no allusion to it in any note on poems or life.

⁸ *Letters*, V, 199-200.

This allusion shows that the poem which Scott had translated was Bürger's *Das Lied von Treue*. Mention of "the canine consolation for the perfidy of a charming woman" makes conjecture unnecessary to any one who knows the story of that poem. It may be added, too, that however "ludicrous" its conclusion seemed to Miss Seward, Bürger's poem was one that would naturally appeal to Scott, fond as he was of all ballads and warmly appreciative of a canine friend.

Such identification may now be connected with a letter in Lockhart's *Life* which has clear bearing on the subject. In the spring of 1798 Scott's friend William Erskine met M. G. Lewis of *The Monk* in London, showed him Scott's *William and Helen* and *The Chase*, and informed him that Scott had other translations of German poems. On this Lewis asked that Scott assist him in his collection of *Tales of Wonder*, already in project, and Scott wrote offering what he had for that purpose. To this Lewis replied:

The plan I have proposed to myself is to collect all the *marvellous* ballads which I can lay hands upon. . . . But as a ghost or a witch is a *sine qua non* ingredient in all the dishes of which I mean to compose my hobgoblin repast, I am afraid the *Lied von Treue* does not come within the plan.⁹

This letter, says Lockhart, is undated, but "marked by Scott '1798'." It implies that Scott had already translated Bürger's poem or that he had thoughts of such translation, much more probably the former. In any case, Miss Seward's footnote to the copy of her letter to Mackenzie, confirmed as it is by the letter of Lewis, makes doubly sure that Scott translated Bürger's *Das Lied von Treue*, and gave it the title *The Triumph of Constancy*.

And now that the proof of this hitherto unknown translation by Scott is fairly clear, we may quote Scott himself in general confirmation. In the *Essay on Imitations of the Ancient Ballad*, when retelling the story of his translating Bürger's *Lenore* and *Der Wilde Jäger*, Scott says: "In this [*Der Wilde Jäger*] I took rather more licence than in versifying *Lenore*; and I balladised one or two other poems of Bürger with more or less success."—Henderson's ed. of Scott's *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, IV, 40.

The exact time of making this translation and the probable period at which it came into Colin Mackenzie's hands must be matters of conjecture. Such conjecture, however, has some basis

⁹Lockhart's *Life*, I. 254. This allusion to another poem of Bürger is not indexed under the name of that poet, and the relation of it has apparently been entirely missed by Scott's biographers.

in well-known circumstances. It would be natural to suppose that such a translation from Bürger followed closely upon the *William and Helen* and *The Chase*, or *The Wild Huntsman* as it was later called. The first of these was made "in the beginning of April 1796,"¹⁰ and the second between that date and October, when both were first printed. We know also that, on gaining the necessary German books, Scott translated somewhat freely. In reciting the events of this period many years afterwards, in his *Essay on Imitations of the Ancient Ballad*, he says:

Being thus furnished with the necessary originals, I began to translate on all sides, certainly without anything like an accurate knowledge of the language; and, although the dramas of Goethe, Schiller and others powerfully attracted one whose early attention to the German had been arrested by Mackenzie's Dissertation and the play of *The Robbers*, yet the ballad poetry, in which I had made a bold essay, was still my favorite.¹¹

It is not unreasonable to believe, then, that Bürger's *Lied von Treue* was transformed into *The Triumph of Constancy* in the latter part of 1796, or early in 1797. Now Scott and Colin Mackenzie, as already noted above, were together in the volunteer cavalry in the early part of 1797. Though they were always intimate, it is not unlikely that *The Triumph of Constancy* came into Mackenzie's hands at that time, or at least during the summer of that year.

Whether Scott's *Triumph of Constancy* is now in existence I do not know. Some letters to warring England have not succeeded in locating it. Probably, however, it is among Scott's papers, or perhaps, if they are in existence, among those bequeathed to him by Miss Seward and from which he prepared the edition of her poems. So far as I know Bürger's *Lied von Treue* was not again translated for many years, perhaps only once since Scott's time. There is a translation in the *Dublin University Magazine* of 1834 (Vol. IV, p. 29) with the title *The Story of Constancy*, and over the signature C. I find no explanation of the pseudonym and presume the writer has not been identified, unless it can be J. Cartwright who published a translation of Goethe's *Torquato Tasso*, London, 1861.

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¹⁰ Lockhart's *Life*, I, 205. This is somewhat at variance with the date usually assigned, but see my paper on *The Earliest English Translations of Bürger's Lenore*, in *Western Reserve Studies* Vol. I, No. 1.

¹¹ *Scott's Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, ed. by Henderson, IV, 43.

IBSEN'S SANKTHANSNATTEN*

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Sankthansnatten (*Eventyrcomédie i 3 Acter*, 1852, *Efterladte Skrifter*, I, p. 373-432) was the first fruit of Ibsen's literary activity as theater-poet at Bergen. This little work contains much that is interesting in its bearing upon Ibsen's early literary development in the 50's. It is, therefore, with a view to ascertaining how far the work is really significant in this regard that the following paper is offered.**

Henrik Jæger, who knew the piece only in outline from the account given of the performance by T. Blanc (*Norges første nationale Scene*, pp. 138, 150), was of the opinion that the work had no more prominent place in the author's development than that of a mere exercise.¹

Since Jæger's time, however, a very different conclusion has been reached. The real significance of *Sankthansnatten* in Ibsen's poetry was first pointed out by a Frenchman, J. Lescofier, in the *Revue Germanique* (1905, pp. 298-306). Lescofier's article is very brief and leaves much to be desired in method of treatment, but one of the real contributions he made, was to point out in *Sankthansnatten* the analytic type of dramatic construction,² which was soon to appear again in *Fru Inger til Østraat* (1857) and finally to become the marked characteristic of Ibsen's dramatic technique.

**A somewhat fuller discussion of this subject was presented at the meeting of the Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Study, Chicago, April 23-24, 1915.

¹"I forfatterens udvikling indtager det neppe nogen mere fremtrædende plads end et rent øvelsesarbejde," *Henrik Ibsen*, p. 88.

²Lescofier, p. 300: "Ces détails seraient négligeables si l'on ne voyait Ibsen faire effort pour manier une intrigue compliquée. Il échoue en 1852; il réussira deux ans plus tard dans *Dame Inger*. Dans l'entrevue, il avait appris des Danois et surtout de Scribe l'art d'agencer une fable, et de rejeter dans le passé un secret dont la signification menaçante grandit avec le drame."

But the influence of the Danish Romantic School upon Ibsen's literary ideals in the early 50's has received a rather brief but sound and scholarly treatment by Fredrik Paasche in his article upon *Gildet paa Solhaug* (cf. bibliography) in which he also discusses (pp. 56 f., 66 f.) *Sankthansnatten* with reference to Ibsen's Romantic ideals. Paasche has here undoubtedly hit the truth in many cases where Jæger was at fault. But to Paasche's work should be supplemented, at least in outline, a history of this type of literary persiflage which *Sankthansnatten* represents and its close connection with the early Romantic Movement in Germany. The following article is meant to supply much which Paasche has not given, as well as to emphasize the great importance of connecting the German Romantic Movement with the Danish Romanticists, from whom Ibsen borrowed this type of satirical comedy.

I

No other work reveals, as does *Sankthansnatten*, the struggle of literary ideals through which the young Ibsen was passing up to his stay in Bergen, 1851. Fredrik Paasche points out the similarity between Ibsen's work and Heiberg's *Syvsoverdag* (*Romantiske Komædie i 3 Akter*, 1840) and attributes the close imitation of Heiberg to the fact that Ibsen wrote this work during his stay in Copenhagen in 1852, where he came into personal contact with the Danish poet. Undoubtedly this is the reason why Ibsen imitated in *Sankthansnatten* the general form and structure of Heiberg's *Syvsoverdag* but the impulse to write the comedy must have originated from other convictions than those which Ibsen had derived from the Danish author, for there is sounded in *Sankthansnatten* a deep note of unrest and dissatisfaction with the ideals of Heiberg's school of æsthetic Romanticism.

Literary tradition and Heiberg's personal influence dictated the form of Ibsen's *Sankthansnatten*, but the work itself shows clearly that the author is out of sympathy with a certain phase of Heiberg's Romantic ideals. It is the struggle for reality which here for the first time makes itself evident in Ibsen's dramatic works. Paulsen (the counterpart of *Steier* in *Syvsoverdag*) flouts all the favorite expressions and pet hobbies of the Romanticists, including in his repertoire of terms many expressions characteristic of Welhaven (who was at this time held up as the Norwegian ideal of the Romantic Movement), such as *lindetræer*, *granelier*,

langelek, guldstreng, mollakkorder, etc. That the play also expresses Ibsen's earlier sentiments in his *Andhrimner*-period there can be no doubt. Here³ he often upbraided the Romantics with a lack of real understanding as to the symbolic use of nature, in that they did not actually bring the *flowers, fairies* and other phenomena of nature into a living connection with the soul and life of man; "the characters portrayed were unreal, the nymphs without poetry." Even before the time of the composition of *Sankthansnatten* he was thus strongly impressed with the unreality of Romantic poetry. To be sure he entered fully into the æsthetic appreciation of the beauties of nature, which was the real value of the *Heiberg-Welhaven* type of literature, for Heiberg undoubtedly exerted a very strong and deep influence upon him. In his *Fortale* to *Norma* (*Efterladte Skrifter*, I, 77) he even quotes⁴ Heiberg as a dramatic critic, and actually applies Heiberg's æsthetic criticism to certain phases of dramatic art (*Asylet paa Grønland, Theatret; Efterladte Skrifter*, I, 228-234, I, 243-245). That he had great reverence for the work which Heiberg had done, is evident from his poem to the Danish author at the latter's death in 1860 (*Ved J. L. Heiberg's Død*) in which he extols Heiberg as the spokesman of the North, urging both Danes and Norwegians to carry on the poet's lifework. But Ibsen evidently was opposed to the mere sentimentality of the Heiberg-type which did not connect nature's beauty with the reality of human life. In Norwegian literature, Ibsen was anticipated in this direction by *Botten-Hansen* whose *Huldrebryllupet*, printed in *Andhrimner*, like *Sankthansnatten* sought in the form of a literary persiflage to raise the tone of *true* Romanticism above the *false*. It is this tendency to mistake the vital connection of nature with man and to substitute extravagant and high-sounding language for genuine feeling that the character of Paulsen in *Sankthansnatten* satirizes. Constantly adorning himself with the tinsel of Heiberg's æstheticism he affords a most bitter travesty upon the sacred thesis of the Romantics, who maintained that they were representing in literature the *national*

³ Cf. especially *Andhrimner*, 1851, *Huldrens Hjem*, Samlede Værker, X, p. 326.

⁴ "Stabell er naturligviis Intriguestykkets Helt, han er en af disse ægte dramatiske Charakterer, som Heiberg omtaler, 'som man mere maa gjætte sig til end anskue og omsider ved Stykkets Slutning standse der, hvor man af Begyndelsen at dømme mindst skulde vente der'."

feeling and character. Paulsen is the first caricatured prototype of *Peer Gynt* whom Ibsen later selected as a representative of the Norwegian national character in the 60's. Paulsen's shallowness and egotism, furthermore, foreshadow the ignoble character of *Hjalmar Ekdal*, while his politic adroitness reminds us strongly of the versatile, but worldly *Steensgaard*. Prosaic to his very fingertips he parades himself as an æsthetic connoisseur of the first magnitude. Much that was national and much also that is human is contained in this character whom Ibsen chose as his mouthpiece in protest against the so-called "national" tendency of Norwegian Romanticism during the 50's. The sharp conflict between *Realism* and *Idealism* is foreshadowed here. This conflict grew constantly more intense within Ibsen's breast,—even in *Olaf Liljekrans* (1856) its progress is clearly marked,—until at last we find him as the great searcher for Truth and the founder of the Modern Realistic School of the drama. Paulsen's cynical remarks about theory and practice, love and marriage find stronger expression, as this conflict between *Idealism* and *Realism* progresses, in *Kjærlighedens Komædie* (1862), with which Ibsen was occupied, however, as early as 1858.

When the young couples in *Sankthansnatten* enter the garden for tea, Paulsen with the vision of the Romanticist, converts the garden into a forest, in which the primitive state of man is realized after the fashion of Rousseau. Inspired by the flattering admiration of Juliane and the other disciples of nature-worship, he expounds the soul of his Romantic doctrine. St. John's Eve is to reveal this in its ideal form, viz., *nature* and the *fairy*. In his ever restless longing for love, for a love which should never be fully requitted and thus become eternal, he has selected the *fairy* (*Huldren*) as the most fitting expression of a national character.

ACT I, Sc. 14

Paulsen. Men min Kjærlighed maatte naturligviis være folkelig—jeg valgte det Nationaleste vi har. Kan De gjætte, hvad det er?

Juliane. Det Nationaleste?—Ja, det er en Budeie.

Paulsen. Nei nei, jeg siger Dem—ingen Budeie!—Det er Huldren!

But upon discovering that the fairy has a tail, his æsthetic senses are so shocked that, despite his deep and passionate love, he feels

obliged to renounce⁵ her—for a disciple of Heiberg it would really be improper to admire such an ugly being.

The fairy in *Sankthansnatten* is a travesty upon the Romantic ideal of fairy-lore. We feel that Ibsen is here out of sympathy with the use which the Norwegian Romanticists made of fairy-lore; did this use interpret the Norwegian national sense of folk-tradition?

Johannes Birk and *Jomfru Anne*, who have drunk the magic potion, see the inner significance of the folk-scenes introduced before the company on St. John's Eve. Their sound Romantic vision is in strong contrast with the Philistine attitude of *Paulsen* and *Juliane* who praise only the outward form of the dance and the gestures of the players, exactly that *ydre Skin* of which the other two have lost sight: *nei men jeg havde dog aldrig troet at vore Folkedandse kunde være saa ægte nationale, saa—Vil De bare lægge Mærke til disse Trin, disse Bevægelser*. In the crowd of people depicted in the folk-scene a soldier is present; he bows gracefully to a young girl. Paulsen straightway exclaims enthusiastically that "this pleasant mixture of all classes of people gives the picture its rounded form"; he feels that he has before him the true picture of poetic life. Whereupon *Juliane* replies sympathetically that it is really "a good thing to have a poetic temperament."

ACT II, Sc. 5

Paulsen. Saadan skal det være!—Alle Klasser i en gemytlig Blandning;—først faar Billedet denne—denne afrundede Form, denne—Nei, det er mærkværdigt, hvor jeg finder mig tiltalt; og medens vi sidde her med et aabent Blik for det Digteriske i Livet, saa ligger rimeligviis *Birk* og de *Andre* og sove paa deres grønne Øre, eller drømme en eller anden triviell Drøm—

Juliana. Ak ja, et poetisk Gemyt er en god Ting—det er vist og sandt.

But contrary to Paulsen's surmise, *Birk* and *Anne* are really there and are witnessing not *Liden Karin* og *Bjærgkongen* but "*Young Erik* taking leave of his beloved *Svanhilde*." Thus Paulsen and his sentimental worshipper, *Juliane*, represent an excellent travesty upon the outward show and fantastic bombast of the Norwegian Romanticists.

⁵ Here we are again reminded of *Peer Gynt* who renounced his troll-maiden, when he was obliged to take on the troll's tail which should convert him permanently into a beast.

Before witnessing these folk-scenes, Paulsen with adroit sophistry tried to expound the *raison d'être* of Romantic poetry. Romantic poetry, he says, infuses nature and the fairy with life, thereby converting them into a symbol of deep philosophical and artistic significance in literature.

ACT I, SC. 7

Paulsen. Jeg for min Part betragter nu Nisser og Haugfolk og Sligt som symboliske Begreber, hvormed de gode Hoveder i gamle Dage udtrykte deres Ideer, som de ikke kunde gjengive med den rette videnskabelige Betegning. See, derved bliver nu Naturen saa interessant—saa filosofisk betydningsfuld.—Hvad vare vel Sagnene og Eventyrerne, naar ikke vi, som—som have faaet et poetisk Øje, forstode at lægge noget Betydningsfuldt—noget Filosofisk i dem, som—.

It was exactly this which Ibsen evidently felt the Romanticists were failing to do, just as Paulsen failed to see the inner significance of the folk-scenes on St. John's Eve.

That Ibsen felt this defect, is evident from the effort he made in his own poetry to unite symbol with reality; yet he did not fully succeed. Four years later (1856) *Gildet paa Solhaug* appeared. Here fairy-lore, legend and poetry are interwoven, but this world of fantasy is not made real. *Gudmund* and *Signe* are truly modern characters, who are in fact struggling through a realistic problem in which they merely clothed their thoughts and feelings in the garb of Romantic ballad poetry. We do not feel that they actually believe in these fairy-stories but that such is only the means for expressing their deep and violent passions. In a word, the characters evidently look upon fairy-lore much in the same light as Ibsen did himself, or for that matter as we ourselves do today. Even in *Olaf Liljekrans* (1856), *Olaf* and *Svanhild* awaken with a painful sense of self-consciousness from those beautiful idyls and flights of idealized fantasy in which they had previously indulged; it was all a wonderful dream. Ibsen never succeeded in uniting reality and fancy. Instead, the two forces became more and more irreconcilable. Not until *Brand* (1866) did the first great break come between these two irreconcilable views of life and art, but the undertone of the struggle was heard as early as *Sankthansnatten*. Paulsen certainly sounds this note when he refers to the "demoniacal" power (later travestied in the character of *Molvik*) which has entered his soul and filled his whole being with doubt and discord.

ACT I, SC. 14

Paulsen. Min Oprindelighed, min Primitivitet—mener jeg—var tabt; jeg maatte indtage et negativt Standpunkt ligeoverfor Menneskeheden. Jeg begyndte med at nedlægge min Sjæl i Theaterkritiker og Korrespondentartikler for Provindspressen, som—nok sagt—jeg gik bestandig videre paa denne negative Bane. Lidt efter lidt ansatte der sig inden i mig noget Mørkt, noget Djævlendet—Dæmonisk skulde jeg sagt—noget vist—lad mig kalde det Menneskeforagt, noget Byronsk. Heraf kommer denne Splitelse, denne Disharmoni, som man bemærker i mit Væsen.

All this struggle hearkens back to Ibsen's early days connected with the theater and the press. That bitterness and contempt for common humanity (*noget Mørkt. noget Djævlendet-Menneskeforagt*) which afterwards gave the poet his peculiarly individual stamp, is now finding its first expression. Paulsen's sudden aversion for the *Hulder* is due to his objective, critical attitude which results in his discovery of the tail and thereby in his disillusionment concerning her beauty. We may believe that the same was true of Ibsen, that his struggle for reality and the truth made him see in the fairy something different from the idealizations of Heiberg and the Danish Romanticists. Ibsen reminds us here that a *Hulder* is not the beautiful creature which Paulsen after the fashion of the Danish Romanticists had conceived her to be.

That Ibsen, furthermore, felt that the Romanticists enjoyed undue glory and a slavish admiration simply by reason of emphasizing the element of sentimentality and unreality is evident from Jørgen's remark concerning Paulsen, whom he knows to be a poet of the deepest Romantic dye, steeped in fairy-lore and sentiment.

ACT I, SC. 5

Jørgen. Ja vel er han Digter, og det en ægte Digter—mørk og vild han er især stærk i det Nationale. . . . Rigtig nok har han ikke offentliggjort Noget endnu, men Alle ere enige i, at det vil blive noget Udmærket, naar det først kommer.

The only recommendation necessary for a work was to be assured that it was a product characteristic of the prevailing Romantic ideals.

As early as 1850 in his poem *Til Norges Skjalde*, Ibsen gave expression to his dissatisfaction with the use which the Norwegian poets made of remote antiquity. As Paasche points out (*Gildet paa Solhaug*, p. 52), he did not here attack the Romantic Movement as a

whole, but objected simply to the fact that Romantic ideals were not brought into living contact with the present, a criticism in keeping with his many articles in *Andhrimner* directed against the mistaken notion as to the connection of nature and fairy-lore with the realities of life. In this poem of 1850 he appeals to the poets to lay aside the ruined remains of the dead past and devote their song to the living people of the present, who demand of the poet's inspiration an interpretation of their own joy, sorrow and longing.

Hvi sværme I, Skjalde! For Fortidens Fjerne,
 For skrinlagte Old med de smuldrende Minder,—
 Et Billed saa mat som den Lysning der rinder
 I dæmrende Nat fra en Skysløret Stjerne?⁶—
 —Er ikke den Gnist som I eie da kun
 En Gave jer skjænket til Nytte for Folket,
 Der kræver af Skjaldens begeistrede Mund
 Sin Smærte, sin Lyst og sin Længsel fortolket.

The last verse of this poem certainly does not indicate, as Jæger⁶ thought, that Ibsen was opposed to the direction which Welhaven had given to Norwegian literature.

O, fagre Gestalter i Nuet jo vinke
 Fra Dalen, fra Fjeldet, fra Vinter og Sommer,
 Ha, see I ei skatten saa glimrende blinke,
 —En Folkelivsdigtning med deilige Blommer!

The whole tone of this verse is a glorification rather than a denunciation of Welhaven's ideals. Ibsen was never opposed to the æsthetic appreciation of nature but as time went on, he began to feel more and more that the Romanticists failed to establish a living connection between nature and human life. His articles in *Andhrimner* and his travesty upon the Romantic conception of nature and of the fairy in this lyrical polemic *Sankthansnatten*, showed him to feel that the high-sounding language and extravagant sentiment connected with nature worship could not unite nature with the reality of life with which the human heart is ever struggling. The Romanticists were substituting show and bombast for real feeling; they were holding up the tinsel for the pure gold. Although in the poem, *Til Norges Skjalde* (1850), Ibsen refers to nature as *en Folkelivsdigtning*, that which in other words he feels to be the only fit theme for national poetry, yet the method of

⁶ Jæger, p. 51: "Forøvrigt staar Ibsen uberørt af retningen, ja han stiller sig endog med fuld bevidsthed i et modsætningsforhold til den."

treatment which nature received at the hands of the Romanticists led him in *Sankthansnatten* (1852) to hold up to ridicule "the most national we have." The fairy-hob-goblin world is not, as with Welhaven, a world of delicious, bewildering fantasy but proves upon examination to be a deception like Paulsen's *Hulder* with her ugly animal tail.

As early as *Sankthansnatten* he seems to me to be seeking a solution for the national literary expression different from those conceptions which he found in Welhaven and Heiberg, although he is still enthralled with the beauty of their creations. This beauty he acknowledges, for he himself continues to use the legend and lore of ballad poetry with all its alluring charm. Even before the time of *Catiline* he had said in a theatrical critique regarding the true function of a national poet: "A *National Writer* is one who gives his work a predominant note which finds an echo in every mountain and valley, every cliff and strand, and above all in *Ourselves*." Ibsen undoubtedly felt himself to be a national poet but evidently "the predominant note" of the Heiberg-Welhaven Romantic School did not now find its echo within him. He must turn elsewhere in search of it. He must have been impressed with the fact that this type of poetry did not express the reality of life, for he strove for a time to connect legend and nature with reality by introducing his characters into the realistic problems of life. Failing in this he was driven into another phase of the Romantic Movement (viz., the *Viking drama*), which had temporarily been suppressed by his greater interest in nature and fairy-lore but which now more nearly approached his realistic conception of life and his ideal expression of the Norwegian National spirit. But before analyzing this new phase of literary activity upon his part, it may be well first to consider the outward as well as the inward causes which led up to his interest and activity in the Saga-literature.

The realistic tendency in literature had been in the 50's constantly gaining ground upon the Continent. The new School was gaining headway in Germany under the leadership of Pole Dawson in Dresden. In Copenhagen Høedt was laboring in the same direction. Høedt, to be sure, still emphasized *nature* and Dawson *feeling* as the soul of poetry but they both struggled against the unreal and declamatory in the Romantic School. When Ibsen visited Copenhagen in 1852 he saw both Høedt and Dawson play Hamlet, and Høedt he also had the pleasure of seeing in

Scribe's comedy, *La Bataille des Dames*. All this must have affected Ibsen's literary ideals.

But more than this was the influence of the Norwegian Scientific Renaissance which had rapidly been gathering force in the 50's. The Norwegian nation was awakening to a proud self-consciousness and was seeking to express itself.

As is well known, *P. A. Munch* and *R. Keyser* were establishing the significance of Norway's past history and of Old Norse literature, upon which the Danish Romantic School looked with scornful and envious eyes. "*Munch's* navn nævnes i almindelighed ikke med kjærlighed i Danmark," said Ibsen at Munch's grave, June 12, 1865. Norway was, in fact, instead of Denmark, becoming the center of Scandinavian interest. Then there was the epoch-making work of Ivar Aasen in a linguistic way and of Asbjørnson, Moe and Landstad for the folk-tradition.

In 1857, Ibsen endeavored to Norwegianize the language of *Fjeldfuglen*, a Romantic opera remodeled after *Olaf Liljekrans*. That he later in *Peer Gynt* satirized the *landsmaal* in the ridiculous figure of the *Huhu* does not prove that Ibsen was out of sympathy with the work of Ivar Aasen, toward whom he looked with great reverence—he refers to him, for example, (X, 496) as "*vor store autoritet*"—, but that he believed, as did *Biørnson*, that the adoption of the *landsmaal* as the official tongue and the gradual remoulding of the Norwegian language in the direction of native tendencies were two entirely different things.⁷ Ibsen's orthography and vocabulary give ample evidence of this, in that they were gradually becoming more and more Norwegian. In fact, he had constant reference to Aasen's Dialect Dictionary, which he kept continually at hand during his first stay in Italy. But the extravagant pretensions of the "*Maalstrævere*" that the Old Norse tongue could be revived in the form of a national dialect was in his eyes an ultra-national and ridiculous fanaticism. Even as early as 1852, Ibsen made evident reference to this in *Sankthansnatten* where he introduces Paulsen⁸ as the founder of the "*Society for the Restitution of the Old Norse Tongue*."

⁷ For this whole question compare Dr. Seip's article "Henrik Ibsen og K. Knudsen." *Edda* I. pp. 145-163.

⁸ Dr. Seip suggests (ibidem, p. 145, footnote 2) that the prototype of Paulsen in this passage is *Knud Knudsen*, who in the fall of 1852 became the founder and president of "the Linguistic Society" (*Sprogforeningen*). This society grew out of *Studentersamfundet*, whose aim at first was purely literary.

ACT I, SC. 5

Jørgen.—Du kjender ham vist af Bladene, Juliane! Det er Kritikeren Julian Paulsen—han er meget bekjendt derinde i Christiania. Det er ham som er Stifteren af *Selskabet til Nørønaltungens Restitution*.

But the tendency to nationalize the Norwegian language in the direction which Ivar Aasen had indicated was accepted by Ibsen as one of the tenets of the Norwegian Romantic faith. It was a mark which distinguished the language of Norway from that of Denmark and which was in keeping with the spirit of national individuality.

Asbjørnsen, Moe and *Landstad* had revealed to the world that the Norwegian people were not—as the preceding generation had believed—destitute of a folk-tradition, which was of as highly poetical, historical and artistic worth as that of Denmark or of any other nation. Though still within the fetters that literary tradition had laid upon him, Ibsen showed even in the 50's that "the national" was finding expression within him. Even in *Sankthansnatten* the folk-songs, introduced after the manner Heiberg's *Synsoverdag* (*Konning Volmer drager af Sted paa Jagt*), are chiefly taken from Norwegian sources (cf. Paasche, p. 16f.). In the same year (1850) *Rypen i Justedal* was modeled after Faye's *Justedalsrypen* and in *Gildet paa Solhaug* (1856) his folk-songs are almost entirely founded upon Landstad's famous collection of 1853. In 1857 in his celebrated essay upon ballad poetry, *Kjæmpevisen og dens Betydning for Kunstpoesien* Ibsen, in his enthusiasm, went so far as to maintain not only that of all types of literature the heroic ballad was the most suitable for dramatic purposes, but that Norwegian ballad-poetry in particular bore a more archaic stamp than did the Danish or the Swedish and for that reason was the most characteristic of the ancient Norse. He afterwards made a collection of Norwegian folk-legends,⁹ traveling about continually in Norway; in 1857 he took a trip up over Valdres and in 1862 made a more extensive journey through Western Norway.

Ibsen was seeking an expression for "the national" which he did not find in his Danish models; the Norwegian background was gradually forcing its way up through the maze of Danish folk-lore

⁹ Four of these legends (X, 474-480), taken down by Ibsen from the lips of the peasants, are still preserved.

and Danish literary tradition. The scientific search into Norway's past and the revelation of her national worth began to supply for him more of a national reality than did Heiberg's æstheticism or Welhaven's fairy-lore and prepared the way for a change in the direction of the Saga-literature.

As early as 1849-50 in his Grimstad days, Ibsen was at work upon a Viking drama, called *Olaf Trygvesson* (Breve I, II, pp. 58-59) and also wrote a little one-act play of the same nature, entitled *Normannerne*, which in the next year (1850) he developed further into *Kjæmpehøien* in close imitation of Oehlenschläger. This was again revised in 1854 when he introduced it to the Norwegian theater at Bergen. But his interest in the Viking drama seems to have been temporarily thrust into the background by his still greater interest in folk-lore and ballad-poetry—we note this in his verses to the Norwegian poets, *Til Norge's Skjalde* (1850), in which he admonishes them to lay aside the smouldering remains of the past and devote their gifts to *interpreting nature*—until his increasing dissatisfaction with Heiberg's æsthetic ideals and his struggle for reality and national expression called forth again the saga-literature as an expression of the new national consciousness.

The Viking drama offered material for a much more realistic treatment than did ballad-poetry. The saga was a preëminently Icelandic production and thus the particular pride of Norway. Written in prose it gave opportunity for a clear, straightforward and objective treatment in the drama. In fact, Ibsen's marvelous dramatic talent first comes to light in the effective, laconic style and straightforward treatment which he gave the Viking drama. Here he found greater room for character delineation and for the expression of the deepest passions of the human heart. *Hjørdis* and *Dagny*, *Haakon* and *Skule*, *Fru Inger* and *Nils Lykke* become the representatives of modern men and women, whose passions and weaknesses foreshadow the long line of figures who later are depicted in the light of the living world of today. In the Viking drama Ibsen approaches his later realism by virtue of his character delineation, his objective treatment and pithy, laconic style which made his work, although modeled after Oehlenschläger, distinctly superior to the bombast, verbosity and Romantic character of the Vikings in the Danish drama. The national tone of *Hærmændene* or of *Mellem Slagene* affords the strongest possible

contrast to Paulsen's *Hulder*, whom Paulsen tells us he loves as the *most distinctively national thing* in existence, bestowed upon him by the Norwegian nation in a collection of national fairy stories as a sort of food for his Heiberg-aesthetic nature to feed upon: "*det er Huldren,—det Nationaleste vi har.*" We may safely assume that Ibsen felt it was certainly not "*det Nationaleste vi har,*" although at this time he was unable to substitute anything better. Thus even as early as 1852, it is evident that Ibsen was not in full sympathy with the Heiberg-Welhaven ideals, though he was still under their influence. The *Hulder* could not symbolize to Ibsen all that it did to Heiberg and his followers. His struggle for *reality* and *national expression* accounts for what Jäger¹⁰ calls in *Sankthansnatten* "a curious mixture of Realism and National Romanticism without a sure foothold either in Reality or in Romanticism." *Sankthansnatten* thus affords, as do all of Ibsen's works, an expression of the author's literary development and ideals. His early struggle through the 50's in the direction of Norwegian Nationalism, growing out of the Danish Romantic School, finds expression in this little lyrical polemic, which, despite its form, is radically different in tone from its Danish prototype. The question of Norwegian nationalism was one of the most vital problems with which Ibsen struggled. Later in 1866-67 it received literary expression in his great poetic dramas, *Brand* and *Peer Gynt*. In spite of the opposite standpoint from which Ibsen viewed this question in these two works, nevertheless the question at issue was fundamentally the same.¹¹ Here again Ibsen found, as in Paulsen's *Hulder*, that "the most national we have" was far below the idealized conception which he had cherished of the Norwegian nation; a cowardly, self-satisfied isolation, an inability to put into action the heroic ideals of their Norse forefathers, and an egotistical conviction of an inherent national superiority. As a national poet Ibsen felt "the call" to express the great gap between idealized sentimentality such as the Norwegians cherished towards their valient Viking ancestors and the

¹⁰ Jäger, p. 86: "Alle de ydre nationaler attributter, som tiden satte saa stor pris paa, var i hans øjne kun udenpaahængt flitterstas. Men som digter var han endnu ikke istand til at gennemføre dette standpunkt og derfor blev den første dramatiske frugt af den nationale bevægelses indflydelse paa ham en underlig blandning af realisme og national romantik uden sikkert fodfæste hverken i virkeligheden eller romantiken."

¹¹ Compare Christian Collin, Ibsen's "*Peer Gynt*", *Samtiden*, 1913, pp. 593-613.

actual type of men and women in Norway in the 60's with their weak will and pusillanimous, egotistical character. Early in the 50's he saw too that there was a difference between the *Hulder* and Heiberg's æsthetic effusions on the one hand, and national character and the reality of life on the other. The great struggle of his life for truth, reality, art and the literary expression of the national character thus finds its first dramatic expression in *Sankthansnatten*.

II

Johan Ludvig Heiberg (1791-1860), the author of *Syvsoverdag* after which Ibsen modeled his *Sankthansnatten*, was the most efficient writer of the *Vaudeville Comedy* in Denmark; in fact, his careful study and masterful productions of this type of literary study raised him to the position of the highest importance for the Danish stage. The *Vaudeville* (*Opéra-Comique*) was of French origin, which Heiberg had the opportunity to study at first hand during his sojourn in Paris. It consisted of a sort of fusion between the *Opera* and the *Comedy* and often served, in its capacity as a mock tragedy, as a very effective literary form for the expression of satire and caricature. It was imitated extensively in Germany, especially by *Tieck* and the young *Goethe* (cf. *Erwin and Elmire*, *Claudine von Villa Bella*) in the so-called "*Singspiel*." Heiberg defended its use and its significance in particular for the Danish stage in his celebrated essay (1826): "*Om Vaudeville som dramatisk Digart og om dens Betydning paa den danske Skueplads*." The loose form and hocus-pocus character of the play with its confused arrangement of events gave it a plebeian stamp to which many took offense. Heiberg, however, endeavored to give it a dignified place upon the Danish stage, thereby continuing the *Holberg-comedy*, of which the Danish nation was justly proud. Under Heiberg, too, the satirical farce in general gained great headway. The satirical trend of the Danish *Vaudeville* (*Syngespil*) had already been anticipated by *Oehlenschläger* in his satirical comedy, *Sankthansaften-Spil* (1802). Upon the title page of this play, which appeared in a volume of miscellaneous productions under the general title of *Digte*, *Oehlenschläger* dedicates his work in *Goethe's* well known words:

Was ich irrte, was ich strebte,
was ich litt und was ich lebte—
sind hier Blumen nur im Strauss'
Gothe.

Oehlenschläger belonged in part to the German Romantic Movement¹² and was influenced especially by Goethe with whom he afterwards came into close personal contact. Goethe's early satirical comedies undoubtedly furnished Oehlenschläger the form and many individual features of *Sankthansaften-Spil*. A general comparison of *Sankthansaften-Spil* with Goethe's satirical comedies will suffice in order to show Oehlenschläger's indebtedness to the former, without going into individual details. In *Das Jahrmarktsfest zu Plundersweilern* and in *Pater Brey*, both modeled after the fashion of Hans Sachs' "*Fastnachtspiele*," Goethe satirizes the vain sentimentality of *Leuchsenring* and the *Darmstädter Kreis*, who were literally *durchtränkt von Georg Jacobi's süsser Milch und Klopstockischem Tränenwasser* (Bielschowsky, Goethe, I, 148). In his *Triumph der Empfindsamkeit* he again satirizes the unreal sentiment in the Romantic Movement. Oehlenschläger, after the same fashion of the *Fastnachtspiel*, takes occasion in *Sankthansaften-Spil* to satirize the Rationalistic opponents of the Romantic School; defending the new Movement which glorifies nature and freedom from literary constraint, among whose exponents he mentions especially *Shakespeare*, the *Schlegels*, *Tieck*, and *Goethe*. The general form of the play suggests Goethe's *Das Jahrmarktsfest zu Plundersweilern*. Tieck's satirical comedies also show an influence upon Oehlenschläger's play. Like *Tieck* in his *Der Gestiefelte Kater*, Oehlenschläger holds up to ridicule the superficial *Rührstücke* of *Iffland* and *Kotzebue*, which had afflicted the Danish as well as the German stage, by introducing a puppet-show after the fashion of the *Bürgerliches Trauerspiel*.

Heiberg, too, entered with great vigor into the literary strife of his day and in his satirical comedies (cf. especially *En Sjel efter Døden*, Nye Digte, 1841) launched many a philippic against Oehlenschläger, Ingemann, Grundtvig and others. His *Julespøg og Nytaarsløjer* (1816), which he styled as "a continuation of Oehlenschläger's *Sankthansaften-Spil*," is written precisely after the fashion of Goethe or Tieck. His *Syvsøverdag* (1840), a Romantic comedy written in imitation of the French Vaudeville, was not essentially a satirical farce, being in reality only a *Gelegenheds-gedicht* in honor of the Royal House of Kristian VIII, but its form was nevertheless practically the same as that of a satirical farce,

¹² Cf. W. K. Stewart, *Oehlenschläger's Relation to German Romanticism*. Pub. of the Soc. for the Advancement of Scan. Study, Vol. II, No. 1.

such as, for instance, Oehlenschläger had employed in his *Sankthansaften-Spil* or Hostrup¹³ in his *Student Comedies*. In all these there is the loose arrangement and farcical tone characteristic of the comedy; in fact the *Syngespil* itself was only a type of musical comedy.

When Ibsen wrote his *Sankthansnatten* (1852) the form of the work was suggested by Heiberg's *Synsoverdag*, but out of this type of Vaudeville comedy he fashioned a satirical polemic directed against the Heiberg-Welhaven æsthetic ideals concerning the Romantic fairy and nature-worship, much in the same manner as Oehlenschläger in his *Sankthansaften-Spil* had done towards the opponents of the Romantic School, or as Heiberg himself had done in his *Julespøg* og *Nytaarsløje* towards Ingemann's poetry. Oehlenschläger's influence upon the Romanticist Ibsen is too well known to deserve special comment. It may be safely assumed that Ibsen was acquainted with Oehlenschläger's *Sankthansaften-Spil* (as the titles of the two works suggest), as well as with his extensive productions connected with the saga-literature and Viking drama. Indeed, there is one passage in Ibsen's work which may have had its origin in Oehlenschläger's *Sankthansaften-Spil*.

Here Maria, the young sentimental maiden, has fallen in love in true Romantic fashion, but she has been cruelly forbidden by her mother any intercourse with her idealized lover. Filled with longing for her lover and overcome by grief she gives vent to her feelings in the tragic song of *Thekla* (Schiller's *Wallenstein, Picc.* III, 7), for whom, when love was gone, life had lost its real content:

Ak, Hiertet er dødt, og hvorhen hun seer,
Er Intet, Intet at ønske meer.
"Du Hellige! Kald da dit Barn til dit Bryst:
Mig har jo alt henrykt den jordiske Lyst,
Jeg har jo alt elsket og levet."

With her lover's picture in her hand, she laments like *Thekla* (*Wallenstein's Tod*, IV, 12) the intervention of that cold and unfeeling hand of Fate which separates two loving hearts.

¹³ In Hostrup's *Mester og Lærling* (1851-52) a despised poet seeks his ideal exactly as does Paulsen in *Sankthansnatten*. Here too the motif of the magic salve appears.

"En grusom Skiebne, Kold som Jern, sit Gitter
I mellem tvende unge Hierter trænger,
Hvem Himlens Harmonier sammenslynger."

"Da kommt das Schicksal—roh und kalt
Fast es des Freundes zärtliche Gestalt, etc.

Thekla is here held up as the ideal of womanly love. Her unselfish devotion and ideal character serve as a model for a young woman's heart to follow, while her tragic fate elicits the sympathy of all true lovers. The Romanticists could hardly have chosen a more classic example of true love. Maria cherishes this ideal which gives her Romantic temperament the full expression of what her heart feels. Thekla becomes thus a high-sounding, tragic name of which Ibsen likewise makes use in his *Sankthansnatten*. When Fru Berg mentions her intention to tear down the log cabin which has stood for generations on her estate, Juliane, for whom everything has a sentimental reminiscence, takes serious objection. For her the old log cabin means a world of Romantic fantasy, where hob-goblins play and where perhaps some beautiful, young maiden has dwelt *with an ideal name like Thekla or Linda* (here she makes an alternative which adds to the force of the parody since *Linda* is a common Swedish name—Juliane had been reading Swedish novels).

ACT I, SC. I

Juliane. Ja, men Moder! det vilde dog været Synd; den gamle Bjælkestue minder mig saa levende om Prestegaardene i de Svenske Romaner; der findes ogsaa gjerne en eller anden Nisse, som gaar igjen fra gamle Dage, og en smuk ung Pige med et idealsk Navn, som *Thekla* eller *Linda* eller noget Sligt—uf, hvor det er kjeldeligt, at jeg skal hedde Juliane!—det er saa almindeligt, saa—

The Satirical Comedy, as well as nearly all the features of the Danish Romantic Movement, had its origin in the German Romantic School. *Oehlenschläger*, *Steffens*, *Ingemann* and others stood for a time in the closest personal relation to *Goethe*, *Tieck*, *Schleiermacher* and the *Schlegels*. The form and content of the Danish suggest much that is found in the German Satirical comedy, such as *Goethe's Satyros*, *Das Jahrmachtsfest zu Plundersweilen*, *Pater Brey*, *Der Triumph der Empfindsamkeit*, *Götter*, *Helden und Wieland*, or as *Tieck's Prinz Zerbino*, *Der Gestiefelte Kater*, etc. The satirical comedy in Denmark after *Oehlenschläger* gained great headway under *Heiberg* who attached to it a greater literary

importance than Oehlenschläger did. Heiberg's constant and bitter literary feuds no doubt furnished him an additional impulse. Thus Ibsen found in Heiberg's *Syvsoverdag* the traditional form for a satirical polemic, but his literary ideals even at this early date (1852) were nevertheless at variance with the prevailing taste of Heiberg and the Danish Romantic School. The Vaudeville-hocus-pocus character of *Sankthansnatten* is the outgrowth of Danish literary tradition which in turn owes its existence not only to France (the Opéra Comique) but also to the satirical farce of the German Romantic School. In this regard Oehlenschläger's *Sankthansaften-spil* and his close relation in general with *Tieck* and *Goethe*, as well as Heiberg's imitation of these two German Romanticists cannot be overlooked.

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BEGINNING THE BOARD IN PRUSSIA

The passage which has been oftenest relied upon to illustrate Chaucer's *Prol.* 52 is from Book 8 of Gower's *Confessio Amantis* (711-721), which was first quoted to this effect by Warton, *Hist. Eng. Poet.* (ed. 1775, 1. 448, note 3; ed. 1871, 2. 373, note 6). In Macaulay's edition of Gower (3. 405) the passage runs:

At souper time natheles
The king amidde al the pres
Let clepe him up among hem alle,
And bad his mareschall of halle
To setten him in such degre
That he upon him myhte se.
The king was sone set and served,
And he, which hath his pris deserved
After the kinges oghne word,
Was mad *beginne a middel bord*,
That bothe king and queene him sihe.

Line 720 is interpreted by Warton to mean: "He was seated in the middle of the table, a place of distinction and dignity"; Macaulay's note is: "'Ingressus Apollonius in triclinium, contra regem adsignato loco discubuit.' Gower apparently sets him at the head of the second table." After the quotation of the Latin original, it is hardly necessary to say that Gower's rather non-sensical interpretation hardly serves to define the phrase as well as one could wish. To Gower's line Skeat, in his note, adds *Sir Beves*, of which one text (ca. 1450) has (ed. 1887, 1955-7):

Palmer, thou semest best to me,
Therefore men shal worshyp the;
Begyn the borde, I the pray.

A parallel phrase is *begin the dais*. Under *dais* the *New Eng. Dict.* quotes from another text (ca. 1320) of *Sir Beves* (2122-3):

þow schelt þis dai be priour
And *beginne cure deis*;

similarly Skeat, as above. Other quotations under *dais* are from *Sir Tryamour* (ca. 1430) and *Partonope* (ca. 1440). Under *begin*, the line from *Sir Tryamour* is again found, and, from the *Festivall* (1493): "They sholde bere them to *hym that began the table*" [at Cana; John 2. 8].

No one seems ever to have employed as a parallel the following lines (554-8; cf. Matt. 23. 6) from *Piers the Plowman's Creed* (ca. 1394):

And but freres ben first yset at sopers and at festes,
 þei wiln ben wonderly wroþ, ywis, as Y trowe;
 But þey ben at þe lordes borde, louren þey willeþ:
 He mot *bygynne þat borde*, a beggere—wiþ sorwe!—
 And first sitten in se in her synagoges.

All of these illustrations, however, are rather lexical than historical. They show what it was to begin the board, but not what it was to begin the board

Aboven alle naciouns in Pruce.

The particular board to which Chaucer refers is the "table of honor," established by the Teutonic Order to attract distinguished knights from foreign lands to their service. The date of its institution is unknown,¹ but in 1377 it was no longer new (see page 380, below).

The best contemporary descriptions of the "table of honor" are two in number. The first forms part of an accusation brought by a Polish procurator in 1415 against the Teutonic Order, in which he charged it with heresy. The document comprises ninety-nine specific charges in Latin, of which the seventeenth relates to the device of the "table of honor." A somewhat condensed translation of this article,² or section, is as follows:³

¹ As early as 1255, according to one account (Voigt, *Gesch. Preussens* 5.718).

² The original is printed in *Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum* 3.619, note 3, from MS Fol. A. 144 (formerly Fol. G) of the provincial archives of Königsberg, fol. 148 ff. It is also reproduced, at somewhat less length, in Voigt, *Gesch. Preussens* 5.713-4.

³ The Latin runs: "Item videntes dicti fratres, sua cupiditate heretici excecati, quod ex tali frequentia Christifidelium et concursu ad eos supradicto multa eis lucra crescerent et comoda sequebantur, cupientes nova quadam arte, licet sub dolo vana et iniqua, huiusmodi hospites ad se pro milicia confluentes forcius sibi allicere, certis ad hoc apud se statutis temporibus proclamabant et proclamari faciebant, ad certum tempus, quod eis pro resa huiusmodi facienda aptius videbatur, *mensam honoris* sic vocatam, in vulgari Theutunico *eretysche*, pro advenientibus ad eos esse [MS se] facturam, missis super hoc quandoque suis literis regibus ac principibus [MS principijs], et aliis dominis et personis majoris status Christianis.

Cuius quidem mense honoris taliter appellate, licet per dictorum fratrum vanitatem adinvente, mos erat et est talis quod, prandio pro aliquot personis et hospitibus huiusmodi—puta pro decem, vel pro duodecim, vel in alio paucio numero—per eosdem fratres solempniter preparato, duntaxat ille persone ex militibus [MS milibus] electe per aroldos ibidem presentes ad predictam mensam locabantur, que persone testimonio eorundem aroldorum plures mundi partes causa milicie peragrarunt, et in pluribus alijs [MS et alijs] partibus vise sunt

In order to attract to themselves more powerfully the foreigners who poured in to show their prowess, they caused proclamation to be made at fixed times that they would, at a certain date, such as seemed to them most convenient for undertaking such an inroad, set up a so-called *table of honor*, known in German as *erelysche*, for those who should come to them; and sent letters to this effect to Christian kings and princes, and other lords and persons of high rank.

Now the custom was and is, with respect to this so-called table of honor devised by the vanity of the said friars, that, the said friars having prepared a solemn banquet for a certain number of such persons and guests, say for ten or twelve, or some other small number, only those persons who were selected from the knights by the heralds there present were assigned to places at the aforesaid table, these persons being such as, by the testimony of the heralds,⁴ had traversed various parts of the world as errant knights, and had been seen by the heralds in various other regions; and, according as one individual from the number of these knights and persons seemed to surpass another in this respect, the places about the table were assigned and given. Those who were thus placed regarded it as a great honor to themselves, and it was so regarded by others.

Hence the soldiery of various Christian regions of the world, of all ranks, came in great numbers to gain this special honor; and there were those who, as some assert, having sold their estates or burdened themselves with debt, streamed into Prussia to the said brethren in order to engage in war, and, awaiting the said forays for one or several months, lost the great sums which they expended among the brethren. And thus the said brethren, by this their craft and cunning, drew gold and silver from them, for the most part under the pretext of fair dealing, that is, through the agency of persons who furnished them food in return for money. This was and is a truth public and notorious.

per arollos; et, secundum quod de eisdem militibus et personis unus alium in hoc excedere videbatur, secundum illum [MS et in alium (Voigt, secundum alium)] eciam ordinem loca eis distribuebantur circa illam mensam et dabantur. Illique, sic locati, ad magnum honorem sibi reputabant, prout eciam ab aliis erat solitum reputari.

"Quodque ideo ad consequendum specialiter hunc honorem, in magna multitudine diversi status milicia de diversis mundi partibus Christianis, de quibus quandoque aliqui, ut a nonnullis asseritur, venditis domi possessionibus propriis, et quandoque in pecuniis obligatis, ad Prussiam et ad dictos fratres pro milicia confluebant, ubi et apud quos fratres quandoque per mensem et per menses exspectando dictas resas, et suas pecunias apud eos expendendo, magnos pecuniarum thesauros ibidem dimittebant. Sicque dicti fratres, hac ipsorum calida astucia et calidate astuta, aurum et argentum taliter ab eis extrahebant, plerumque eciam sub velamine honestatis, videlicet per personas intermedias eisdem pro pecuniis victualia ministrando. Itaque fuit et est verum publicum et notorium."

⁴Froissart, at the opening of his Preface, speaks of the information which he has obtained from "valiant knights and *marshals-at-arms*, who are, and rightly should be, the investigators and reporters of such matters."

The other contemporary description is by Peter Suchenwirt, herald, or king-of-arms, and wandering minstrel, who flourished in the latter part of the fourteenth century, and whose poems were edited by Alois Primisser at Vienna in 1827.⁵ The poem in question (No. IV), *Von Hertzog Albrechts Ritterschaft*, is reprinted by Bobertag, *Erzählende Dichtungen des Späteren Mittelalters (Deutsche National-Litteratur)*, pp. 103-120. The lines particularly in point are 148-160 (see below, p. 380). The following translation is variously condensed, according to the bearing of the different parts of the poem upon the passage in Chaucer. As the condition of Lithuania in that period is not generally understood (though its topography has been illustrated, and its undying enmities revived, in the course of the present war), nor perhaps the state of the Teutonic Order near the end of the fourteenth century, I have appended footnotes illustrative of points touched upon in the text. Perhaps no apology is needed for drawing upon a work of fiction like Sienkiewicz's *Knights of the Cross*, when one considers how carefully his historical novels are wrought out.

Suchenwirt's poem runs:

[1-50] In the year 1377, Duke Albert [III] of Austria [1348-1395] set out to achieve knighthood. With him rode many a noble knight and squire, besides fifty picked men of lower degree, all bound for Prussia. In the number were five proud and high-spirited counts, who, for the sake of God, of honor, and of chivalrous emprise, spared neither their persons nor their goods—Count Hansen of Magdeburg, Count Haug of Montfort, and Count Hermann of Cilli, with his son and cousin. During their encampment at Vienna, before setting out for Lan on the Thaya, they feasted one another richly. So splendid were their steeds and their apparel that knights and ladies said of them that there never had been seen such a number of warriors so well armed and mounted as they. [51-100] When they reached Breslau, the Duke invited to his quarters lovely ladies, who decked themselves against the festal season as May adorns meadow and forest. There with jesting, dancing, and laughing, they made merry for the guests. At Thorn in Prussia fair ladies were again entertained; bright were they of cheek and lip, and well beseemed them the pearls, and girdles, and clasps, and coronals they wore. Anon the band rode forth to Marienburg,⁶

⁵ See Warton, *Hist. Eng. Poet.*, ed. 1871, 2. 289, note 3; Gervinus, *Gesch. der Deutschen Dichtung*, 5th ed., 2. 387 ff.

⁶ Sienkiewicz, *Knights of the Cross*, tr. Curtin, 2. 219, 222-3, 233: "Already from afar, in sailing down the Nogat, the knights saw the mighty bastions standing out against the sky. The day was bright and clear, so they could see them perfectly; and after some time, when the barges had approached, the points of the church gleamed still more on the lofty castle and the gigantic walls, towering some above others, partly in red brick, but mainly covered with

where abode Winrich of Kniprode, the Grand Master, and where they enjoyed lavish hospitality.⁷ Thence they made their way to Königsberg,⁸ where each

that celebrated gray-white coating which only masons of the Order had the skill to fabricate. The immensity of the walls surpassed every structure which the Polish knights had seen in their lives thus far. It might seem that edifice grew there on edifice, creating in that place, low by nature, as it were a mountain, the summit of which was the High Castle, the sides the Middle and the First Castle. . . .

"There were inexhaustible supplies of wood laid away in piles as large as houses, heaps of stone cannon-balls standing up like pyramids, cemeteries, hospitals, and magazines. Somewhat aside, near a lake in the centre, were the mighty red walls of the 'Temple'; that is, an immense storehouse, with an eating-hall for mercenaries and servants. At the north wall were to be seen other stables for the horses of knights, and for choice steeds of the Master. At the opposite side of the quadrangle were dwellings for various managers and officials of the Order; again storehouses, granaries, bakeries, rooms for clothing, foundries, a great arsenal, prisons, the old cannon foundry—each building so strong and so fortified that in each it was possible to make a stand as in a separate fortress, and all were surrounded by a wall, and by a crowd of tremendous bastions; outside the wall was a moat; outside the moat a circle of great palisades; beyond the palisades, on the west, rolled the yellow waves of the Nogat. On the north and west gleamed the surface of a broad lake, and on the south towered up the still more strongly fortified Middle and High Castles.

"A most terrible nest, which had an expression of immense strength, and in which were joined the two greatest powers known to man in that century—the power of the Church and the power of the sword. Whoso resisted the first was cut down by the second. Whoso lifted an arm against both, against him rose a shout through all Christendom, that he had raised that arm against the Cross of the Saviour. And straightway knights rushed together from all lands to give aid. . . .

"In the church there are ornaments in the Arabic style [the Knights said that they had learned that style from the Saracens in Sicily]; and in the castles are special rooms on pillars which stand alone, or in clusters."

⁷ Sienkiewicz thus describes the hospitality of a somewhat latter time (2. 237): "Some of them, accustomed to refined amusements at the polished courts of western Europe, took away ideas not entirely favorable concerning the manners of the Knights in Malborg [Marienburg]; for at that feast there was an orchestra noisy beyond measure, there were rude songs of 'playmen,' rough jests of buffoons, and dances of barefooted maidens. And when guests wondered at the presence of women in the High Castle, it was said that the prohibition had been removed long before, and that the great Winrich Kniprode [Grand Master 1351-1382] himself had danced in his day there with the beautiful Maria von Alfleben. The brothers explained that women not only lived in the Castle, but came to feast in the refectory, and that the past year Prince Vitold's wife, who lodged in the old armory of the First Castle, had appeared every day in

nobleman emptied his sack in feasting the others. [101-150] But the Duke's banquet excelled all the rest. Before each course was heard the sound of trumpets and pipes. Of viands there was no lack; for one course alone were served baked meats and roast, spiced and gilded. With these went wine of Italy, of Hungary, and of Istria, served in vessels of gold, silver, and precious stones. Before the meal was ended, the Duke, of his bounty, had gold and silver borne in and bestowed upon two knights and one squire, each the best of his own land according to the law of arms, and one whom reproach had never sullied. The three were Henry of Bruchdorf, from Holstein, Sir Berchtold of Buchenau, from Buchen, and the third—the squire—Siegfried Forster, from Poland. Nor were heralds and minstrels without some taste of the lord's bounty. "Largesse!" they joyfully cried; and—the truth to tell—my share still rejoices my heart.

After ten days more of feasting, the Grand Master gave a banquet, according to ancient custom, in the hall at Königsberg. *When they sat down at the table of honor, Conrad of Krey began the board with the approval of every one, for this he had well deserved by his deeds as a noble knight in many a land. Often had he spill his blood, and borne hardships in his knightly order.*⁹

Thereupon an inroad into Lithuania¹⁰ was proclaimed, for to this end the band had come thither from their far country. The marshal and his counselors

the refectory to play draughts made of gold, which the Knights presented each time to her." Add 2. 236: "Though the Order had vowed poverty, they ate on gold and silver and drank Malvoisie, for the Master wished to dazzle the Polish envoys. . . ."

⁸About 90 miles.

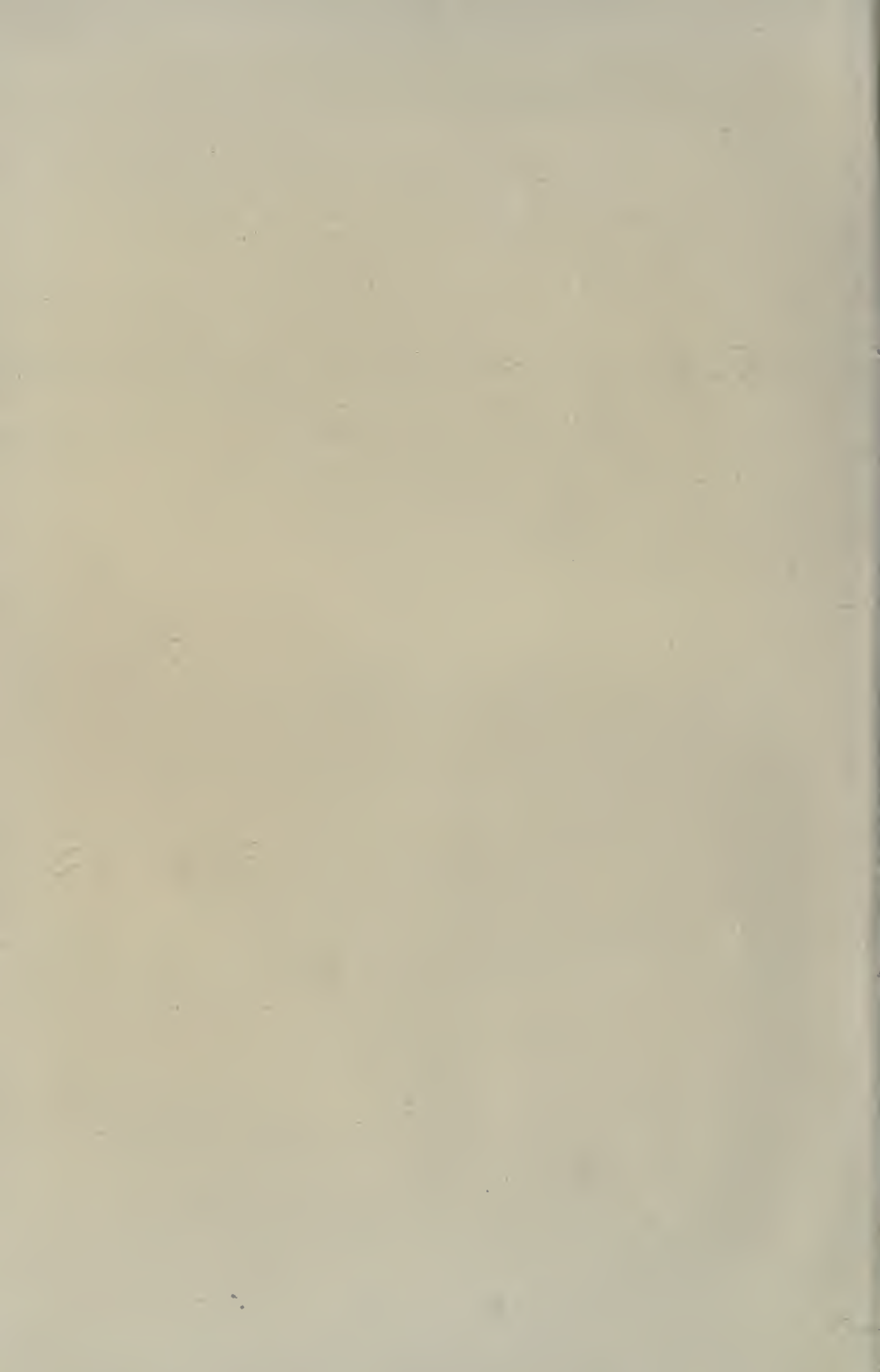
⁹The original reads (149-160):

Nach dem alten rechten
 Der maister gab daz hochmal
 Tzu Chunigezperge auf dem sal
 Mit reicher chost, wizzet daz;
 Da man der eren tisch wesaz,
 Chunrat von Chrey wesaz daz ort
 Tzu obrist mit gemainem wort,
 Wan er ez hat in manigem lant
 Wol verdient mit der hant
 Als ein edel ritter tût.
 Er hat vergozzen oft sein plût,
 Und ist im sawr worden
 In ritterlichem orden.

¹⁰The region within which Lithuanian is now spoken is indicated in the accompanying map, reduced from one appended to Kurschat's *Grammatik der Littauischen Sprache* (Halle, 1876). The boundary of this territory runs just outside of Memel, Heidekrug, Insterburg, Goldapp, Punske, Seyny, Jezsiski, Novo Troki, Widzy, Popely, and Laszow. According to Kurschat, Lithuanian is not spoken in the cities (five-sixths of the inhabitants of Kovno and Wilna, the towns, being Jews, and one-sixth Poles, only the government officials being



MAP OF THE LITHUANIAN DIALECT, 1876



ordained that they should load horses and boats with provisions for three weeks. The retainers laid hands to the work, and bought supplies of all kinds in double measure, sparing neither gold nor silver. The Grand Master began the journey¹¹ to honor the lord of Austria and the virtuous Maid, God's Mother. The host marched through Samland by way of Insterborg to the Szeszuppe, a stream nearly a spear's length deep. Over the river four bridges were thrown, and across these they pressed in swarms. From here they passed to the Memel, where the water is an arrow-flight broad. Then they came to the boats, and the sailors laid hold with a will, and between noon and vespers ferried more than thirty thousand over the river, in no fewer than six hundred and ten vessels, [201-250] losing but three horses and one squire.

The army was eager to reach the heathen land;¹² thousands of men might be seen roaming among the sloughs [?] in the wilderness. They feared neither ditch nor field, deep water, marsh¹³, nor cliff. The moorland afflicted us sore. Across the desert pushed the army, now up, now down, now here, now there;

Russians). The peasants who speak it number something over two millions at present, a number which is probably diminishing, by reason of emigration and the growing influence of German and Polish. From Courland as far south as Darkehmen, the Lithuanian territory borders on a German-speaking population; thence to about Wilna on a Polish-speaking population; thence to near Dunaburg on the White Russians, speaking a mixture of Polish and Russian; thence to the German border on Courland, where the language is Lettish. Russian Lithuania proper comprises the whole of the province of Kovno (= Samogitia), with comparatively small portions of Wilna and Grodno (but not those *cities*). Polish Lithuania lies within the Russian province of Suwalki, though it does not include that town. The Lithuanian language belongs to the Baltic branch of the Indo-European family, which includes Old Prussian (extinct) and Lettish, besides Lithuanian. It is closely akin to the Slavic branch, which includes Polish as well as Russian.

¹¹The Chronicle of Livonia (*Script. Rer. Pruss.* 2. 113), says that the inroad (*insultum*) was made "feria VI" before the Nativity of Mary, which falls on September 8.

¹²Their course was now northeastward.

¹³Cf. Sienkiewicz 2. 159: "Time after time he had to go around broad morasses or deep ravines, at the bottom of which torrents, swollen by spring rains, were roaring. There was no lack in this wilderness of lakes, in which he saw at sunset herds of elk or deer swimming in ruddy, smooth waters. Sometimes he noticed smoke, announcing the presence of people; a number of times he approached such forest places, but wild men ran out to meet him; these wore skins of wild beasts on their naked bodies, they were armed with clubs and bows, and stared ominously from beneath matted locks."

Add Herberstein 2. 93-4 (see below): "Lithuania is extremely woody, and has in it extensive marshes and numerous rivers. . . . The climate is severe, and the animals of all kinds small. Corn is very abundant, but the crop rarely comes to maturity. The people are miserable, and oppressed with heavy servitude."

leaping, slipping, and bending over. The branches caught many a one by the neck. Where the wind had blown down great trees,¹⁴ we must force our way over, whether it were hard or easy. In the press one heard many a cry that the Prussians bore hard upon us. Horses laden with food and drink were pulled along. Now and again men would fall ill; knee and leg would fail them, when they were pressed too hard. Such scolding and laughing as this caused! The horses were so kicked that many a one had need to limp. As the day drew to a close and night began to fall, we looked about for quarters, but good lodging was hard to find. The horses were turned out to pasture through the night.

Early in the morning we joyfully hastened into the heathen land, leaping and running as we went. According to custom, Ragnit was in the van, followed by the pennon of St. George and the banner of Styria. Next came the gorgeous flag of the Grand Master, with that of Austria, and many a standard more might be seen flying high in air. Many a proud hero bore, in honor of his lady, a wreath and ostrich plumes on his head, [251-300] and had received as a gift of love gold, silver, and precious stones. Bright of hue were the pearls great and small, the garlands and jewels on the helmets, reflecting the rays of the sun. The army brought many a worthy guest to a land called Samogitia.¹⁵ Merry was

¹⁴ The general character of the country is described by Caro, *Gesch. Polens* 3. 21 (Gotha, 1869): "Dichte Wälder, in denen noch nie eine Axt gelichtet, unschatteten düster das trübe Land, und an den Säumen des Waldes gähnte langhin die sumpfige Haide, in deren gesenkteren Becken sich die flachen aber fischreichen Seen sammelten. Die Sonne selbst schien kraftlos, denn an 10 Monate des Jahres lagerte das Eis auf den Seen und Sümpfen, und der Sommer währte nicht länger als zwei Monate etwa. Getreide reifte daher fast nie, und am Feuer wurden erst die feuchten Aehren gedörrt. Weit zerstreut, meilenweit von einander entfernt, lagen die elenden Hütten, aus Holz und Astwerk dürftig zusammengezimmert, in denen auch die Vornehmen des Landes ihre Wohnungen hatten. So weit es der kurze Sommer gestattete, wurde einiger Anbau von Lein und Hanf zur Gewinnung der Bekleidungsstoffe, von Getreide und Rüben zur Nahrung betrieben. Was sonst das Leben erheischte, das musste der Wald, der See, die 'rossenährende' Steppe hergeben. Die ganze Anlage des Volks war noch nomadenhaft, und leicht entstand der Gedanke an Auswanderung, wenn Noth oder feindlicher Andrang das gewohnte Behagen verkümmerten."

¹⁵ Herberstein (1486-1566), who traveled in these regions in the earlier part of the sixteenth century, has thus described the inhabitants (*Notes upon Russia*, London, 1851-2, 2. 98-9): "The people of Samogithia wear a mean-looking dress, mostly of an ash colour: they dwell in low, long-shaped cottages, in the middle of which they make their fires; and when the father of the family is seated at his fireside, he sees all his cattle and household stuff around him, for it is their custom to have their flocks under the same roof with themselves, without any separation. The elders use buffalo horns for goblets.

"The men are courageous and warlike: in battle they make use of coats of mail and various other kinds of armor, but their principal weapon is a rather short lance, like a hunting-spear. They have such small horses, that it is

the bridal to which these guests came unbidden, and merry the dance with the heathen, where sixty of them lay dead. Merry, too, the red fire over the hamlet, springing high in air. Not for worlds had I been the bridegroom, to be chased forth by the bride in the sight of smoke and flame. It was here that Count Hermann of Cilli drew his sword from its sheath, and, brandishing it on high, exclaimed to Duke Albert: "Better knight than squire!" and gave him the stroke of honor. On that same day were seventy-four made knights. The blameless prince gave the accolade with his own sword whenever he was requested, in honor of noble Christianity, and Mary, the pure Maiden.

The army began to wander up and down in the land. God gave the Christians the good fortune to come unannounced, to the sorrow of many a heathen. The knights hunted them down, and brought them to a standstill with thrust and stroke. Woe was it for them, but well for us. The land was full of people and goods, so that we held revel with them, for what was loss to the heathen was gain to the Christians, as the scales of battle inclined; merry in truth was the day. On the field where the army fought was many a fine pavilion, many a banner of lordship and of lands, [310-350] so that each man might recognize

scarcely credible that they should prove equal to the great exertions which they undergo. . . .

In ploughing the land, they do not use iron, but wood, which is the more remarkable that the soil is not sandy, but so stiff that a fir tree will never grow in it. . . .

"This province abounds in woods and forests, in which horrible sights may occasionally be witnessed; for in them there dwell a considerable number of idolators, who cherish, as a kind of household gods, a species of reptile, which has four short feet like a lizard, with a black fat body, not exceeding three palms in length." Also 1. 6: "Lithuania and Samogithia . . . are intermixed with the Russians; and though they have their own dialects, and use the Roman ritual, the inhabitants are nevertheless for the most part Russian."

Pius II (Æneas Sylvius, 1405-1464) thus writes (*Historia de Europa: De Lituaniis*, in *Script. Rer. Pruss.* 4. 237-8): "It is difficult to reach the Lithuanians in summertime, because they are shut in by swamps. In the winter it is otherwise, since the space between island and island is frozen over. The merchants make their way over ice and snow, carrying with them in carts or sledges food sufficient for several days, and, since there are no roads visible, steering by the stars, like mariners on the ocean. Among the Lithuanians there are few towns or estates. Their riches consist chiefly in the skins of the animals which we know as sables and ermines. Money is unknown, its place being taken by peltry. . . . They have large quantities of wax and honey, which wild bees make in the forests. They almost never use wine, and their bread is of the blackest. The most of their living comes from their cattle, for they make abundant use of milk. . . . The first Lithuanians whom I encountered worshiped serpents. Every head of a household kept his own snake in a corner of the house, and, as it lay on a bed of hay, brought food to it and made sacrifice."

his own. At night the heathen ceased not to make grim onslaughts on the army with sharp weapons, shooting, piercing, and smiting.¹⁶ The Christians, taking this in ill part, kept driving them back, so that their rest was small. Screaming aloud like wild beasts, the heathen struck through men, shot horses, and fled again to the moors; and thus they did the whole night.

At daybreak the army rose, and lighted fires which streamed high into the air. Gotthard von der Linde, marshal of the host in Prussia, commanded the army to wait until every man in full array came riding on horseback to his banner, that he might ride according to the custom of the land. By this time, it was fully day, so that each man could recognize his fellow. The army spread over the country, like the Pleiades! Meanwhile, the heathen uttered yells from the thickets. When many of them had been slain, and their wives and children captured, great was the joy and game of the men-at-arms. Many was the woman who had two children tied to her body, one behind and one before, and thus she would ride on a horse without spurs. Sore was the affliction which the heathen suffered. Many were taken, and had their hands bound together, and so were led like coursing hounds. When the army would encamp, the Prussians would bring great quantities of hens and geese, sheep and cows, horses, household stuff, and honey¹⁷—such was the joy of their hearts.

¹⁶Sienkiewicz thus describes a more sustained attack upon the Teutonic Knights (2. 111-2): "The battle was changed in one moment into slaughter. The long German lances and halberds were useless in the onrush. On the other hand, the swords of the horsemen bit the skulls and the necks of the German footmen. The horses reared in the crowds of people, overturning and trampling the unfortunate soldiers. For horsemen it was easy to strike from above, so they cut without halting or resting. From the sides of the road rushed forth crowd after crowd of wild warriors in wolfskins, and with a wolf's thirst for blood in their bosoms. Their howls drowned voices imploring for pity, and drowned also the groans of the dying. . . . The cavalry, sitting on good horses, and in better armor than the footmen, fought bravely, and with a persistence which deserved admiration. There was no White Mantle among them; they were mainly of the middle and smaller nobles of Prussia, whose duty it was to stand in line at command of the Order. Their horses were for the greater part armored, some with breast armor, and all in iron frontlets with a steel horn from the middle of the forehead. Leadership over them was held by a tall, slender man, in dark blue armor and a helmet of the same shade with closed visor.

"From the forest depth a shower of arrows was falling on them, but these shafts dropped harmless from their visors, hard shoulder-pieces, and breast-plates. A wave of Jmud men on foot and on horseback had surrounded them closely, but they defended themselves, cutting and thrusting with their long sword-blades so stubbornly that before their horses' hoofs lay a garland of corpses. The foremost attacking ranks wished to withdraw, but, pushed from behind, were unable. Round about came a crush and a trample. Eyes were dazed by the glitter of spears and the shining of sword-blades. Horses whined, bit, and stood on their hind legs."

¹⁷Cf. Herberstein 2. 99: "They say that there is no better or finer honey found than in Samogithia; that it is white, and has but little wax with it"; cf. p. 383, note.

The Grand Master and the Marshal, with their wise helpers, [351-400] had contrived that every night a strong fortification should be made about the army, and sentinels posted.¹⁸ And thus we lodged well enough, and slept free from care, for the heathen no longer fell upon us by night with their weapons.

The third day the army came with rejoicing into another country, called Russenia.¹⁹ There one saw ravaging, burning, smiting, shooting, and running into heath and bush; like foxes and hares in a hunting-field, so they fled back. Conrad of Schweinbart ran down the heathen chief; he thrust him with a spear so that the iron remained behind, and thus parted him from life. Great was the rejoicing of the Christians. The heathen sought their advantage in forests, in coverts, and on the moors; if one lost his way, his steed fell into the marsh up to the saddle. "This way, this way!"—such was the cry that one heard over and over. The heathen, fierce in their rage, kept themselves under arms,

¹⁸ An encampment of the heathen is thus described by Sienkiewicz (2.91-3): "The camp stood on a plain surrounded by swamps and a pine forest, hence defended from attack perfectly, since no other army could wade through those treacherous morasses. . . . Between the fires were seen piles of arms, placed conveniently, so that in case of need it would be easy for each man to grasp his own weapon. Hlava looked curiously at spears with long, narrow heads forged of tempered metal; at clubs of young oak-trees, into which spikes or flints had been driven; at short-handled axes, like those of Poland, which mounted knights used, and axes with handles almost as long as those of a halberd, with which men on foot fought. There were also bronze weapons handed down from old times, when iron was little used in those remote regions. Some swords were of bronze also, but most were of good steel brought from Novgorod. Hlava took in his hands spears, swords, axes, pitchy bows which had been scorched; by the light of the camp-fires he tested their quality. There were not many horses near the fires, for they were feeding at a distance in the forest and on fields, under guard of watchful herdsman; but, as the most distinguished boyars wished to have their steeds near by, there were in the camp some tens of them fed from the hands of slaves. Hlava wondered at the shape of those animals, small beyond comparison, with strong necks, and in general so strange that Western knights considered them a distinct beast of the forest, more like unicorns than genuine horses. . . . The warriors were listening with bowed heads, and eyes fixed on the light. Some were squatted in groups around the fires, with their elbows resting on their knees and their faces hidden by their hands, and covered with skins, like ravening beasts of the forest. But when they raised their heads toward the passing knights, a gleam of light from the fire showed blue eyes and mild faces, not at all fierce or robber-like, but resembling much more the faces of wronged and sad children. At the outskirts of the camping-ground, on mosses, lay those wounded warriors whom they had been able to bring in from the last battle. Soothsayers, or so-called 'labdarysi' and 'seitons,' were muttering incantations above them, and dressing their wounds, to which they applied healing herbs as the men lay there patiently in silence, enduring pain and torment."

¹⁹ Modern maps have Rossieny. It is about 75 miles from Insterburg, 130 from Königsberg, 30 from Ragnit, and 25 from the Memel.

hoping, in treacherous wise, that the army would lose its way; but in this they were disappointed. When the army encamped, Count Hermann of Cilli invited the Prince of Austria and all the new made knights to sup with him²⁰ that evening without fail. The promise was kept, and eighty-two sat down at table. All the food had been brought with him by the giver of the feast, for the market was too distant. [401-450] A stag which was set before the knights had been brought down two hundred miles away. The wine they drank was from Wippach, Rainfal, and Lutenberg—this I can testify.

When the feast was ended, many a knight rode out for adventure. The land was burnt over with fire, and one could hardly see for the thick smoke. Eight days they passed in that country. Two hundred and eight knights received the accolade, as I saw with my own eyes. The army devastated three whole countries—Samogitia, Russenia, and Aragel—²¹ to the grief of the heathen. Wind, rain, hail, and great frost there seized upon us, spoiling armor and food. Three days and nights it continued, plaguing horses and men. It grew so fearfully cold that many a shivering horse ate neither leaf nor grass through the night.

Thereupon we left the land—ditch and gully, marsh and sand—and hastened to the Memel. Many a one, when he came to the broad water, looked to heaven, and exclaimed: "Mary, pure Maiden, help me to gain the shore!" Deep were brake and sand between the moor and the boats; some swam, others waded, until God from heaven helped us over. [451-500] The Duke sat in his ship with many a lord, and the wind drove them to Königsberg. When those who followed him had sailed scarcely a mile, the wind changed suddenly, far out on the Kurische Haff. Many thought they should find their graves on the sea, but God was gracious to them. The three von Stubenbergs—Ulrich, Wulfinch, and Friedrich—besought Christ in their despair to help them out of their great need by his bitter death. He who redeemed Adam and Eve came to the relief of these lords. The army marched through the land, for few of them were able to run. The horses were worn out, sick and distempered. Grauden²² is the name of the wilderness to the west and the south; I never rode so wretched a journey. When a horse stood up to the saddle in clay and deep moss, there lay before him a great tree-trunk, yet with spurs he was urged on, for he must get over, though he were to die in the attempt.

Thus we arrived at Königsberg, where we had rest and good lodging. Under his honorable rule the Duke entertained Jeschk Swab of Pechin, Has, von Kolbrad, Heinrich List, and a squire called Albrecht Meisner; Ruprecht Kraft of Cologne, a pious and far renowned knight; Sir Ekhart of Scotland; Wilhelm and Richard; the tenth was a Frenchman called Louis. To these the Prince, in his generosity, sent golden cups and silver dishes, full of florins.

²⁰ Cf. what Knighton (*Chron.* 2. 107) says of the English lords before Rheims in December, 1359: "Fecerunt convivia unusquisque dominus cum alio ac si in proprio solo fuissent in Anglia."

²¹ Near Russenia. The Chronicle of Livonia (*Script. Rer. Pruss.* 2. 113) mentions Viduckelen and Krasien (north and northwest of Russenia).

²² Between Insterburg and Ragnit (Lucy Toulmin Smith, *Derby Accounts*, p. xxix).

[501-519] They received the silver and the gold as honorable meed. Conrad of Krey led the well ordered army of Austria. The Grand Master and the Order thanked the Duke of Austria that he had made the foray with their army in so orderly a manner that no weapon had been unsheathed in anger or boorishness. Then they caused to be proclaimed everywhere at Königsberg: "If any one had deserved silver or gold, let him present himself, and he should be satisfied." [520-556, untranslated.]

[557-569] This story I have narrated in simple words—how the raid [*die rais*] took its course. One counsel I give to noble folk: He who will become a good knight, let him take as companions Lady Honor and St. George. "Better knight than squire!"—let him bear that word in his heart, with will and with good deeds; so shall he defy slander, and his name shall be spoken with honor. [570-572, untranslated.]

From the foregoing, the following points seem clear:

1. The table of honor was reserved for a small number of foreign knights—say ten, twelve, or fourteen²³—who had distinguished themselves in various parts of the world.

2. The right to hold this table from time to time had been conferred, or perhaps confirmed, by the authority of Pope and Emperor.

3. The assignment to seats at the table of honor was made by heralds who were well informed, through travel in foreign parts and otherwise, of the exploits which the various knights had achieved.

4. The heralds not only made the selection of the knights, but also determined their relative positions at the table,²⁴ and hence who should "begin the board."

5. On some occasions, at least,²⁵ the applause of those present confirmed, or possibly even anticipated, the choice made by the heralds.

6. The table of honor was announced in advance, and proved a powerful magnet to attract the bravest knights from foreign lands to the service of the Order, when a "reyse" into "Lettowe" or "Ruce" had been decided on.

It was before, or occasionally during, such expeditions that the table of honor was held. We hear of it in 1400, and for the last time in 1413, when the Grand Master, Heinrich von Plauen, wrote on April 25 to the King of France and the Duke of Burgundy (Jean sans Peur): "Ad nos venientibus parati erimus juxta

²³ So at least in one case, in 1385 (Voigt, *Gesch. Preussens* 5. 472, note 2).

²⁴ Cf. Voigt 5. 714.

²⁵ Cf. p. 380, above.

nostrum posse omnem voluntatem benivolam exhibere. *Tabulam* etiam *honoris*, Papali ac Imperiali auctoritatibus nobis assignatam, et in singulare privilegium prerogativum nobis concessam, locare intendimus, et nobilitati milicie undequaque confluencium ostendere dignos honores.²⁶ But it was now too late: the power of the Order had been broken in 1410 at the decisive battle of Tannenberg, and less than six months after the Grand Master had written the above letter, he had been deposed from his high estate (October 14).

The bearing of all this on the eminence of Chaucer's Knight is sufficiently clear. I reserve for another place a consideration of it with reference to the date of the *Prologue*.

ALBERT S. COOK.

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²⁶ Cf. *Script. Rer. Pruss.* 3. 620; Voigt, *Gesch. Preussens* 5. 719.

SO-CALLED PROTHETIC Y AND W IN ENGLISH

According to Jespersen, *A Modern English Grammar*, §§11.21-11.23, "a [w] has in some cases been added before a round vowel," and "a prothesis of [j] before a front vowel—is found in more or less dialectal or vulgar forms." This is a loose statement, which is in part corrected in §13.332. For there is no real prothesis of y or w (aside from some possible cases of analogy), but a diphthongation of the vowel together with shift of accent, the result being a rising diphthong.

The change of a front vowel to y or to the vowel +y is common enough in rapid utterance. Thus *lay on* (*lei on*) becomes *leiŋn*; *any office*, *eni yofis*; *tree of paradise*, *tri yəw pæɹədaɪs*, etc. In a similar manner *head*, through the dialect pronunciation *iəd*, becomes *yed*, *yud* (*yəd*). The variation of the vowel (*yed*, *yud*) is due to the different quality of the glide or second element of the diphthong. Thus *iəd* (from an older *hīd*) has, as the second element of the diphthong *ia*, in one case the obscure *ə*, in the other the obscure *ɐ* (Λ). When, therefore, this *ɐ* becomes the top of the syllable, it naturally assumes its unobscured quality. Hence this vowel would usually not be the same as the vowel that produced the diphthong. Thus Sc. *ains* 'once' (*ēns*, *iəns*) gives *yens*, *yins*, *yans*, *yəns*. Where the vowel is the same, as in *eat* (*ī*): *yī*, it may be due, in some cases, to association with the undiphthonged form.

Exactly parallel with the development of an initial diphthong *ia*, *ie*, *eo* to *ye*, *yɐ*, etc., is the same change after a consonant. Here *d* regularly becomes *j* (*dʒ*); *t*, *ch* (*tʃ*); *s*, *sh* (*ʃ*); and *k* and *g* are palatalized. As noted above, the vowel of such words regularly has the quality of the glide from which it came. Hence a word with *i* may give a form with *ɐ* or *ə*, as: dial. (*h*)*īd iəd* 'head': *yud* (*yəd*); *teart*: *churt*; *sheath*: *shuth*; *cheat*: *chut*; OE. *cine* 'chink, fissure': NE. dial. *chun* 'a crack in the finger or hand from frost or from dryness of the skin,' also 'the sprout or germ of potatoes or corn' (*from tʃiən*), etc. The following examples are taken mainly from Wright, *Dial. Dict.* For *j* (*j*) I use *y*.

Able, *eəbl*: *yēbl*, *yeəbl*. *Ablins* 'perhaps': *yeblinz*. *Aik* 'oak' (dial.); *ēk*, *iək*: *yak*, *yek*. *Acre*, *ēkər*, *eəkər*: *yakər*. *Addle* 'putrid water' (OE. *adela*), *adl*, *edl*: *yadl* (from **eədl*). *Addle*, *aidle* 'earn,' *adl*, *edl*, *ēdl*: *yedl*. *Ale*, *ēl*, *eəl*: *yel*. *Aim*, *ēm*, *eəm*, *iəm*: *yam*.

Ape: *yap*, *yep*; *ape-faced*, *ēp-*, *eip-*, *eap-*: *yap*; *apish*, *ēpiš*: *yēp*:š.
Ain 'one' (dial.), *ēn*, *iən*: *yan*, *yen*, *yin*; *ains* 'once', *ēns*, *iəns*:
yens, *yins*, *yans*, *yəns*. *Ait* 'oat' (dial.), *ēt* (*iət*, *iet*): *yēt*, *yet*, *yit*.
Ax, *ēks*, *eks*: *yax*, *yex*, 'axle'. *Each*, *itš*: *yitš*. *Ear*, *iər*: *yar*. *Earn*
'coagulate, curdle' (OE. *ge-iernan*), *īrn*, *iən*: *yīrn*, *yian* (or here *y*
may come from OE. *ge-*). *Eel*, *il*, *ēl*, *iəl*: *yel*. *Easy*, *īzi*, *iəzi*:
yezi. *East*, *iəst*: *yest*. *End*, *ind*, *iənd*: *yend*. *Eerie*, *iri*, *iəri*:
yiəri. *Eld* 'age', *iəld*: *yild*. *Eat*, *it*, *eət*, *iət*: *yit*, *yet*. *Irk*: dial.
yerksome 'annoying', *york* 'vex, disgust'. *Eardly* (OE. *heardlice*)
'exceedingly, forcibly', *eadly* (*iədlī*): *yearldy*. *Hearse*, *hes*, *iəs*:
yerst, *yest*. *Hair*, (*h*)*æər*, (*h*)*iər*: *yiər*, *yar*, *yor*, *yər*, etc. (*heer*,
heear, *hewr*, *huer*, *hure*, *ure*, *yure*, *yur*, *yor*, *year*, *yare*, *yar* Wright,
Dial. Dict.). *Hale* 'safe, sound', *hēəl*, (*h*)*iəl*: *yal* (*heaal*, *hyal*,
yal Wright). *Hame* (on harness), *hēm*, (*h*)*iəm*: *yem*, *yam* (*heyem*,
heyam, *hyem*, *yam*). *Head*, (*h*)*id*, *iəd*: *yed*, *yod*, *yud* (*heead*, *heoad*,
hyed, *yead*, *yed*, *yod*, *yud*). *Hait* 'a call to urge horses or other
animals to go on' (dial.), (*h*)*ēt*, *eət*: *yēt*. *Heap*, (*h*)*iəp*: *yep*. *Heifer*:
yeffer, *yaffer*. *Here* and *hear*, (*h*)*iər*: *yər*. *Hern* 'heron' (dial.),
ēn, (*iən*): *yān*. *Hearth*, *hiyəp*: *yep* (*heyath*, *yeth*). *Heat*, *iət*: *yet*.
Heath, (*iəp*): *yep*. *Heave*: *yiv*. *Hame* 'home', *iəm*: *yam*. *Harp*:
yerp, *yarp*. *Hask*, *hēsk*, (*hiəsk*): *yask* 'dry, harsh'. *Herb*: *yarb*,
yərb, *yeb*. OE. **hearo* 'harsh' (: *hierwan* 'despise, condemn, injure',
MHG. *hare* 'herb, bitter'): NE. dial. *yar*, *yare* 'sour, brackish',
yarrish 'having a rough dry taste.'

Dern, *diern* 'hard, stern; raw, cold': *jearn* 'raw, cold, severe.'
Dead, *diəd*: *jed*. *Death*: *jeth*. *Deal*: *jel*. *Devil*, *dīvl*, (*dīəvl*):
jevel 'a rascal, ne'er-do-well': "He had no more honour than ony
ould *jevel* wha ever cheated the wuddy," Wilson, *Tales* (1836)
III, 69. *Dart*, (*dərt*, *deərt*): *jart*.

Team, *tiəm*: *chem* (*tšem*) 'team.' *Tart*, *teart* *tiə(r)t*: *churt* (*tšərt*)
'sharp, keen.' *Teat*, (*tiət*): dial. *chet* 'food for infants, papmilk',
vb. 'suck as an infant.' *Taid* (*tēd*), *tiəd*: *tyad*, *tyed* 'toad.' *Tane*,
teyan, *teyen* (*tēyən*?: *tyan*, *tyen* 'tone.'

Seat, *siət*: *shet*. *Cell*: *shell* 'cell.' *Seldom*, ME. *seldom*, *sielde*
'rare': NE. dial. *shedom*, *shadom* 'surprising, strange.' Dial.
sage, *sēg*, *seəg* 'saw,' *vb.* 'saw, hack': *shaggle* 'cut raggedly as with a
blunt instrument, gnaw.' *Seem* 'resemblance, appearance, like-
ness,' *seem-so* 'sham': *shim* 'seemingly, apparently,' *sham*.

Cake, *keeak* (*kiək*): *kyek*. *Can*, *kən*, **keən* (compare southern
U. S. *kēnt*, *keənt* 'can't'): *cyan*. *Card*, **kərd*: *kiard*, *kyard*. *Guide*,
gæid: *giaid*, *gyaid*, *gyæid*, etc.

Just as *lay on* becomes *leïôn*, so *go ðn* is pronounced *gowðn* or sometimes, in rapid utterance, *gwon*. Similarly, *to eat* naturally becomes *tə wīt* or even *twīt*. So when Jennings, *Obs. Dial. w. Eng.* (1825), 129, writes:

I drink tha sporklin cyder,
An wish now wither wine,

he is giving the word *ither* as it would be pronounced after *no*. In fact, without a pedantic attempt to the contrary, it could be pronounced in no other (*nō wɛðər*) way. But by itself *ither* could never become *wither*, though *other* may become locally *wother* from *oəðər*.

Like the above is the change from *o-i*, *oi* (*ði*, *vi*) to *wai* or *wvi*. This change is found locally in the following words, and no doubt in many others.

Goin(g): *gwine* (*gwain*). *Coil* 'spiral': *quoil*. *Coil* 'haycock': *quile*, *quoil*. *Coin* 'money': *quine*. *Coin* 'corner': *quine*, *quoin*. *Coin* 'female crab': *kwoin*. *Coif* 'cap': *quoif*. *Coit* 'throw, toss; curl, play at game of curling': *quoit* (*kwoit*, *kwait*, *kweit*). *Boy*: *bwoy*. *Boil* 'cook': *bwile*. *Boil* 'furuncle': *bwile*. *Bystings*, *boystins* 'beestings': *bwystings*, *bwoistin*. *Bydle* 'beetle': *bwidle* (this must come through the intermediate **boidl*, *oi*, *vi* being a dialect variation of *ai*). *Soil* 'mud, filth': *swile*. *Soil* 'seal': *swoil*. *Spoil*: *spwile*. *Toil* 'labor': *twile* (*twail*), *twily*. *Tine*, *toine* 'enclose, fence': *twyn*. *Tiny* 'small': *twiny* id. (from **toini*? or a blend of *tiny* and *weeny*). *Teen*, *tine*, **toin* 'grief, sorrow, vexation': *twine* 'hard labor.'

Similarly from the diphthongation of a back vowel *o*, *u*, together with a shift of accent, results an apparent prothetic *w*. Thus *oat* becomes locally *oet*, *oæt*: *wet*, *wæt*, etc. The process is, of course, the same in *stone*, *stoən*: *stwon*. Some of these forms have gone into the literary speech, as: *one*, *once*, (*wən*, *wəns*), or are preserved in spelling though not in the recognized pronunciation, as: *whole*, *whore*, dating from an early period. Following are the examples noted in provincial speech. Many others must certainly exist, for any stressed round vowel might develop in the same way.

Oak, *oæk*: *wōk*, *wuk*. *Oast* 'the curd for cheese before it is taken from the whey': *woast*, *wost*. *Oat* *owet*: *wet*, *wat*, *wot*, *wut*, *woat*. *Old*: *wold*, *woald*. *Oon*, *un*, *oan*, dial. for *one*: *one* (*wən*). *Ort* 'scraps': *wort*, *wot*. *Other*, *oather*: *wother*. *Hood*: *whode* obs. (*Cent. Dict.*). *Hole*, *oəl*: *wol*. *Whole*, *oəl*: *wōl*, *wōl*, *wul*. *Ho*:

whoa, a cry used to stop a horse or other draft animal. *Home*, *oəm*: *wom*, *wəm*. *Horn*: *whorn*. *Hoast*: *whust* 'a cough.' *Hot*: *woot*, early NE. *whot*, *whote*, *whotte*.

This diphthongation, which is very common in dialect English would naturally occur in stressed syllables. Hence *one* (*wən*) could not develop from *un* (*vn*), the unstressed form, but from the stressed *oən*. And inasmuch as *w* develops only before round vowels, just as *y(j)* develops before front vowels, *wən* could not have arisen from *no vn*. For in that case *w* would develop likewise before front vowels. Moreover *w* develops before round vowels after consonants, as the following examples show.

Coal, *koəl*, **koil*: *quile* (*kwail*). *Good*, **guid*: *gweed* (*gwid*). *School*, **skuil*: *squeel*. *Towly*: *twily* (here perhaps rather a confusion between *towel* and *toilet*). *Note* 'state, condition; occasion for, use' (OE. *notu*): *nwote* id. *Notish*: *nwotish* 'notice.' *Pot*, **pɔt*: *pwot*. *Sole*, *sowel*: *swole* 'rope, chain, or wooden yoke put round the neck of cattle to fasten them in the stall' (OE. *sāl* 'rope, bond'). *Sope*, *sooap*: *swope*, *swop* 'a sup, gulp, moderate quantity of any liquid' (OE. *sopa*). *Sorry*, *soary* (*soəri*): *sworry*. *Sort*, *sooart*: *swooart*. *Shoor*, *shore*: *shwor*, dial. pret. of *shear*. *Short*, *shooat*: *shwort*. *Stone*: *stwoan*, *stwon*, *stwon*. *Strone*, *strooan*: *stwoan* 'spout forth, stream.' *Toad*, *toəd*: *twoad*, *twud*. *Tote*, *toot*, *toot*: *twote* 'the whole, all.' *Told*, pret. of *tell*: *twold*. *Thole*: *thwole* 'suffer.' *Thone*: *thwoaan* 'damp, moist' (OE. *þān*.)

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THE POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, AND SOCIAL VIEWS OF SPENSER

As one of the most eclectic scholars of a period when thought was rife and universal knowledge the ideal of the educated gentleman, as a poet who wove much traditional history and many contemporary events into the fabric of his allegory, and as a man of affairs who was kept face to face with the stern problems of public life in an outpost of empire, Spenser possesses much interest for the student of culture-history. Accordingly, the present study attempts to determine the poet's attitude toward the political, economic, and social ideas of his day. The consideration of his political views naturally comes first, since they constitute the most comprehensive phase of the subject.

It was inevitable that the decline of the Holy Roman Empire, relieving men, as it did, from the confusion of a divided loyalty, should greatly augment the national ideal, and the sixteenth century consequently witnessed a marked growth in the spirit of nationalism. In England, this influence was enforced by geographical insularity, by the reaction following the Wars of the Roses, by the rapid expansion of commerce, and by the spirit of enthusiasm that the Tudors seemed ever able to arouse. It is but one evidence of this spirit that a whole school of historians gave themselves to the study of the nation's past, and that which the historian wrote in sober prose, the dramatist set forth upon the stage in glowing verse.

In this Elizabethan pride of nation Spenser most heartily shared. Love of native land and faith in the destiny of England again and again find utterance in his verse. History, chronicle, romance, whatever dealt with the nation's past was eagerly read, and much of it incorporated into the magical pages of the great allegory, or turned to practical account in the prose *View of the Present State of Ireland*. Such interest in the national history is called in the *Faërie Queene* the "naturall desire of countryes state," and Prince Arthur closes the volume of British history which he has read "quite ravisht with delight," with sentiments which may very properly be taken for the poet's own:

Deare country! O! how dearely deare
Ought thy remembraunce and perpetuall band
Be to thy foster Childe, that from thy hand

Did commun breath and nouriture receave.
 How brutish is it not to understand
 How much to her we owe, that all us gave;
 That gave unto us all what ever good we have.¹

Nor is there any mistaking the pride, and traditional English confidence in the national institutions and customs that dictate many a passage in the *View*: "As for the lawes of England, they are surely most just and most agreeable both with the government and with the nature of the people."² "No nation in the world excelleth them (the English) in all goodly conversation, and all the studyes of knowledge and humanity."³ "And is it possible that an Englishman, brought up naturally in such sweete civilitye as England affordes, can find such liking in that barbarous rudeness, that he should forgett his owne nature, and forgoe his owne nation."⁴

Again, the concluding cantos of the *Allegory of Justice*, the fifth book, in which the poet treats of England's international relations, is instinct with the proudest patriotism. The story of the destruction of the Spanish Armada is set forth with a nervous vigour, a zest, an elation, that show how intensely the poet felt this triumph of English brains and courage:

In vaine the Pagan bannes, and sweares, and rayles,
 And backe with both his hands unto him hayles
 The resty raynes, regarded now no more;
 He to them calles and speakes, yet nought avalyes;
 They hear him not, they have forgot his lore,
 But go which way they list, their guide they have forlore.

At last they have all overthrowne to ground
 Quite topside turvey, and the Pagan hound
 Amongst the yron hookes and graples keene
 Torne all to rags, and rent with many a wound;
 That no whole peece of him was to be seene,
 But scattered all about, and strow'd upon the greene.⁵

Small chance, indeed, for an enemy to triumph, since it was Prince Arthur who fought for England, Prince Arthur, who symbolized the spirit of God in the national and political life, bearing upon

¹F. Q., 2. 10. 69.

²P. 613.

³*Ibid.*

⁴*Ibid.* p. 629.

⁵F. Q., 5. 8. 39, 42.

his conquering shield the cross of St. George, the token of God's protection of England, the confusion of her enemies.

No idea is more persistently reiterated in the *Faërie Queene* than that England was called of God to a high destiny; indeed, the whole first book, politically interpreted, is an elaborate allegory of England's exalted service in establishing the true Church. Spenser was never more English than when he thus naïvely expressed the traditional English belief in "the splendid British patriotism of England's God"; so easy is it to construe *Dieu et Mon Droit* as *Mon Droit est Dieu*.

Not only did Spenser thus share in the new sense of national pride, but there is not a little evidence to support the theory that he was one of that ardent group of patriots, a group that included such stout hearts and pushing spirits as Gilbert, Raleigh and Sidney, who had dreams of world empire for England, and who advocated British imperialism with as much warmth as the sensitive autocracy of the Queen would permit.

For land and sea my Cynthia doth deserve
To have in her commandement at hand,

says the poet through the mouth of Raleigh, the Shepherd of the Ocean, and, when the poet has occasion to mention the Amazon among the famous rivers that came to the marriage of the Thames and the Medway, he cannot refrain from inserting the stanza:

Joy on those warlike women, which so long
Can from all men so rich a kingdome hold!
And shame on you, O men! which boast your strong
And valiant hearts, in thoughts lesse hard and bold,
Yet quaille in conquest of that land of gold.
But this to you, O Britons! most pertaines,
To whom the right hereof it selfe hath sold,
The which, for sparing little cost or paines,
Loose so immortall glory, and so endlesse gaines.⁶

Furthermore, whatever we moderns may think of its antiquated political philosophy, of the harshness of the measures proposed for the subjection of a rebellious island, the *View* is the product of a mind that thought imperially.⁷

A second noteworthy characteristic of sixteenth century political evolution was the growing ascendancy of the monarchical ideal. This, again, was the result of several forces. One of these

⁶*F. Q.*, 4. 11. 22.

⁷See E. A. Greenlaw, *Spenser and British Imperialism*, *Mod. Phil.*, 9. 3.

was, of course, the decline of the Empire; another was the decay of the feudal system; a third, the doctrine of the divine character of secular government, based upon a literal and universal application of the words of Jesus "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's," as taught by such leaders of the Reformation as Calvin, Zwingli, and Melancthon; and still a fourth, the well-nigh sacred authority of Aristotle. The first relieved the pressure upon the prestige of monarchy from above; the second, the pressure from below. The third and fourth insured the twofold authority of sacred and profane writers at a time when scriptural authority and classical authority were vieing with one another for supremacy in the minds of men. Curiously enough, the Reformation and the Renaissance, which were to end in undermining the monarchical system, began by stoutly supporting it.

Though to Aristotle royalty was invested with no peculiar divine authority, but rather was a more or less interesting survival from archaic times and conditions, the Stagarite favored a constitutional monarchy, and, despite the growth of anti-Aristotelian sentiment, a sentiment congenial to certain phases of the Renaissance and quickened by the radical utterances of Pierre de la Ramée, the authority of Aristotle, as evidenced by the appearance of thirteen editions, twelve Latin translations, and six commentaries of the *Politics* between 1500 and 1600, was still dominant.

In the last quarter of the century, the monarchical ideal, already sufficiently intrenched, received a powerful ally in the French scholar and jurist, Jean Bodin, the foremost student in the science of government of the century, and one of the foremost students of all time, who, in the words of Professor Dunning, "set the theory of the state and the science of government once more where Aristotle had placed it, on a foundation of history, and by the side of, not dependent from the sciences of ethics and theology."⁸ For the origin of the ruler, Bodin did not look back to the mythical age of Saturn, when some man was chosen to this position for his preëminent wisdom and virtue, nor did he accept the theory, equally superstitious, that the ruler was divinely chosen, but he found the origin of leadership in those primitive social conditions where some man imposed his sway by force. In his defence of monarchy as the best form of government for a

⁸ *Political Theories from Luther to Montesquieu*, 123.

modern country, Bodin is a pure pragmatist, and he prefers a monarchy for three reasons: first, because, free from that factionalism that always operates in an aristocracy or a democracy, the monarch can draw upon all classes for service; secondly, because the concentration of power insures safety to the country; lastly, because monarchy is the only form of government adapted to the expansion of the domain.

Yet the monarchical theory was not without its doughty assailants. In 1573 appeared the *Franco-Gallia*, by the eminent Huguenot jurist, Francis Hotman, in which French history was drawn upon to demonstrate that "France was never, in its constitutional origins, an absolute monarchy; but that, on the contrary, a general assembly of the nation had exercised the highest political powers throughout the early history of the Franks, and during the Merovingian, the Carolingian and the later periods." In 1579 appeared two notable works, one in France and one in Scotland, which advanced the contract theory of government. One of these was the *Vindiciae contra Tyrannos*, written presumably by Languet, the Huguenot friend of Sidney, or by Du Plessis-Mornay; the other, *On the Sovereign Power Among the Scots*, written by George Buchanan. It certainly is one of the ironies of history that the later Reformation thought should thus have turned against the doctrine of monarchy that the founders of the Reformation had done so much to advance. While the earlier Reformers based their political attitude upon the chance words of Christ, these later men turned to the *Old Testament* and discovered in the covenant of the Old Dispensation a valid analogy for the relations between king and people. Just as the children of Israel, as God's peculiar people, guaranteed to uphold his worship in return for the guarantee of his favour, so the people agree to obey the king, and he, to rule justly. One was a contract for the welfare of the Kingdom of Heaven; the other, for the welfare of the kingdoms of the earth. But a contract is invalid if either party breaks it, and, if kings fail to be just, people are relieved from the obligation of loyalty. While this conception of government did not reap its fruit until the following century, it commanded the attention of thinking men in the closing decades of the sixteenth. In fact, when an idea thus found spontaneous expression in two countries, it must have been more or less pervasive.

The monarchical theory was also jeopardized by the current humanistic ideas about the law of nature, which found their way into every philosophical and political treatise. Melancthon and Bodin, far removed from each other as they were, were equally insistent upon recognizing those fundamental principles of human nature whose validity must not be denied. Any institution that did not square with these universal principles was, in the very nature of things, bad. Henceforth, political and social theorists of all schools were busy trying to justify their doctrines on the basis of such laws.

Against this background, it is interesting to view Spenser's theory of government. There are many passages in his works that bear upon the question, and they all show him to be an unqualified exponent of the doctrine of the divine right of kings. Indeed, with such insistence does he return to the theme, that, in the light of his eagerness for preferment, it is hard not to question his motives. The sovereign is the special representative of God, from whom alone his authority is derived, and in whose political wisdom he is permitted to share:

He maketh Kings to sit in sovereignty;
He maketh subjects to their powre obey.⁹

High Jove, in whose almightie hand
The care of Kings and power of Empires stand.¹⁰

That powre (justice) he also doth to Princes lend,
And makes them like himselfe in glorious sight

To sit in his owne seate, his cause to end,
And rule his people right, as he doth recommend.¹¹

Dread Soverayne Goddess, that doest highest sit
In seate of judgment in th' Almightyes stead,
And with magnificke might and wondrous wit
Doest to thy people righteous doome aread,
That furthest Nations filles with awful dread.¹²

Since the monarch is the vicegerent of Heaven, Heaven in turn protects the monarch against his treasonous enemies. Thus, Heaven revealed the intrigues of Mary Queen of Scots against Elizabeth:

But through high Heavens grace, which favours not
The wicked driftes of trayterous desynes

⁹ *F. Q.*, 5. 2. 41.

¹⁰ *M. H. T.*, 1225-6.

¹¹ *F. Q.*, 5, Introd. 10.

¹² *Ibid.*, 11.

Gainst loiall Princes, all this cursed plot,
Ere prooffe it tooke, discovered was betymes.¹³

Not only has the Prince jurisdiction over secular matters, but over spiritual matters as well, for in the *View* it is expressly recognized that the care of both body and soul lyeth upon him.

Such is the reverence held by the commonalty for the sacred person of the sovereign, that his mere presence is often of more avail than a whole army of men of common clay; he is, in truth, the most stable factor in government: "What they (the English) now be, both you and I see very well, but by how many thorny and hard wayes they are come thereunto, by how many civil broyles, by how many tumultuous rebellions, that even hazarded oftentimes the whole safetie of the kingdome, may easily be considered: all which they nevertheless fayrily overcame by reason of the continuall presence of the king; whose only parson is oftentimes in steede of an army, to contayne the unruly people from a thousand evill occasions."¹⁴

In this justification of monarchy upon theological grounds, Spenser shows how little he was influenced by the more advanced and more scientific political thought of the day. Thus he ignores the scholarly conclusions of Bodin that the primitive society was barbaric and that the first kings were military leaders who imposed their sway upon the people by force, ignores Bodin's masterly effort to justify absolute monarchy upon scientific and philosophical grounds. Yet he must have been familiar with Bodin's great work, *La Republique*, if he did not actually make the acquaintance of the author, for in 1579 Bodin, then in the service of the Duc d'Alençon, visited Cambridge and there met Harvey, Spenser's friend, who testifies to his popularity in the following passage from one of the letters: "His (Aristotle's) oeconomicks and politiques every on oath by rote. You can not stepp into a schollars studye but (ten to on) you shall litely finde open ether *Bodin de Republica* or *Le Royes Exposition vppon Aristotles Politiques* or sum other like Frenche or Italian *Politique Discoursed*."¹⁵ Bodin's critical use of history, showing as it does such broad erudition and keen insight, seemed to interest Spenser but slightly. Rather, he fell back, for his political authority, upon Aristotle, and the Reformers, with their literal scripturism.

¹³ *F. Q.*, 5. 9. 42.

¹⁴ *View*, p. 614.

¹⁵ *Letters of Gabriel Harvey*, Huth, 1. 137.

Indeed, he seems even to have been unaffected by the works of Pierre de la Ramée, the anti-Aristotelian, who, in 1536, startled the academic world with the thesis that whatever Aristotle had sought to establish was wrong. Yet Harvey boasted of his worship of Ramée's genius, the very first book from the Cambridge Press (1584) was an edition of the *Dialectica*, edited by Temple, and Sidney accepted the dedication of this book and professed himself a Ramist.

In his theory of the ultimate function of the state, Spenser held to the Aristotelian and Platonic doctrine that the state is an ethical agency, with virtue as its ideal. With these classical philosophers he regarded virtue—ἀρετή—as the principle of pure and ideal aristocracy, and the *Faërie Queene* is an attempt to portray the ideal knight perfected in all the individual virtues. Men should be expected to illustrate, exalt and uphold virtue in proportion to their authority and freedom, their weight in the national life. The severest condemnation of Cecil that the poet could express was that he despised virtue, for the ministers of the state should, as Plato and Aristotle advocated, be the most virtuous men:

O grieves of griefes! O gall of all good heartes!
To see that vertue should despised bee
Of him, that first was raisde for vertuous parts.

The scholar, the man of arms, the statesman, in particular are set apart and dedicated to the propagation and protection of virtue. This virtue, again, may be either intellectual or moral; the one cultivated by the life of scholarship and contemplation, the other by the life of statesmanlike and martial activity. It is such virtue that measures the character of a state, and it is neglect of virtue by its appointed guardians that spells the shame of a nation, a shame that Spenser laments so plaintively in *The Teares of the Muses*:

For they
That wont the world with famous acts to fill,
.
Have both desire of worthie deeds forlorne,
And name of learning utterly do scorne.
.
But they, whom thou, great Jove, by doome unjust
Didst to the type of honour earst advaunce;
They now, puft up with sdeignfull insolence,
Despise the brood of blessed Sapience.

The sectaries of my celestiall skill,
That wont to be the worlds chiefe ornament,
And learned Impes that wont to shoote up still,
And grow to height of kingdomes government,
They underkeep, and with their spreading armes
Do beat their buds, that perish through their harmes.

It most behoves the honorable race
Of mightie Peeres true wisdome to sustaine,
And with their noble countenance to grace
The learned forheads, without gifts or gaine;
Or rather learned themselves behoves to bee,
That is the girlond of Nobilitie.¹⁶

The *View of the Present State of Ireland* confirms the deductions here made from the poetry, but as there will be occasion to quote from that work at some length in discussing Spenser's economic theories, consideration of it at this point may well be waived.

Whether from conviction or policy, Spenser was essentially a conservative in his political ideas; today we would call him a thoroughgoing "standpatter." In his controversy with the Gyant—Communism,—Artegall, the Knight of Justice, sums up his argument with the succinct declaration, "All change is perillous, and all chaunce unsound."¹⁷ Thus, like Aristotle, Spenser makes stability the desideratum in government. It was a political principle that met with the profound approval of the Tudors, and that was voiced by those political writers who enjoyed the favour of Elizabeth. Thus, in like vein, Smith writes in his *De Republica Anglorum*: "Certaine it is that it is alwayes a doubtfull and hasardous matter to meddle with the chaunging of the lawes and government which a man doth finde alreadie established."¹⁸

The student of letters thinks of the Elizabethan age as a period distinguished by a notable expansion of humanistic ideals and by a brilliant literature, but the period is of no less commanding interest to the economist. When Elizabeth became queen, England was an inferior nation commercially; ere her reign was over, English commerce held a commanding position. Reform of the coinage; a vigorous protective policy that fostered home industries and kept the balance of trade in England's favour;

¹⁶ Cf. the *View*, pp. 609 and 677 for other expressions of the office of the scholar and statesman.

¹⁷ *F. Q.*, 5. 2. 36.

¹⁸ *P.* 13.

the upbuilding of a great merchant marine through insistence that English commerce be carried in English bottoms; the policy of religious toleration, which brought to England expert workmen in many lines; the rigorous oversight of the mercantile system, even to the point of subordinating the welfare of the individual to the welfare of the nation; adjustments of the relations of capital and labor; are the noteworthy features of Elizabeth's commercial policy.

Most fundamental of all, and first in point of time, was the placing of the country upon a sound financial basis; without this reform England must have remained an insignificant commercial power. By 1560 the coinage was depreciated to one-seventh of its original value, the price of necessities had risen one hundred per cent, and barter was often preferred. An immediate financial reform was therefore inaugurated; the old coin was all called in, and new coin issued. Trade at once responded, and the country entered a period of marked prosperity.

A second monetary reform, dictated by the growing demand for investment, and in turn greatly augmenting investment, was the recognition of the lending of money for interest as legitimate. With the increased demand for capital, it was inevitable that the traditional attitude toward usury should change. In the middle centuries, when there was little chance for investment and a man's surplus lay idle, a loan was in the nature of a personal favour and to take interest was to take advantage of another's misfortune; but the question presented a new aspect when, with changing conditions, there was opportunity to invest one's surplus.

However, there was no economic question upon which the sixteenth century was more divided, or which was argued with more warmth. The Church had always condemned the practice as a violation of the Biblical principle that man should earn his bread by the sweat of his brow, and of the specific Gospel injunction, "Lend, hoping for nothing again," and Aristotle had condemned it on the more scientific ground that money was thus made to reproduce itself instead of being applied to the procurement of the necessities of life. By many of the Reformers, however, following the lead of Calvin, himself the product of a middle class business community, a man of legal mind and of great practical shrewdness, usury was defended as ethically and economically sound, and thereby gained in favour. Among the English Reformers, Jewel,

Bullinger, and Bucer all wrote in its defence. Where is the difference, Bullinger asks, in lending out money for reasonable return and in buying land with the said money and renting the land? Usury was accordingly first tolerated by the Parliament of 1545, then abrogated by the Parliament of 1552, and finally approved by the Parliament of 1571.

Next to the monetary situation, the question of employment and wages claimed attention. The industrial problems may be divided for convenience into the problems of the country and the problems of the city, or the agrarian problem and the mercantile problem. These must be approached historically.

The agrarian problem was by no means a new one. Ever since the Black Death had upset the relatively stable agricultural régime that had maintained for several centuries prior thereto, the agrarian problem had loomed large. Before that fateful malady, lord, villain and cotter had coöperated in cultivating the soil with a fair degree of contentment and sympathy. The typical manor embraced the demesne or land cultivated for the immediate benefit of the lords, consisting partly or separate closes and partly of acres scattered through the common fields; the virgates or holdings of the villains, normally thirty acres scattered through the common fields and comprising about three-fifths of the manor; and the holdings of the cottagers, one or two acres and a cottage. In return for their holdings, villain and cotter were required to give to the lord two or three days' work a week, and additional service in spring and fall. For agricultural purposes the land was divided into the arable fields, devoted wholly to crops; the meadow land, used for raising hay, and, after the harvest, for pasturing; and the permanent pasture or woodland, either shared in common or in proportion to the holdings, and devoted to grazing. The above provision for service, and certain other regulations governing the transfer of holdings from one generation to another, constituted what came to be known as "customary tenure," legal recognition of the rights of the tenant; and, when entered upon the official rolls of the realm, known as copyhold rights.

As time went on, this simple economic arrangement was gradually modified: some villains were able to purchase their acres outright, others were given their acres because of military service;

whence a class of freehold yeomen. Some cotters, in turn, were able to work up into the class of villains.

Prior to the middle of the fourteenth century there was little confusion, and, as town life held out scant pecuniary attraction, little desire to leave the soil. The Black Death, however, by removing full half of the working population, produced a scarcity of labor, with the consequent rise in prices; furthermore, by wiping out whole families of tenants and thereby destroying much legal tenure, it tempted the greed of the lords for land monopoly. As the rise in wages did not keep pace with the rise in prices, there was a general exodus of the poorer laboring class, who hoped to find employment in the growing industries of the towns. When the landlords found that no laws, however severe, were able to stop this exodus, they turned to grazing, which the increased demand for wool made profitable, and then were as anxious to get people off the land as before they had been anxious to keep them on it. Thence began the long struggle over "enclosures," which only ended when, with the overthrow of the Crown in the seventeenth century, the landlords found no further impediment to their rapacity.

All through the days of Elizabeth the landlords, as a class, were struggling to get rid of their tenants, or to exact the maximum of rent from them. Moreover, the traditional landlords were reinforced by powerful allies, the new landlords created by the disestablishment of monasteries and the confiscation of the agrarian lands once held by the gilds, the insolent and grasping "new rich," favorites of the Crown; reinforced also by the capitalist landlords who had made their money in commercial life and had turned to land for speculation. Though such yeomen as held their land in freehold were practically free from the aggressors, the lords studiously sought to discredit those who held land by customary tenure or by copyhold, and rack-rented those who merely leased the farms. The old idea of class obligation was fast losing hold, and the new theory of making the land yield the most was fast becoming the landlord's creed. The old landlord and the new landlord—Tory and Whig, shall we call them?—were pitted against the rural population.

When the conduct of a Bishop occasioned such a rebuke as the following, addressed by Lord North to the Bishop of Ely, what was to be expected of the lords as a class: "My lord, it wilbe no

pleasure for you to have hir Majestye and the Councell knowe howe wretchedly yowe live within and without your house, howe extremely covetous, how great a grazier, how marvellous a dayrye man, how ritche a farmer, how grete an owner. It will not lyke yowe that the world knowe of your decayed houses, of the leases you pull violently from many, of the copleholders that yowe lawlesslye enter into, of the fre land that yowe wrongfully pose. Yowe suffer no man to live longer under yowe than yowe lyke him."¹⁹ The history of this whole cruel policy is epitomized in the bitter words which burst from the lips of a nameless victim: "As sheepe or lambs are a prey to the wolfe or lion, so are the poor men to the rich men."²⁰ The courts of the time were consequently burdened with agrarian litigation.

On the whole, the sympathies of the government were with the yeomen, partly because the government held to the traditional theory of class solidarity, the *status quo*, partly because it wished the food supply to be produced at home, partly because the yeomen would constitute a dangerous ally to an enemy of the Crown, partly because the yeomanry furnished the flower of the army, and partly because, according to the system of taxation in vogue, farming yielded more taxes than grazing.²¹ Yet, in as much as the government was not willing to adopt the fundamental measure of turning customary into legal titles, of fixing judicial rents for leaseholders, and immovable fines for copyholders, such action as it did take was only successful in retarding the oncoming "landlord system." As a last resort, the tenant could enter his protest before the Court of Star Chamber or the Court of Requests, and when such a protest was valid, relief was forthcoming, yet, because the regulation of agrarian matters was, in conformity to custom, in the hands of the local justices who, in practice, were usually prosperous freehold yeomen in sympathy with the lords, tenants were, for the most part, intimidated. The government thus got the credit of being friendly to the tenants, without antagonizing to a dangerous degree the wealthy and powerful lords and gentry.

Just as the medieval agrarian organization, essentially coöperative in character, was gradually replaced by the landlord system,

¹⁹ Quoted by R. H. Tawney, *The Agrarian Problem in the Sixteenth Century*, p. 349.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 332.

²¹ See the citations in Tawney, p. 341 ff.

so the guilds, likewise coöperative, were replaced by the modern organization of capital and labor. In the fourteenth century the craft guilds—associations of all the workers in a particular industry of a given town—were democratic in character: any young man wishing to qualify for a particular trade was welcomed into the guild as an apprentice, the entrance fee was small, the apprentice enjoyed all of the social benefits of the guild, and when he had served his term was expected to set up shop for himself. The master craftsman was artisan, employer, capitalist, and retailer, all in one, for he himself worked, he kept apprentices, he furnished shop and tools, and he sold his own products. In the thirteenth century a change begins to take place, and by the end of the sixteenth century the change is complete. Gradually the guilds become selfish and exclusive: the number of apprentices is limited, only free-born youth are admitted, preference is given to the sons of guild members, the entrance fee is high, the period of apprenticeship is lengthened, apprentices are discouraged from setting up independent establishments, many being thus forced to remain mere journeymen at low wages, and social distinctions arise in the guild itself. Thus, only those who can afford the costly livery of the guild are entitled to vote, and the control of the guild passes into the hands of a few. The guilds also try to discourage competition. Most radical of all, the various functions are separated, so that some wealthy members become manufacturers exclusively, owning extensive plants, hiring many men, and not working themselves, and some become strictly retailers, merely selling the products manufactured by others. These wealthy men come to control the government of the town, and their direction of its industries is absolute. Whiggery thus establishes itself in the municipalities. The inevitable enmity between labor and capital, between wealth and poverty resulted. The sixteenth century saw the decline of the guilds. On the ground that they were religious organizations, in as much as the interest of some of their investments was used to pay for masses in behalf of deceased members, much of their property was confiscated by Henry VIII, and, following the Tudor policy, the regulation of wages and trade was placed in the hands of the justices. The Statute of Apprentices of 1563 regulated the number of apprentices, relieved the entrance conditions, fixed the hours of labor, required long hirings, empowered the justices to determine from time to time what

wages, in view of the supply and demand, should be paid. Though the guilds were thus supplanted, the democracy of the fourteenth century was, of course, not reëstablished, for industry had become permanently committed to a policy of labor and capital. Moreover, the working class was relatively unprotected, for the justices were chosen from the "substantial" men of the community. However, it was the intention of the government to better the conditions of the artisan, and, though the rise in wages ever lagged far behind the rise in prices, to some extent this was accomplished.

If the Act of Apprentices accomplished something in providing work for men, there were still very many out of employment, either because they could not find work, or did not wish to work, or were too aged and infirm. These people were a disturbing element in the state: some of them were earnest fellows who had become embittered and preached "dangerous" political and social doctrines; some of them were rogues, bearwards, jugglers, minstrels, fencers, who lived from hand to mouth, encouraged the townsmen to spend their money in idle amusements, and carried disease from one community to another; others were decrepit wretches who, since the dissolution of the monasteries and chantries, the traditional dispensers of alms, were under everybody's feet, with their importunate begging.

The Elizabethan policy shows uniform rigour toward those who were shiftless, but a constantly growing appreciation of the claims of the worthy poor. Acts were passed in 1563, 1572, 1576, 1597, and 1601. In all of these acts extremely harsh measures are proposed for those thought to be idle by preference. Thus, by the act of 1572, rogues and vagabonds are "to bee grevously whipped, and burnt through the gristle of the right Eare with a hot Iron of the Compasse of an Inch about."

That the worthy poor had legitimate claims upon the state was recognized more clearly in each succeeding act. The policy was to throw the burden on the parishes: by the act of 1563, each parish was required to collect alms of all able to pay them; by the act of 1572, the children of vagabonds were to be taken from their parents and put to work, and houses were to be built for the worthy poor; by the act of 1576, the poor were to be made self-supporting by being put to work on materials, such as hemp, flax, and wool, furnished by the authorities, and, if they refused to work, were to be sent to houses of correction; the acts of 1597

and 1601 codified the previous measures. In the main the laws were beneficial and relieved the economic pressure, though, of course, they did not strike at the roots of poverty.

And now to return to Spenser. A poet and an idealist, believing with Aristotle that learning and statesmanship afford the only activities worthy of a noble spirit, and believing in the Biblical doctrine that "the love of money is the root of all evil," he was out of sympathy with the whole commercial spirit of the age. His attitude toward the greed for riches is set forth in the *Faërie Queene*, Book II, Canto 7, where, in an allegory full of the spirit of the medieval moralities, Guyon, the Knight of Temperance, is tempted by Mammon. In response to Mammon's claim that riches, renown, estate, honour, and all worldly goods are his to give, the knight, voicing doubtless the poet's conviction, replies:

Regard of worldly mucke doth fowly blend,
And low abase the high heroicke spright,
That joyes for crownes and kingdomes to contend.

And when Mammon has conducted the knight into the house of riches, and admonishes him,

Loe! here the worldes blis: loe! here the end,
To which al men doe ayme, rich to be made:
Such grace now to be happy is before thee laid,

the knight rejoins:

Another blis before mine eyes I place,
Another happines, another end.
To them that list these base regards I lend;
But I in armes, and in atchievements brave,
Do rather choose my flitting houres to spend,
And to be Lord of those that riches have,
Than them to have my selfe, and be their servile slave.

Slave, indeed! since Payne, Strife, Revenge, Despight, Treason, Hate, Gealosity, Feare, Sorrow, and Care lurk outside the house of riches, and within Sleep is never allowed to enter. The desire for riches is opposed to the Law of Nature, that law of which we read so much in the contemporary philosophers and economists, and which has such potent influence over men's minds, since untroubled nature despises superfluity and escapes those cares which "empeach our *native* joyes."

But an allegory of much more significance in view of contemporary events is that in Book V, Canto 2, wherein Artegall, the Knight of Justice, overthrows Pollente, the extortionate Saracen,

and razes his castle. While this character probably stands for the whole spirit of extortion and monopoly, Spenser clearly is using as one of his models the greedy landlord and land grabber whose rapacity caused so much suffering to evicted or rack-rented tenants and so much trouble to the courts, for he is described as one

Having great Lordships got and goodly farmes,
Through strong oppression of his powre extort,
By which he stil them holds, and keepes with strong effort.

Rich and poor alike are the victims of this extortion, for while Pollente has a groom of evil guise—the hated steward or bailiff of the manor—who “pols and pils the poore in piteous wize,” Pollente himself tyrannizes over the rich. Especially noteworthy is the fact that it is Talus—representing the stern hand of the law—who forces his way into the castle and drags to execution Munera, the hoarder of her father’s ill-gotten gains.

Spenser may have had good reason to feel bitterly toward this class, for it may well have been that his own family had suffered at their hands, since his father, a poor London clothmaker, was descended of a freehold family, and was probably one of those men who sought in the city that livelihood which they were no longer able or permitted to wrest from the soil.

But if, on the one hand, Spenser condemned the greedy monopolist of land and business, he condemned with equal severity that class of men—the “lusty vagabonds” of the Elizabethan laws—who refused to work and who wandered about the country engendering class hatred and preaching radical economic and social doctrines. This class is shown up in the conflict between Justice and Communism²² and in the program of the Fox and the Ape in the *Mother Hubbard’s Tale*, as they sally forth to impose upon the world, relying upon their false doctrine of equality and fraternity:

Thus therefore I advize upon the case,
That not to anie certaine trade or place,
Nor anie man, we should our selves applie;
For why should he that is at libertie
Make himselfe bond? sith then we are free borne,
Let us all servile base subjection scorne;
And as we bee sonnes of the world so wide,
Let us our fathers heritage divide,

²² *F. Q.*, 5, 2. See my article on *Spenser’s Arraignment of the Anabaptists*, *Journal Eng. and Germ. Phil.*, 12. 3.

And chalenge to our selves our portions dew
 Of all the patrimonie, which a few
 Now hold in hugger mugger in their hand,
 And all the rest doo rob of good and land.
 For now a few have all, and all have nought,
 Yet all be brethren ylike dearly bought:
 There is no right in this partition,
 Ne was it so by institution
 Ordained first, ne by the law of Nature,
 But that she gave like blessing to each cature,
 As well of worldly livelode as of life,
 That there might be no difference nor strife,
 Nor ought cald mine or thine: thrice happie then
 Was the condition of mortall men.
 That was the golden age of Saturne old,
 But this might better be the world of gold;
 For without golde now nothing wilbe got,
 Therefore (if please you) this shalbe our plot:
 We will not be of anie occupation;
 Let such vile vassals, borne to base vocation,
 Drudge in the world, and for their living droyle,
 Which have no wit to live withouten toyle;
 But we will walke about the world at pleasure
 Like two free men, and make our ease our treasure.
 Free men some beggars call, but they be free,
 And they which call them so more beggers bee;
 For they doo swinke and sweate to feed the other,
 Who live like Lords of that which they doo gather,
 And yet doo never thanke them for the same,
 But as their due by Nature doo it clame.²³

It is significant that, though Spenser might have availed himself of the logic of Aristotle, who attacked the philosophic supports of communism on the ground that personal possession is at the bottom of affection, harmony, and real unity, he was content to fall back upon the unscientific method of the Reformers—Melanchthon, Calvin, Bullinger, Hooper—who defended the right of private property on the supposed authority of the Scriptures, and explained the economic inequality as part of the inscrutable workings of Providence:

He pulleth downe, he setteth up on hy;
 He gives to this, from that he takes away,
 For all we have is his: what he list doe, he may.²⁴

²³ 128 ff.

²⁴ *F. Q.*, 5. 2. 41.

In this passage from the *Mother Hubbard's Tale*, Spenser recognizes that both the enemies and the advocates of private property quote the Law of Nature in defense of their contentions. His own sympathies are with the advocates, for he defends inequality of possession on the ground that like inequalities exist in nature, yet without envy:

The hils doe not the lowly dales disdaine,
The dales doe not the lofty hils envy.
He maketh Kings to sit in soverainty;
He maketh subjects to their powre obay.²⁵

Apparently Spenser did not see the inevitable inconsistencies in which such a theory of property involved him. If "He pulleth downe, he setteth up on hy," are we to assume that the Deity was a party to the choice of Elizabeth's ministers of whom the poet complained so often and so bitterly; and if "He gives to this, from that he takes away," are we to assume that Justice always overtakes every grasping Pollente, and always compensates every one of his victims? Does God compel justice in human affairs, despite the selfishness and indifference of mankind? If so, why was the poet so scornful of the captains of industry that were rising about him, and why should he complain—as it will be seen later that he does—because the Irish nobility had "undone the poor tenants?" If God thus cares for his children, why was the poet so incensed at his own lack of fortune and advancement?

So far as one may judge from the single passage in which usury is mentioned, Spenser held to the traditional position of the Church, and had not accepted the new theory of interest that grew out of the changing monetary conditions, though he may have distinguished between legitimate interest and "accursed usury." In the pageant of the Seven Deadly Sins the poet speaks of usury as the trade of avarice:

And greedy Avarice by him did ride,
Upon a Camell loaden all with gold:
Two iron coffers hong on either side,
With precious metall full as they might hold;
And in his lap an heape of coine he told,
For of his wicked pelfe his God he made,
And unto hell him selfe for money sold:
Accursed usury was all his trade,
And right and wrong ylike in equall ballaunce waide.²⁶

²⁵ *F. Q.*, 5. 2. 41.

²⁶ *F. Q.*, 1. 4. 27.

If the poetry expresses the political and economic views of Spenser the idealist, the *View* shows him the practical agent and advisor of the government, who had matured a careful policy for the reformation of the affairs of that unfortunate realm. To this day the poet's name is a synonym in Ireland for Machiavellism, but one must bear in mind that it is a sixteenth century document, not a twentieth century one, and that it was addressed to a Queen and a Council who had well-defined policies of government and well-defined theories of economics. There is, indeed, not a little evidence to show that Spenser was mapping out a policy that would protect Ireland from the economic evils that had recently grown up in England.

The first recommendations are for the subjugation of the realm. Believing that England had always pursued an ineffective, half-way policy, the poet feels that the most merciful procedure and the most economical would be to send a very large army and break the spirit of the Irish once for all, crush those who were rebellious until the very heart was taken out of them: kill their cattle, drive them into the barren wastes in winter, and only show mercy when they dragged forth their starved bodies and plead for food. It is a terrible proposal, uttered with cold deliberateness, but Spenser had come to feel that the Irish had largely degenerated into a race of cattle thieves and robbers, thriftless, ignorant, debased, ready to take an oath when cornered, ready to break it when free. The land once subjected, families were to be removed from the counties where they had lived and to be scattered, so that the old clan feeling would be broken. Permanent garrisons were to be placed at strategic points; old soldiers, seasoned for service, were to be placed on the land; and free, corporate towns—since towns are ever the enemies of lawlessness—were to be established. Over all Ireland was to be placed a Lord Lieutenant, an office which should be filled by some very eminent Englishman. Under him was to be a Lord Deputy who, with the aid of a Council, would bear the brunt of the burden of government; in the words of Spenser, "Which may keepe them afterwards in awe and obedience, and minister unto them justice and equitye." There was also to be a Parliament, in the lower house of which the regular Irish members would be outnumbered by imported English freeholders, burgesses, and such loyal Irishmen as would be made knights of

the shire; and in the upper house of which the Irish lords would be checked by the creation of a sufficient number of baronets.

For purposes of tithing, the commonalty were to be divided into shires, hundreds, and tens, each ten to be responsible for the payment of all its tithes, each hundred responsible for its tens, and each shire for its hundreds. Gentlemen were to be tithed in a similar way, since the term "gentleman" was used with a good deal of latitude in Ireland. Nobles, among whom there was not much assessable property anyway, were to be surety for one another. The tithes were to be assessed and collected by justices of the peace, acting for the Crown, rather than by the lords. This had distinct advantage: it would emphasize the claims of the crown, both politically and financially; it would prevent the lords from assessing unfairly; and it would break down their prestige, thus lessening the danger of their leading the commoners to insurrection. "And this is the reason," says the poet, with full understanding of the Tudor policy of curtailing the power of the lords by dealing directly with the commons, "this is the reason that ye have fewe such badd occasions here in England, by reason that the noblemen, however they should happen to be ill disposed, should have noe commaunde at all over the comunaltye, though dwelling under them, because that everye man standeth upon himselfe, and buildeth his fortunes upon his owne fayth and firme assurance: the which this manner of tithing the polls will woorke also in Ireland."²⁷

Moreover, since the lords had wrested the land from the original tenants and bestowed it upon relatives, or had imposed all kinds of servitude upon their tenants, who were ignorant of their own rights, a commission was to be appointed to examine titles and redistribute the land, care being had to provide for many loyal English immigrants. It is well to quote the passage relative to pillage and rack-rent, since it shows Spenser's attitude toward the general policy of landlords: "Surely they may be well enough; for most of those lordes, since theyr first grauntes from the Kinges by which these landes were given them, have sithence bestowed the moste parte of them amongst theyr kinsfolkes, as every lorde perhaps in his time hath given one or other of his principall castells to his yonger sonne, and other to others, as largely and as

²⁷*View*, p. 673.

amplye as they were given to him; and others they have sold, and others they have bought, which were not in theyr first graunte, which nowe nevertheless they bring within the compass therof, and take and exacte upon them, as upon their first demeanes, all those kind of services, yea and the verye wilde Irish exactions, as Coignye and Liverye, for him, and such like, by which they poll and utterly undoe the poore tenaunts and freeholders unto them, which either through ignoraunce knowe not theyr tenures, or through greatness of theyr newe lordes dare not challenge them; yea, and some lordes of countreyes also, as greate ones as themselves, are nowe by strong hand brought under them, and made theyr vassalls. . . . For reformation of all which, it were good that a commission should be graunted forth under the Greate Seale. . . . Thereupon would appeare, first howe all those greate English lordes doe clayme those great services, what segnioryes they usurpe, what wardeshipes they take from the Queene, what landes of hers they conceale; and then howe those Irish captaynes of countreyes have encroched upon the Queenes freeholders and tenautes, howe they have translated the tenures of them from English holding unto Irish Tanistrie, and defected her Majestie of all the rightes and duties which are to accrewe to her therout, as wardeships, liveryes, mariadges, fines of alienations, and manye other comodities; which nowe are kepte and concealed from her Majestie to the value of 60.000 L. yearly, I dare undertake, in all Ireland, by that which I knowe in one countye."²⁸

To encourage industry, provision was to be made that any one not able to live of his freehold should be appointed to some trade. This passage contains an interesting classification of labor and shows the poet's attitude toward various aspects of the agrarian problem:

Irenaeus. The next thing that I will doe shalbe to appointe to everye one, that is not able to live of his free-holde, a certayne trade of life, to which he shall finde himselfe fittest, and shalbe thought ablest, the which trade he shalbe bounde to followe, and live onely therupon. All trades therefore, it is to be understood, are to be of three kindes, manuall, intellectuall, and mixt. The first contayning all such as needeth exercise of bodylye labour to the perfourmaunce of theyr profession; the other consisting onelye of the exercise of witt and reason; the third sort, partly of bodelye labour, and partly of witt, but depending most of industrie and carefullness. Of the first sorte be all handycraftes and husbandrye labour. Of the second be all sciences, and those

which are called the liberrall artes. Of the thirde is marchandize and chafferie, that is, buying and selling; and without all these three there is noe commonwealth can allmost consist, or at the least be perfect. But that wretched realme of Ireland wanteth, the most principall of them, that is, the intellectuall; therfore in seeking to reforme her state it is specially to be looked unto. But because of husbandrye, which supplyeth unto us all necessarye thinges for foode, wherby we cheifly live, therfore it is first to be provided for. The first thing therfore that we are to drawe these newe tithed men unto, ought to be husbandrye. First, because it is the most easye to be learned, needing onely the labour of the bodye; next, because it is most generall and most needefull; then, because it is most naturall; and lastlye, because it is most enemy to warre, and most hateth unquiettness: As the Poet sayeth,

—*‘bella execrata colonis:’*

for husbandrye being the nurse of thrift, and the daughter of industrye and labour, detesteth all that may woorke her hinderaunce, and distroye the travell of her handes, whose hope is all her lives comforte unto the plowgh: therfore all those Kearne, Stokaghs, and Horseboyces are to be driven and made to employe that ablenesse of bodye, which they were wonte to use to thefte and villanye, hencefoorth to labour and industrye. In the which, by that time they have spent but a litle payne, they will finde such sweetness and happy contentment, that they will afterwarde hardly be hayled away from it, or drawn to theyr woonted lewde life in theeverye and rogerye. And being thus once entred thereunto, they are not onely to be countenaunced and encouraged by all good meanes, but also provided that theyr children after them may be brought up likewise in the same, and succede in the roomes of theyr fathers. To which end there is a Statute in Ireland allreadye well provided, which comaundeth that all the sonnes of husbandmen shal be trayned up in theyr fathers trade, but it is (God wote) very slenderlye executed.

Eudoxus. But doe you not counte, in this trade of husbandrye, pasturing of cattell, and keeping of theyr cowes, for that is reckned as a parte of husbandrye?

Irenaeus. I knowe it is, and needfullye to be used, but I doe not meane to allowe anye of those able bodyes, which are able to use bodely labour, to followe a fewe cowes grasing, but such impotent persons, as being unable for strong travell, are yet able to drive cattell to and fro the pasture; for this keeping of cowes is of it selfe a verye idle life, and a fitt nurserye of a theefe. For which cause ye remember that I disliked the Irish manner of keeping Bolyes in Sommer upon the mountaynes, and living after that savadge sorte. But yf they will algates feede many cattell, or keepe them on the mountaynes, lett them make some townes nere the mountaynes side, where they may dwell together with neighbours, and be conversaunt in the viewe of the world. And, to say truth, though Ireland be by nature counted a great soyle of pasture, yet had I rather have fewer cowes kept, and men better mannered, then to have such huge encrease of cattell, and noe encrease of good condicions. I would therefore wish that there were made some ordinaunces amongst them, that whosoever keepeth twentye kine should keepe a plough going, for otherwise all men would fall to pasturing, and none to husbandrye, which is a great cause of this dearth now in England, and a cause of the usuall stealthes now in Ireland: For looke

into all countreyes that live in such sorte by keeping of cattell, and you shall finde that they are both verye barbarous and uncivill, and also greatly given to warre.²⁹

Speculation in corn was to be prohibited, since it had been found mischievous in England: "Therefore it were good that a straighte ordinaunce were made, that none should buye or sell any cattell but in some open markett (there being nowe markett townes everye where at hand) upon a great penaltie; neither should they likewise buye any corne to sell the same agayne, unless it were to make malte therof; for by such engrossing and regrating we see the dearthe that nowe comonly raigneth heere in England to have bene caused."³⁰

Nor were the liberal arts to be neglected, for lords, gentlemen, and those able to afford it, were to educate their children, each parish keeping one petty schoolmaster, adjoining the church, and each county or baroney, one able master.

Finally, the vagabond was not to be forgotten, and the provisions for his welfare show no softening of the customary severity of the Elizabethan laws, show, indeed, the same harsh spirit already met with in the passage from the *Mother Hubbard's Tale*:

Nowe that this people is thus tithed and ordered, and everye one bound unto some honest trade of life, which shal be particularly entred and sett downe in the tithing booke, yet perhaps there wil be some stragglers and runnagates which will not of themselves come in and yeeld themselves to this order, and yet after the well finishing of this present warre, and establishing of the garrisons in all strong places of the countrey, where theyre woonted refuge was most I doe suppose there will fewe stand out, or yf they doe, they will shortly be brought in by the eares: But yet afterwarde, least any one of these should swarve, or any that is tyed to a trade should afterwarde not followe the same, according to this institution, but should straggle up and downe the countrey, or miche in corners amongst theyr frendes idlye, as Carooghs, Bardes, Jesters, and such like, I would wish that there were a Provost Marshall appoynted in everye shire, which should continuallye walke through the countrey, with halfe a douzen, or half a score of horsemen, to take up such loose persons as they should finde thus wandring, whom he should punnish by his owne authoritye, with such paynes as the persons should seeme to deserve: for yf he be but once taken soe idlye roging, he may punnish him more lightlye, as with stockes, or such like; but yf he be founde agayne soe loytring, he may scourge him with whippes, or roddes, after which yf he be agayne taken, lett him have the bitterness of the marshall lawe.³¹

²⁹ Pp. 677-678

³⁰ P. 681.

³¹ Pp. 678-679.

Spenser went on the traditional assumption that there was work for every man who was willing to work; he did not perceive that in the new economic organization poverty was inevitable for some, and he therefore made no provision, as had been done in recent legislation in England, for the worthy poor.

Such is Spenser's scheme for Ireland. Politically, it conforms strictly to the Tudor policies of the domination of the Crown and the centralization of authority. Needless to say, only a document of this political color would have been acceptable. Economically, it is a conservative document, unsympathetic to the current economic tendencies in England,—land monopoly in the country, and speculation and monopoly of trade in the cities. Moreover, it proposes what alone could have brought adequate relief to the agrarian situation in England, an explicit determination and legalizing of all holdings. If put into effect, it would have reproduced with some approach to faithfulness the English economic life of an earlier period.

Spenser's conception of society is essentially aristocratic. Though his father was a poor London clothmaker, so poor that the son was the recipient of charity while a student at the Merchant Tailor's school, and a sizar at Cambridge, he was yet "a gentleman by birth," a descendant of a freehold family that had enjoyed an honorable repute in Lancashire for three centuries, and related to certain of the lesser nobility. The poet made the most of this relationship, dedicating poems to each of the three daughters of a certain Sir John Spencer—Elizabeth, Lady Carey; Alice, Lady Strange; and Ann, Countess of Dorset—, whom he describes as

The honor of the noble family
Of which I meanest boast myself to be.

Thus born in the outskirts of gentility, the poet cast hungry eyes at the happy lot of those who enjoyed the full rights of its citizenship, and his constant study was to win favor and position. Never did churl more feverishly itch to be allowed to sit at the banquet of the great, and he fluctuated between hope and disappointment.

Yet Spenser held in contempt many of the aristocracy of the day, either families of long standing nobility, who had forgotten the traditions of the past, and who had substituted the low-lived activities of the courtier and the vulgar amusements of the town for deeds of valor and the noble exercises of chivalry, or new

families that had suddenly been raised to affluence by grants of confiscated property or had won recognition in the new world of finance, men who, ignorant, vulgar, grasping and conceited,

borne of salvage brood,

And having beene with Acorns alwaies fed,

yet exerted weighty influence. To the former class the poet devotes many a scathing stanza:

For they, to whom I used to applie
The faithfull service of my learned skill,
The goodly off-spring of Joves progenie,
That wont the world with famous acts to fill;
Whose living praises in heroick style,
It is my chief profession to compyle;

They, all corrupted through the rust of time
That doth all fairest things on earth deface,
Or through unnoble sloth, or sinfull crime,
That doth degenerate the noble race,
Have both desire of worthie deeds forlorne,
And name of learning utterly doo scorne.

Ne doo they care to have the auncestrie
Of th' old Heroes memorizde anew;
Ne doo they care that late posteritie
Should know their names, or speak their praises dew,
But die forgot from whence at first they sprong,
As they themselves shalbe forgot ere long.³²

Such constituted a debased or false aristocracy, but aristocracy pure and undefiled—such aristocracy as the poet, idealist that he was, longed to see effective in the life of the nation—was an aristocracy of the chivalric and courtly traditions, wherein men of finer clay, comely in body and brave in spirit, guardians of gentleness, courtesy, and learning, uncontaminated by association with the vulgar common folk, and, while relieved from the debasing struggle for pence and pounds, yet enjoying that freedom which wealth alone can give, devoted themselves to magnanimous service,—nobility by the grace of God.

The passages quoted above from the *View* are sufficient evidence that Spenser recognized the economic desirability of various social classes, and that he did not wish to see the yeoman and burgess robbed of their old-time security and contentment. Socially, however, he was intolerant of them.

³² *Tears of the Muses*, 428 ff.

His estimate of the self-made man, a most interesting study in attitude, may be gathered from what he has to say of the Irish leader, Feugh Mac Hugh: "Surely I can comend him that, being of himself of soe base condition, hath through his owne hardines lifted himselfe up to that height that he dare now to fronte princes, and make termes with great potentates; the which as it is honorable to him, soe it is to them most disgraceful, to be bearded of such a base varlett, that being but of late grown out of the dounghill beginneth nowe to overcome soe high mountaynes, and make himselfe great protectour of all outlawes and rebels that will repayre unto him."³³

The common people are seldom allowed to intrude into fairy-land, and then only to act as a foil, by their clownishness, their ignorance and their vice, to the noble knights and ladies. We catch a glimpse of them, "the raskall many," as "heaped together in rude rablement" they gaze, "with gaping wonderment," upon some doughty knight; we see them "like foolish flies about an hony-crooke," clustering about a demagogue who inflames them with political unrest, a "raskall crewe," in whose base blood the Knight of Justice is loth "his noble handes t'embrew"; or perchance we see some boor burning with lust for gentle lady wandered across his path. If gentleness or honor ever appears among the lowly, it proves to be in some highborn youth or maiden whose real origin is unknown.

The *Teares of the Muses* is a fountain of laments that the arts have been prostituted to the standards of the multitude, until only the peerless Poetesse, Divine Elisa, and "some few beside" care for beauty of sentiment and purity of expression.

Doubtless all this was very agreeable to the knights and ladies, in satin and lace, whom the poet sought to delight, as they read the magical pages, reclining at their ease, and indulged in the pleasing fancy that they themselves were made of such stuff as Artegall and Calidore, as Amoret and Britomart; very agreeable to be told thus delightfully that

In brave pursuit of honorable deed,
There is I know not (what) great difference
Betweene the vulgar and the noble seed,
Which unto things of valorous pretence
Seemes to be borne by native influence;

³³ *View*, p. 660.

yet one can but wonder if the poet did not have some misgivings, did not feel himself somewhat of a traitor, as he thought of the old clothweaver, and of the lads with whom he had played in his youth, those "vulgar commoners" with whom he had long since broken. Can sixteenth century England have been so different from twentieth century America that such shadows never swept across the poet's mind; so different that, in the hours of disappointment, when the long-hoped-for preferment failed to come, he never felt that he had paid dear for it all? Perhaps so, perhaps not; who shall say?

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REVIEWS AND NOTES

ZUR STILISTIK DER ADJECTIVA IN OTFRIDS EVANGELIENBUCH UND IM HELIAND, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der psychologisch-rhythmischen Merkmale und der Beziehungen zu den Quellen im Adjectivstil beider Dichtungen, von Bruno Engelberg. Halle, Niemeyer, 1913. Pp. VII + 158.

Für den Stil des Einzelnen ist es bezeichnend, ob er bei einer Fülle der Ausdrucksmöglichkeiten dieses oder jenes geeignete Mittel wählt, diese oder jene syntaktische Konstruktion, diese oder jene Wortstellung bevorzugt, mit Vorliebe in diese oder jene Gruppe des Wortschatzes hineingreift; und da ist das Adjektiv ein sehr individuelles Stilmittel. Einzeldarstellungen, die die Syntax oder die Stilistik des Adj. im Heliand oder in O.s Ev. behandeln, gibt es in nicht geringer Anzahl. E. macht nun den Versuch, einen Vergleich der beiden Dichtungen hinsichtlich ihrer Verwendung des Adj. durchzuführen und glaubt so ein objektiveres Urteil gewinnen zu können, als es bei der Beschränkung auf ein einzelnes Denkmal möglich wäre; hauptsächlich soll dem Ev. dadurch eine gerechtere kritische Würdigung seines literarisch-aesthetischen Wertes zuteil werden, und, um mit Bezug auf diesen letzten Punkt den Schluss gleich vorwegzunehmen, E. fasst seine Ansicht dahin zusammen, dass O. nicht so in dem Banne des lateinischen Stils stehe, wie gewöhnlich angenommen wird, dass vielmehr sein Adj.-Vorrat gegenüber dem des Hel. von 'intensiverer psychischer Concentration im dichterischen Erfinden des einzelnen Beiworts' zeuge und man O. 'eine vertiefte Subjectivität' und 'einen innigen Gemütsanteil an den geschilderten Personen' zugestehen müsse.

Was den Begriff 'Adjektiv' anbetrifft, so könnte man hier und da anderer Meinung sein als der Verfasser, nicht nur in einzelnen Fällen, wo für das Ev. die Reimtechnik O.s eine sichere Entscheidung unmöglich macht, sondern auch z. B. was die Einreihung der Partizipien unter die Adjektive anbetrifft (s. 4) und Zusammensetzungen wie *wamdad*, *leðwerk*, *hochsedal*, *wihrouh* (s. 3). Andererseits ist es gerade, wo es sich um eine stilistische Untersuchung handelt, von Wichtigkeit, zu beachten, wie bei dem Einzelnen der Träger der Epithese, hier das Beiwort, Erweiterungen erfährt; inwieweit der Eigeninhalt der Adj. verloren gegangen ist, lässt sich kaum ohne eine genauere Untersuchung entscheiden.

Die Darstellung gliedert sich in zwei Teile; im ersten werden die stilistischen Gebrauchsweisen der Adj. behandelt und besonders die psychologisch-rhythmischen Merkmale berücksichtigt. Vor-

ausgeschickt wird eine Darstellung des Stils und der Vortragsart der beiden Dichtungen; hier schliesst sich E. eng an Saran an und unter Anwendung von dessen Terminologie und den in der 'Verslehre' aufgestellten Grundsätzen, lässt E. das Eigenartige in dem Stil der beiden Werke, die Verschiedenheit des Sprechtempos, den Gefühlsgehalt und, damit uerbunden, die individuelle seelische Richtung der Verfasser zutage treten. Die herkömmliche Einteilung (attr., subst., präd.) lässt nach E.s Ansicht viel zu wünschen übrig: 'insofern die Stilforschung vornehmlich nach der Erkenntnis des für die dichterische Individualität psychologisch Wertvollen trachten soll, darf sie die verschiedenen Formen des Adjectivstils gerade wegen der subjectiven Natur des Adj. nicht in die üblichen syntactischen Termini einzwängen wollen,' trotzdem wird das System der Adj.-kategorien dann nach den hergebrachten syntaktischen Gesichtspunkten vorgeführt (attr., mit der nach Sievers' Vorschlag 'epexegetisch' benannten Unterabteilung, z. B. *swerdu diu skarpon* H. 4982, app., subst., präd.- attr., präd.); die logisch-psychologischen Verhältnisse der Adj. und ihrer Verbindungen werden hervorgehoben, die verschiedenartige Wirkung der Einschnitte, die Klangfarbe als Mittel zur stilistischen Wertung benutzt, daneben auch Wortwahl und Wortstellung berücksichtigt. Wenn auch das Urteil über Einzelheiten subjektiv ausfallen muss, so sind doch durch diesen ganzen Teil der Abhandlung hindurch wichtige Fingerzeige über das gegenseitige Verhältnis von Syntax und Satzakzent verstreut.

Ein weiterer Abschnitt bringt eine Darstellung des Adj. und seiner Verbindungen in der Variation, eine klare Scheidung von Wort- und Sinnesvariation, auf die schon Schützes Materialbehandlung hingedeutet, auch einen Hinweis auf den Umstand, dass die *mystice, spiritaliter* überschriebenen Kapitel O.s 'stärkeren Gefühlsausdruck und grössere Unabhängigkeit von den Quellen zeigen, als sie das Werk im allgemeinen hat.' Ferner finden sich hier Beobachtungen über die 'vorbereitende Variation,' d. h. die Vornahme der Grundvorstellung, wie sie in der Quelle vorliegt und in der Übersetzung gegeben wird, durch einen allgemeinen Ausdruck, z. B. *erlos hweurbun, gummon umbi Johannen, is jungaron managa*=accidentis discipuli H. 2793, und damit hebt E. 'eine bisher noch nicht erkannte Stileigentümlichkeit' hervor, die nicht oft bei O., wohl aber im Hel. zu finden ist. Da diese Eigentümlichkeit sich mit dem Stilgebrauch des Beow. deckt, folgert E. wohl mit Recht, dass sie nicht als Notbehelf anzusehen ist, als ob es dem Dichter an geeigneten Worten gefehlt hätte (Collianders und Paetzel's Untersuchungen über den Parallelismus im Heliland und die Variation in der altgermanischen Alliterationspoesie hat E. nicht benutzen können). Ebensowenig scheint mir das über O.s innere Nachbildung des biblischen Parallelismus Gesagte anfechtbar zu sein.

Im zweiten Teil wird auf etwas über 100 Seiten die Abhängigkeit der Dichter von ihren lateinischen Vorlagen behandelt, soweit das Adj. in Betracht kommt; die Lösung des schwierigen Quellenproblems ist bis dahin noch wenig gefördert und E. versucht hier 'planmässig' vorzugehen. Eine andere Einteilung hätte die Übersicht vielleicht erleichtert; dass die vom Verfasser gewählte ihm selbst etwas verwickelt erschien, scheint durch das 'N. B.' (s. 43) angedeutet. Inwieweit die Metrik bei der Wahl eines Adj. mitgespielt und für Zusätze, für Umschreibungen verantwortlich ist; andererseits, wie oft der Dichter es sich erlaubt hat, ein Adj. der Vorlage überhaupt unübersetzt zu lassen, wird nicht näher untersucht. Von Wert ist E.s Beitrag zum Verständnis von O.s Quellen, von dem mehr oder weniger engen Anschluss des Dichters an die verschiedenen Texte, die ihm dem Wortlaut nach zur Vorlage gedient haben mögen, wenn auch daraus nicht zu schliessen ist, dass sie direkt von ihm benutzt worden sind. Der Verfasser wendet sich gegen Schönbach, weisst auch Plumbhoffs Versuch (Zfdph. 31, 462 ff.; 32, 12 ff.), die *glossa ordinaria* des Walafridus Strabo als eine Hauptquelle hinzustellen, als gescheitert zurück. Eine statistische Tabelle ermöglicht das Erfassen der Verhältnisse auf einen Blick; daraus erhellt, um nur ein paar Punkte hervorzuheben, dass das app. Adj. im Hel. etwa fünf mal so oft vorkommt als im Ev. (351:69), dass die Fälle, in denen wörtliche Übersetzung vorliegt, für den O. ungleich zahlreicher sind als für den Hel. (682:385), wenn auch die beiden Dichtungen, was 'die sonstige Anlehnung' anbetrifft, nicht so weit auseinander gehen (von allen Adj. 1083 Fälle für O.: 1378 für den Hel.), wobei aber für den Hel. das häufigere Vorkommen der Variation in Betracht zu ziehen ist, und ausserdem ist es wohl zweifelhaft, ob in dem einen oder andern Falle überhaupt von Anlehnung die Rede sein kann; mir scheint, dass E. diesen Verhältnissen etwas zu viel Beweiskraft gegen Schönbachs Ansicht beimisst.

Zahlreiche Stichproben haben die Verlässlichkeit der Sammlungen bewiesen; in diesen Sammlungen, die der deutschen Wortforschung reiches Material bieten, steckt auch ein gut Teil des Wertes der Schrift. Weitere in Aussicht gestellte Untersuchungen über das Verhältnis der Sinnesgruppen der Adj. zu den Quellen und über die Variationstechnik innerhalb der Adj.-stilkategorien werden hoffentlich noch manches Beachtenswerte bringen.

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AUGUST GRAF VON PLATEN, EIN BILD SEINES GEISTIGEN ENTWICKELUNGSGANGES UND SEINES DICHTERISCHEN SCHAFFENS. Von Rudolf Schloesser, a. o. Prof. an der Universitaet Jena. Erster Band, 1796-1826; Zweiter Band, 1826-1835. Muenchen 1910 and 1913. R. Piper & Co.

Platen's relative fame among German poets excites as much discussion now as it did among his contemporaries. The modern views concerning the amount of talent he possessed and the worth of his poetry are varied. Bartels places him among the great poets and Richard Meyer calls his work an attempt to translate prose into verse. Probably Platen himself, despite his extravagant claims, found no more satisfying solution than scholars, critics and poets then and now. In his attempts to fix his relative position among writers of the sonnet, the ode, comedy, *Maerchenspiel* and lyric poetry, he showed such a concern about the matter that posterity, probably partly on that account, has continued the discussion. Though he has been called a poet of the fourth class and though his fame has long suffered eclipse he cannot now be, nor is he, ignored. In the last two decades his poetry has busied critics and scholars to a remarkable extent, especially after the publication of the *Tagebuecher* in 1896. Koch's *Zeitschrift fuer vergleichende Literaturgeschichte* took on the character of a *Platenarchiv*. The publication of the *Tagebuecher*, the various investigations it called forth and the Koch and Petzet edition of the poet's works in 1910 cleared the ground for the present exhaustive study of Platen's artistic, poetical and political development. On account of the esoteric and unpopular quality of his poetry Platen cannot be placed among German poets of the first rank, but this work of Schloesser's helps to secure his place among the poets bordering on the greatness of the great, with Herder, Wieland, Grillparzer and Moerike. He cannot again be forgotten or passed over in silence.

The time was ripe for the work and the scholar who early felt the attraction for Platen's poetry and for the story of his development schooled himself long for the task. His articles and reviews satisfied the world and himself that he was the one fitted by application, time and nature to undertake it. When we read in the preface the account of his early predilection for Platen and of his continued interest in him through successive years we can understand how he could not be, or remain, objective in a work which might seem to call for impartiality. Pure objectivity could never have produced a work of the importance of this one; neither, however, of the extent, for we have to admit that to the ordinary student who reads these two volumes there is much that is tedious and seemingly a mere mass of details and even

repetitions. Also it could not have written at all the book on *Venice*. On the other hand, it could not have been more fair in the chapter on Heine. For most of us these are the two most interesting parts of the work.

The first volume of this work consists of five books and the second, of four. Book 1 gives us the facts of Platen's life to 1818, that is, among things of importance, his participation in the military expedition to France in 1815 and his last active years as Bavarian Lieutenant up to the beginning of his studies in Wuerzburg. In Book 2 we follow him through the three semesters there and the first one at Erlangen. Book 3 covers the three years (1821-1824) at Erlangen, under the influence of Schelling, the most important period of Platen's early development. The highest point of interest and importance is reached in Book 4, entitled *Venice*, with all that implies as the turning point of the poet's aims and ideals. The fifth Book gives the account of the last two unhappy years in Germany till 1826. The four Books of Volume II are therefore devoted entirely to the last decade of Platen's life passed as a wanderer in Italy. Book 6 covers the years 1826-1828, the periods of time spent in Rome, Naples, and Florence; Book 7 the wanderings of 1828-1830 through Genoa, Northern Italy, Sienna, Venice, Rome, and Naples; Book 8 the wanderings of 1831-1835 through the same places, filled now, however, no longer with studies in art alone but with a deep, lively and increasing interest in political and historical affairs. The ninth Book gives the review of but one year, the last of Platen's life, and the circumstances of his death in Syracuse on the 5th of December 1835.

Each of these nine Books opens with an account of the outward circumstances of the poet's life during the time in question, then goes on to the studies, influences, impressions and conflicts which moulded and conditioned the poetic productions, leading up, therefore, to the intimate study and appreciation of the productions themselves—the most valuable and important part of the Book. The references in the text are all given with care in the notes which contain a mine of accurate and well-arranged detail. The index (and how few German works such as this one have any at all!) is good but it could have been improved by bringing together the various references to such important questions as have been pointed out and discussed here.

The objection made, that to devote nearly 1300 quarto pages to the life and works of a poet so little known as Platen is well-founded in part. The partial justification is found in the fact that this is not a biography but a picture of the intellectual and artistic development of the poet as well as an account of his poetical creations and productions. However, many of the details are of themselves of little interest and could easily have been dispensed

with. Such are especially the stories of Platen's aimless and restless wanderings in Italy, in the second volume, covering that period of his life when his best work, as we know and have received it, was behind him and when his fame was made and his character and artistic calling definitely moulded and firmly fixed. Also, while after *Venice*, Platen's interest in Italian pictorial art was very great, it was, it seems to us, less important to his poetry and art and the continued detailed account of these studies lead us nowhere in relation to Platen's poetical productions.

It was necessary, of course, that for the sake of completeness an account of Platen's historical writings, *Die Geschichte Neapels*, and various fragments should be included in the limits of this work, but it would seem that less space and time should have been devoted to them seeing that their scientific value is nothing, artistically and poetically they are worth but little more, and for their literary justification they have not the interest of Schiller's historical writings in relation to later poetical works. Had Platen lived longer they may, to be sure, have come to have such literary value. As the case stands they have very little interest to any one.

This work is a labor of love frankly intended to bring into clearer light the facts pertinent to a deeper study and understanding of the poet's work and to aid in the growing appreciation of his poetry. It is in this sense a rehabilitation necessary for the proper understanding of the artistic, formal and beautiful side of Platen's development as evidenced in his poetry. In other words, our better knowledge of the artist in *becoming* will lead to a greater appreciation of his art. The objection of too great detail cannot be applied to that part of every Book which is devoted to an analysis of Platen's poetical products. So fully has no one entered into the spirit of his comedies and *Maerchenspiele*; here the completeness and detail are of the greatest value.

Schloesser has very creditably left to the pathologist and psychopath the deeper study into that form of the erotic which was peculiar to Platen. The subject, however, is not avoided or ignored in those places where comment is necessary in relation to the poetry so often tinged by it.

Of great interest are those sections which refer to the relations which existed between Platen and Goethe. Here Schloesser closely follows Unger (*Platen in seinem Verhaeltniss zu Goethe*, 1903) with important additions and corrections. As in the case of the literary beginnings of most German poets of the last century the influence of Schiller was in Platen's earlier years the stronger. He soon, however, came under the spell of Goethe's poetry, and as early as 1815 while on the expedition to France, Goethe is finally and definitely preferred to Schiller though this attitude did not mean a definite turning away from Schiller. Goethe was early imitated in verse schemes and rhymes. He, along with the French tragedy,

was a force in Platen's early tendencies toward simplicity of treatment; Goethe's *Pandora* opened to him the possibilities of the ancient trimeters and even the pantheism of the *Parzenlied* is derived from Goethe. While during this period of Platen's beginnings there was a time when he preferred to Goethe such varied poets as Voss, Shakespeare and von Heyden, yet in 1820 when he comes strongly under the influence of Romanticism he turns, as did many a poet, to the Master at Weimar. Schloesser shows that three important elements in Platen's development hang closely together and cannot be separated: his oriental studies, his veneration for Goethe and his relations to Romanticism. It was as though Goethe stood as the living embodiment of Platen's ideals. We can only speculate as to how much of a beneficent and steadying influence Goethe would have been to Platen had fate been kind enough to bring them together. Platen called on Goethe in 1821 in Jena, but the visit turned out, because of Goethe's distant and cold manner, to be a purely conventional one and passed without important incident. All of Platen's subsequent efforts to gain the recognition of Goethe failed through a series of unfortunate coincidences which each successive time damaged Platen more and more in Goethe's eyes. Goethe looked upon him, as we hear through Eckermann, as a poet of talent whose efforts were brought to naught by his polemical tendencies. So after Platen had twice offended by attacking critics who happened, without Platen's knowledge of the fact, to be Goethe's warm friends, the older poet dropped the younger coolly and definitely. Platen could not give up the hope of a word of encouragement. Though he sent his poems and dramas to Goethe, the latter made no sign and left the letters unanswered, and Platen eagerly inquired of friends who had gone to Weimar on other matters of business whether the aged poet had by chance made any mention of him. He was at last embittered. He probably never knew of Goethe's final estimate of him, of February 1831, which lays the blame for Platen's want of recognition definitely on his inclination to quarrel with his fellow-poets.

We have also an interesting study of Platen's attitude toward his native land and its rulers under the power of the anti-Napoleonic reaction in Europe. The year 1813 left the youth uncertain in his feelings. In 1815 he was anti-Prussian, yet German through and through. The next year finds him decidedly republican in his views in spite of the disillusionment he experienced in republican Switzerland. In 1817 he hates courts, court-life, and, for her excess of these things, therefore Germany. The following year shows outbursts of hatred of Germany in general and even of his native Bavaria in particular. Like Heine his hatred of Germany is a hatred of Prussia above all, and of Germany under the reaction, though the hatred does not extend to intellectual

Germany. He was like Heine, too, in his veneration of Napoleon, which reached its high-water mark in his case in 1825 in the Napoleon Ode. It was this feeling toward his native land that impelled him to spend the last decade of his life outside of Germany, for the call of Italy was second to the overmastering desire to escape from the domination of the Reaction. This feeling began while a student in Erlangen and lasted without interruption the rest of his life. Not even the distance of Italy lent enchantment. We find in the *Tagebuecher* frequent expression of his hatred of his Fatherland and of his joy at having been able to leave it. Along with this, as was to be expected, grows the impression in his mind that Germany has cast him off, and the impression is based on pretty well established facts. Beginning with the *Verhaengnissvolle Gabel* in 1826 he begins to show in his poetry his participation in the events of the day and to make bitter thrusts at the Reaction. All this hatred of Prussia and of the Reaction is, of course, to us who have his work only the proper preparation for the *Polenlieder* of 1831.

As throwing a sidelight on his artistic development, Platen's religious views and the gradual change in them are of interest. He began life with orthodox and pious views as a result of parental training but he soon turned to rationalistic ideas in religious matters in his early years as a Bavarian officer. It was through his liking for Calderon in 1819 that he came to change to personal religious views and, as always in Platen's life, it was art and poetry which decided the matter. He believed that Spanish Literature and Calderon in particular had succeeded in poetizing Catholicism. In the period of his Romanticism at Erlangen these religious tendencies were strengthened but when, after the stay in Venice, he turned definitely to the antique as the perfection of all art and life, Catholicism and Christianity fell away in favor of an artistic conception of pagan antiquity, as we see in the sonnet to Winckelmann in 1826. But, as in spite of all artistic theories and professed antagonism to Romanticism as well as imitation of and striving after the spirit of classical antiquity, the Romanticist of earlier days never entirely disappeared, but showed itself in various ways every year till the end, so in religious matters reason never entirely got rid of sentiment and feeling and we hear that the impression of the glory and the magnificence of the ceremonies at St. Peters and the Vatican left him wavering in his opinions and he left Rome in 1827 in a mood of reconciliation to religion. So through the later years of his wanderings through Italy religious feeling breaks through as does Romanticism, also a more kindly feeling for intellectual Germany, and he closed his career as a believing Protestant.

The proper view of Platen's religious development can, however, only be understood in connection with his attitude toward

German Romanticism, with which his life was synchronous, and to its antithesis, the cult and influence of classical antiquity. Platen was religious in feeling or not as he was inclined toward Romantic art and poetry or to their opposites and the artistic seemed to decide the religious.

At the age of twenty he learned to know Schlegel's poetry. He was not impressed or attracted by it. At that time, being Protestant in feeling, he seemed to identify Romanticism with Catholicism. For several years he was not only non-romantic but decidedly anti-romantic. During these few years he was interested in eighteenth century English Literature (Pope especially) and in the tragedies of Corneille and Racine. He learned Greek and delighted in Homer. As his literary horizon extended and his range of reading became wider he gradually became acquainted with the literatures of the Romance nations of the south. In 1818 he learned to admire the wit and satire of Gozzi and his intense fondness for Calderon lead him, strange as it may sound to us, not only to a changed attitude toward Catholicism but also to a warm personal attitude toward religion.

It was while in this frame of mind that Platen came to Erlangen at the end of 1819 and there, under the influence of Schubert, turns away from his former rationalistic views. With this change comes a lessened interest in antiquity and a lessened esteem for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It was the next year that he came to know Schelling. In the two years in which that influence was strongest we find him an out and out Romanticist. He was so in his warm personal attitude toward Christianity and toward the Catholic church, in his opposition to the *Aufklärung*, in his belief in and striving for the union of poetry and life, in his admiration for medieval poetry, and in his interest in Oriental poetry. Now he came to have a feeling and understanding for the poetry of the elder and later Romanticists in Germany, for the poets of the southern Romance nations and for Shakespeare. While in this frame of mind he visited Nuernberg, the Mecca of all German Romanticists, and there began that admiration for pictorial and plastic art which was to be the deciding motive of his after life. Art was from now on the first and last to be considered and to study and appreciate art was the purpose of that eventful journey to Venice in 1824. Though on the eve of setting out on this journey he was still Christian-romantic in his opinions and though the Venetian Sonnets of 1825 were in the sentimental elegiac tone of a Romanticism heightened above all that had gone before, Venice was none the less the decisive turning point in his relations to Romanticism. Immediately on his return we see a change. Though in 1825 his comedies *Treue um Treue* and *Der Turm mit 7 Pforten* are still romantic, though the poet is still romantic in his judgments of Molière and Shakespeare, and

though his sonnets of that and the next year are romantic in essence, we see, from the beginning of 1825, signs of a gradual but irresistible trend toward antique ideals in art and religion. As soon as he is again on German soil he finds himself repelled by the post-romanticism of the fate-tragedy. While never a warm friend of Catholicism and reserved in his opinion of it during his romantic period, he begins now to criticise and attack the clergy, and the sonnet to Winckelmann in 1826 shows him a convert to the pagan ideas of antiquity. The sonnet on Sophocles marks a stage in the trend toward the antique and with the odes on Napoleon and King Ludwig as well as in the *Verhaengnisvolle Gabel* we are with Platen in the full sway of antique ideals in art, religion and life. At the end of his German period, in 1826, when he set out for Italy he had, in intention, broken definitely with Romanticism and all that it implied, though his later poetical productions could never entirely deny the occasional lapse into romantic traits and ways. The *Romantische Oedipus* is almost as romantic as the men and works it derides and Platen never entirely lost his liking for medieval German literature. But the hostile attitude he arrived at and maintained is seen best in the several epigrams of 1830 which characterize the whole romantic movement as an attempt to beautify the innate ugliness of things modern.

So from 1826 on we see Platen an anti-romanticist and on the soil of Italy he has eyes and appreciation only for the antique and its offspring the Italian Renaissance. All the time between these two periods was to him a time of darkest barbarism and all the time subsequent to the latter, hateful modernity. At times he values the Renaissance above antiquity, thus aiming to set himself free from his guide Winckelmann. He comes into deep sympathy with antique literature, with Anakreon, Homer, and Horace. He attached great importance to the antique character of his own poetry, to his odes, hymns and especially to the hexameters in the eclogues. He was under a double influence in his poetry in the faithful copying of Pindar in the hymns and of Horace in the odes as his models, and in the direction of heightening the musical effect by means of the verse-accent. In the latter respect his attempts seem to have been without lasting influence. It does not correspond to the antique manner whose track it follows, for it sets antique quantity and modern accent on an equal footing, to say nothing of smaller difficulties. Yet that the modern practice of making verse-accent and word-accent coincide is the last word of wisdom and the only practice possible, is not absolutely certain. Platen did not think so and according to Schloesser he should be read as he wished to be, not as modern poetry, but as far as possible according to the antique measures which he set at the heads of his poems and which he intended to be used like notes in music in order to produce in his poetry, on the musical-rhythmic side, a deeper effect than modern poetry ordinarily does.

Schloesser shows us, above all, in scattered parts of the work the development of the formal lyric poet. Platen early desired to be poetically correct and as early declared himself against rhymed verse, as well as against such musical poetry as that of Petrarch. He strove, under the influence of Goethe's Tasso, for greater simplicity in his art. It was, however, after the Venetian journey that he came to realize as never before, even beyond what Schelling had taught, the high mission and supreme glory of art. It was pictorial and plastic art, it is true, but the results of *Venice* translated into terms of his own art, showed a striving for perfection of form. Now he broke with the French classicists and turned consciously to the antique. After *Venice* his whole life, tinged with the dignity and worth of art, belongs to the art of the complete and perfectly formed. The eleven years following 1824 were devoted with singular fidelity to this aim and to these views. In these years originated those works of formal excellence on which, however Platen was known then or is known now, his ultimate fame will rest. Barring the failure of his attempts in the drama, whether because of lack of inner harmony or of lack of confidence in his own ability and in the appreciation of stage and public, these post-Venetian years produced the works of purest formal beauty of the whole range of German Literature, the sonnets, odes, hymns, eclogues and idylls which place Platen first among modern poets who strive for classical and formal antique ideals in art.

When only fifteen Platen tried his hand at the sonnet, and in 1820 on learning to know the works of Camoens, he turned to it decisively. Later he studied the art of it in Shakespeare too. For his Venetian sonnets he took as his immediate models and inspiration the series of *Gemaeldesonnetten* written in 1809 by August Wilhelm von Schlegel on the subject of the paintings in the Dresden gallery. However, no actual model was needed for the Venetian sonnets seeing that they originated in the land of the sonnet, in Venice, where it was an especially favorite form of poetry. Platen was, moreover, ambitious to excel in sonnet writing and had been for several years exercising his talents in producing them. These *Sonnetten aus Venedig* are the highest and purest forms of the sonnet in German as well as the high-water mark of Platen's poetical ability. For never before nor after them did impulse, inspiration and productive fervor coincide in Platen's life to such a degree.

The chief period of the ghazal had preceded 1824. Rueckert, not Platen, was the originator of this poetical form in Germany, and the latter, at the suggestion of the former, went to the Oriental sources for his models. After the return to Germany various ghazals were written at different periods of the author's life, especially in Naples in 1832—a temporary return from classical tendencies to the playful romantic mood of the years in Erlangen.

It was to the ode and hymn that the years following *Venice* especially belong. Then were brought forth those forty-two odes which are unique in the history of German literature, for their perfection of form based on the most-used meters of Horace, with all the poetic ornamentation of Platen's mastery. They cover the world of Rome, of ancient Italy and later times, of Popes, Kings, Emperors and contemporary poets, with notes of political freedom, of hatred of Catholicism, of elegiac resignation and of scarcely whispered desire of death. Along with the odes go the eleven hymns (*Festgesaenge*) modeled after those of Pindar. To this heightened and elevated form of poetry belong Platen's last years. The perspective of the hymns is wider and more magnificent than that of the odes, their proportions and divisions as happy and well-constructed, and like the ode they show Platen's preference for and mastery in using mouth-filling phrases and extended similes and metaphors. These were the poems which he considered the highest products of his poetical career and work. It is doubtful whether a longer life could have improved the poet's title to fame above that of these odes and hymns.

From the various references to *Venice* the reader can by now have been left in no doubt but that that section, treating as it does of the turning point of Platen's career, is the center and soul of the work. That it is actually the most important part the most casual reader can easily enough see. When, however, we read the preface we are not surprised to find that that is the nucleus out of which, or rather, around which the biography grew. Probably no better summing up of the tendency and accomplishment of this Life of Platen can be made or found than that which Schloesser gives when he tells us of the genesis of the idea. Recognizing the importance of *Venice*, the original work was to be a detailed account of the outer and inner circumstances of Platen's Italian journey and an exhaustive appreciation of the Venetian sonnets, pieced out with introductory and concluding chapters on the author's previous and later sonnets and his attitude toward pictorial art. The chapters on art were easily written but the introductory chapter on the sonnet could not be written without detailed reference to Platen's relations to Romanticism and to Christianity, and, as their opposites, to Rationalism and to the antique. So the original book was found to be only a chapter of the book that had to be written. Though the work grew infinitely beyond the original intention of the author it did not swamp that intention. The chapter on Venice and the Venetian sonnets is the one we could least afford to miss, and whatever else may become antiquated this will live with the sonnets themselves, for it is the best guide to their perfect understanding and appreciation. Probably the author is too much given to German thoroughness, when in this book on *Venice* he gives chapters to a study of

the poet's relations to sculpture, to architecture and to the theatre and literature in Venice. They might have been omitted without impairing much the value of the work.

Among many incidents we might mention there only remains one phase of Platen's life of interest to all lovers of the poet's work and also to the casual student of German Literature; that is the relations of our poet to his contemporary Heine. Probably no one has yet entered so fully and fairly into the quarrel, as it has been called, or the misunderstanding, which it was, between the two poets, preserved in literature in Platen's *Romantischer Oepidus* and in Heine's *Baeder von Lucca*. All the facts and elements of the affair are given in detail. Platen's extreme sensitiveness is known to all and his jealousy of authors who had greater popular and financial success than he. To explain, not to justify, Platen's somewhat tasteless attacks on Heine in the *Oedipus* and among his epigrams, we are told of Platen's unhappiness at the popularity and success of the *Reisebilder*, his anger at the references to his peculiar conception of friendship by Heine's friend Robert, and at the criticism of his meters by Immermann. However, Platen's attack was not bitter or important enough in itself to explain or justify the intensity and scope of Heine's answer in the *Baeder von Lucca*. Here we are given all the circumstances which led Heine to go the lengths he did. He considered he had good evidence (though Schloesser shows us that Heine was mistaken in his inferences) that Platen was the mouthpiece of a faction in Munich, which had formed a conspiracy against him in order to prevent his being called to a professorship in the University there, and to harm him in other ways. Therefore, the first reasons he had for answering were party ones. On the personal side there were the further reasons of Platen's nobility, and his antique tendencies in poetry—both of them cause for ridicule by Heine in any one unfortunate enough to have them and to incur his displeasure. Further there was the very natural and normal failure of Heine to understand and tolerate Platen's erotic tendencies in their peculiarities and a quite pardonable readiness to satirize his overweening poetic ambitions and his continual discussing and weighing the question of his relative literary fame and his place among German poets.

That the quarrel did not end in the utter crushing of one or the other of the two opponents, as happened when Lessing routed Klotz or when Hauff laughed Clauren out of court, lay not in the lack of intention of the contestants, especially of Heine, but in the fact that both were men of such talent and accomplishment that no such result was possible and the whole strife was but barren in its consequences. Schloesser's review of the facts of the case and his judgments of it are likely to be accepted as final, and his story of it is one of the undoubted merits of the work.

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ENDERS, CARL, FRIEDRICH SCHLEGEL—DIE QUELLEN
SEINES WESENS UND WERDENS. Leipzig 1913.
(XVI, 408 S.)

Soviel auch bereits über die Romantik im allgemeinen und über die Führer dieser Bewegung im besonderen geschrieben worden, finden wir doch nirgends eine auch nur annähernd so klare und systematische Schilderung der Entwicklung Friedrich Schlegels, wie sie Enders in der vorliegenden Arbeit bietet. Ihr Wert wird nicht im geringsten beeinträchtigt durch den Umstand, dass im Verlaufe dieser Darstellung vieles berührt, manches sogar ausführlich erörtert wird, was schon anderweitig klar gestellt worden ist. Nur so liess sich der unerlässliche Zusammenhang erzielen. Enders hat sich vor allem die Aufgabe gestellt, die Quellen der entscheidenden Anregungen festzustellen, die Friedrich Schlegels Entwicklung beeinflussten. Der erste Teil seiner Arbeit ist einer sorgfältigen Analyse von Friedrichs Charakter und Veranlagung gewidmet, während der zweite Teil die fortschreitende genetische Entwicklung darzulegen sucht.

Viele Erscheinungen in seinem Entwicklungsgange lassen sich aus den Anregungen erklären, die von den vorhergehenden Generationen der Familie Schlegel auf ihn einwirkten. Ererbt und charakteristisch für fast alle Schlegels ist das ausserordentlich starke Familienbewusstsein, womit natürlich die Überzeugung von Wert und Bedeutung der eignen Persönlichkeit eng verbunden ist. Hierher gehören auch Friedrichs kritischer Geist, die Verwerfung alles Dogmatismus, auch das Freundschafts- und Verehrungsbedürfnis, welches wir in gleich scharfer Prägung in dem Verhältnis zwischen Johann Elias und Johann Adolf, wie in den Beziehungen zwischen August Wilhelm und Friedrich Schlegel antreffen. Die unausgesetzte Beschäftigung mit der Poesie und die literarische Betätigung der älteren Schlegels wiesen auch Friedrich und seinen Bruder auf dieses Gebiet hin, ja das Verfahren bei der Zusammenstellung der Bremer Beiträge muss direkt als Vorbild für die bei der Herausgabe des Athenäums angewandte Methode gelten. Auch die Beiträger waren der Meinung, dass die deutsche Literatur, und zwar von Leipzig aus, beherrscht werden müsse und könne, wie die Romantiker dies später von Berlin aus versuchten. Die "Wut des Weiseseins und Meisterns," für die in der berühmten Rezension des Schiller'schen Musenalmanachs auf das Jahr 1796 das klassische Beispiel vorliegt, war zweifellos eine ausgesprochene und sorgfältig gehegte Familienanlage bei den Schlegels. Bedürfnis und Intensität der Freundschaft führt in beiden Generationen zu einem manchmal recht geschmacklosen Nepotismus der Freundschaft. Ein gemeinsames Merkmal ist auch der bei Friedrich besonders ausgeprägte Sinn für das Zeitgemässe und Aktuelle.

Über Friedrichs Jugend erhalten wir fast nur durch Rückschau in den Briefen und durch Enthüllungen in der Lucinde Aufschluss.

Enders war vollkommen berechtigt diesen Roman als ein einziges, grosses Bekenntnis zu behandeln, sollte doch der romantische Roman nach Friedrich aus Bekenntnissen bestehen, was um so mehr ins Gewicht fällt, wenn man in Betracht zieht, dass seine Theorie mehr oder weniger auf sein eignes Werk zugeschnitten war. Ein äusserst reges Phantasieleben, Disharmonie und Unberechenbarkeit sind die wichtigsten Faktoren von Friedrichs Wesen. Freiheit ist sein Ideal, er sträubt sich gegen jede Beschränkung, auch wenn sie in den Verhältnissen liegt, daher innere Friedlosigkeit und beständiges Verlangen nach Wechsel. Daneben quält ihn die Sehnsucht nach dem Unendlichen, d. h. nach einer grossen, schriftstellerischen Tat. Doch Mangel an Entschlussfähigkeit und Ausdauer, und seine Verachtung alles zielbewussten, systematischen Schaffens verhindern ihn an der Ausführung. Auch steckte ihm sein umfassender, reger, alles durchdringender Verstand sein Ziel viel zu hoch, daher die stete Unzufriedenheit.

Sein Verstand, der alle seine anderen geistigen Kräfte weit überragte, war eigentlich eine Mischung von dichterischer Phantasie und rein logischem Verstand. Als Gegensatz dazu empfand er die rein instinktiven Triebe, deren zeitweise elementarer Ausbruch sein Selbstbewusstsein aufs empfindlichste verletzte. Seine Sinnlichkeit geriet mehr als einmal in ernsthaften Konflikt mit dem Streben nach Erhabenheit, welches Enders sehr richtig als die Dominante in Friedrichs Entwicklung bezeichnet. Da er nun Erhabenheit als eine Eigenschaft betrachtete, die man nur im männlichen Charakter antrifft, so hatte er für die Frauen nur Geringschätzung übrig. Erst seine Bekanntschaft mit Caroline Böhmer sollte ihn eines besseren belehren; bezeichnender Weise gilt sie ihm als ein männlicher Charakter. Diese Frau wurde für Friedrich Schlegels Entwicklung, bis zu deren Höhepunkt, ausschlaggebend, und man kann Enders nur beipflichten in dem, was er (S. 264) gegen Rouge anführt. Wenn Friedrich Schlegel nun zwar durch Caroline andere Begriffe vom Weibe und von der Liebe bekam, so brachte sie ihm doch nicht die Erfüllung; diese gewährte ihm erst Dorothea-Lucinde. Die Beziehung zu *lux* war wohl bei der Wahl dieses Namens ausschlaggebend. Doch auch in dem neuen Verhältnis sucht sich Friedrich gegen jede Beeinträchtigung seiner vollen Freiheit zu schützen. Deshalb muss man mit der Leidenschaft stets nur tändeln, und trotz aller Hingabe muss sich jeder Teil das eigne Ich voll und ganz bewahren. Hatte das Sinnliche wenig früher noch als das Tierische gegolten, so will Friedrich nun von einem solchen Gegensatz zwischen Seele und Leib nichts mehr wissen. Um das Sexuelle in das Reich des Erhabenen hinaufzuschrauben, setzt er es in Beziehung zum Universum, zur Alliebe, und die Liebe zwischen Mann und Weib wird so zur Religion. Enders findet, dass diese "Vergötterung des Sexuallebens" eigentlich nur die natürliche

Konsequenz von Friedrichs Bestreben ist, sich seine Erhabenheit zu bewahren, und sich vor dem Versinken im Gemeinen zu schützen. Die Ausführungen Enders' sind sehr anssprechend, und von diesem Standpunkte aus betrachtet fällt ein ganz neues, und viel milderes Licht auf Friedrichs Kultus der Sinnlichkeit. In seiner Moralphilosophie, wie in seinen ästhetischen Anschauungen ist Friedrich am stärksten von Hemsterhuis beeinflusst worden; oft gingen allerdings die ersten Anregungen von einem Dritten aus. Friedrich Schlegel besass eine grosse Fertigkeit in der Aneignung fremder Ideen, doch was seinem Wesen fremd war, wies er unbedingt zurück, und was er auch immer von andern entlehnte, machte er in der Tat zu seinem Eigentum und drückte ihm den Stempel seines Geistes auf. Enders weist nach, worin der Gegensatz zwischen Schiller und Friedrich Schlegel eigentlich besteht, und in welchen Punkten sie übereinstimmen. Es sind die Ideen Kants, die Schlegel bei Schiller verwirft, während ein Gegensatz zwischen Klassizismus und Romantizismus für ihn keineswegs bestand. Die Richtschnur, die Kant in seiner bekannten Formel für unser Handeln niederlegt, hat für Friedrich keine Gültigkeit. Er fordert vielmehr die Verwirklichung des absolut Guten ohne Rücksicht auf irgend welche Interessen. Über die Rolle, welche die Pflicht in Kants Moralsystem spielt, giesst er oft genug seinen beissenden Spott aus. Enders' Darstellung trägt viel bei zu der Klärung der Beziehungen Schlegels zu Kant, gegen den er zu seinen Lebzeiten ziemlich schonend auftrat. Die schärfsten Auslassungen über Kant finden sich ausschliesslich in seinen nachgelassenen Schriften.

Enders bezeichnet mit vollem Rechte Friedrich Schlegels Schaffen vor allem als Selbstkritik und Selbstaufmunterung. Das deutlichste Beispiel hierfür ist die Woldemar-Rezension. Der Held dieses Romans hielt Schlegel gewissermassen einen Spiegel seines früheren Selbsts vor die Augen, welches er mit Aufbietung all seiner Kräfte niedergekämpft hatte, und für endgültig überwunden hielt. Daher die schroffe Beurteilung dieses Werkes und seines Verfassers, F. H. Jacobis, der nur mit dem Salto mortale in den Abgrund der göttlichen Barmherzigkeit endigen könne. Die siegesgewisse Stimmung, in der sich Schlegel zur Zeit der Abfassung dieser Rezension befand, liess ihn hier sein eignes Verdammnisurteil aussprechen. Das tragische Verhängnis seines Lebens war der grosse Abstand zwischen seinem Wollen und seinem Können; vor allem war ihm ein jedes Ziel unerreichbar; welches Ausdauer voraussetzte. Ausserdem wurde ihm der Genuss der Stunde oft durch das ätzende Gift des Verstandes verdorben, und wie Hjalmar Ekdal in Ibsens "Wildente" bedarf er zuzeiten der Lebenslüge zum Zwecke der Selbsterhaltung. In Friedrich Schlegels Wesen finden wir auch mehrere interessante Parallelen zu Hebbel, so z. B. in seiner Auffassung vom Weibe, die allerdings

an psychologischer Einsicht hinter Hebbels weit zurückbleibt, und in seiner Verwertung der Menschen, ohne jedes Interesse an ihrer Persönlichkeit, als blosse Forschungsobjekte, oder als Anreiz zur Auslösung seiner Gedanken.

Im grossen und ganzen lässt sich an den Ergebnissen, zu denen Enders gelangt ist, kaum rütteln; im einzelnen wird wohl mancher zu abweichenden Ansichten hinneigen. Wo sich Enders ausdrücklich gegen die Meinungen anderer kehrt, lässt er es an klarer Begründung nicht fehlen, so z. B. in seiner abweichenden Beurteilung der Fragmente "Jacobi" (S. 293) und in seiner Berichtigung eines dithyrambischen Ergusses von Marie Joachimi (S. 137). Sachliche Unrichtigkeiten sind mir nur ganz vereinzelt aufgefallen. Auf Seite 81 soll es doch wohl heissen: "die Anthousa von 1792" (statt "1772"), in das Register hat sich ein "J. H. Jacobi" eingeschlichen. Doch das sind Übersehen, die fast unvermeidlich sind. Da Friedrich Schlegel die Romantik in ihrem ersten Stadium sehr stark beeinflusste, in Bezug auf die Theorie geradezu beherrschte, so ist Enders' Werk, trotz des engbegrenzten Stoffes, auch ein sehr wertvoller Beitrag zur Geschichte der Theorie der Romantik.

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BRIEFE VON DOROTHEA UND FRIEDRICH SCHLEGEL

an die Familie Paulus. Herausgegeben von *Rudolph Unger*. Deutsche Literaturdenkmale des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts. No. 146. 192 pp. Berlin 1913.

- A. W. SCHLEGEL: Geschichte der Deutschen Sprache und Poesie. Vorlesungen, gehalten an der Universität Bonn seit dem Wintersemester 1818-19. Herausgegeben von *Josef Körner*. Deutsche Literaturdenkmale. No. 147. 184 pp. Berlin 1913.

Die beiden Neuauflagen, die hier zu besprechen sind, bedeuten keine Quellschriften ersten Ranges; trotzdem sind sie für das Verständnis der Brüder Schlegel von Wert und enthüllen nicht nur kleine intime Züge ihrer Persönlichkeiten, sondern selbst gewisse Strebungen der durch sie wirkenden Romantik.

I. Die Briefsammlung aus Friedrich Schlegels Lebenskreis kommt zumeist *Dorothea*, der Gattin Friedrichs, zugute, deren Charakterbild immer noch schwankt. Und es sei gleich hier gesagt, dass Unger in seiner Einleitung ausdrücklich wieder für den Frauenwert Dorotheens eintritt. Man muss sagen: wieder, denn schon Rudolf Haym hatte in seiner Romantischen Schule "die kluge, männlich selbständige" Dorothea im ganzen von gutem Einfluss auf Friedrichs Entwicklung sein lassen. Seit Ricarda

Huchs Ablehnung (im ersten Band, p. 15, 21 f., ihrer Romantik) ist es dann Sitte geworden, von dem niederhaltenden Einfluss jener Frau zu reden, wie es z. B. Franz Deibel in seinem Buch über Dorothea Schlegel als Schriftstellerin (Berlin 1905, p. 150) tut und noch neuerdings Carl Enders in seinem interessanten Werk über F. Schlegel (Leipzig 1913, besonders p. 142, 384 f.). Erklärlich ist das nur aus der unbedingten Überschätzung der Feindin Dorotheens: Caroline Schlegel-Schelling, und hier sollte Oskar Walzels eindringender Aufsatz über Ricarda Huchs Werk (O. Walzel, Vom Geistesleben des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts. Leipzig 1911, p. 95 ff.) immer wieder zur Belehrung und Warnung herangezogen werden; denn der Ricarda Huch erschien Caroline kongenialer als Dorothea, weshalb sie jene einseitig verherrlichte.

Ungers Eintreten nun für Dorothea ist von Bedeutung für eine bessere und gerechtere Betrachtung des Verhältnisses von Caroline und besonders Dorothea zu Friedrich. Ganz richtig deutet Enders an (a. a. O., p. 276; 335 f.; 381; 390), dass Friedrich der Dorothea verdankt, was Caroline ihm ihrem ganzen Wesen nach nicht geben konnte. Worin Dorotheens grosse "Mission" für Friedrich bestand, sagt uns die Gestalt der Lucinde und manchein Briefwort Friedrichs an den Bruder und die Schwägerin. Josef Körners Nachweis (Das literarische Echo, 1914, p. 949 ff.), dass die "Lucinde" aus der Begegnung Schlegels mit Caroline geboren sei, verrückt m. E. das seelische Problem nur wenig. Von Enders andererseits finde ich es unlogisch, einmal die grosse Bedeutung Dorotheens als "die" Frau für Friedrich festzustellen und dann von einer unwürdigen Hingabe der "allzuliebenden" Frau zu reden und davon, dass schliesslich Dorothea doch ihren Gatten gehindert habe. Sehr gut erwidert Unger auf solchen Vorwurf, "dass ein Mann, dem eine Frau in dieser Weise zum Verhängnis wird, eben kein besseres Schicksal verdient." In Wahrheit ist Friedrich an "der immanenten Schwerkraft seiner eigenen problematischen Natur" zugrunde gegangen. Und Dorothea ist ihm tatsächlich sein Lebensglück, seine Lucinde, seine Heliodora, seine Muse und sein tapferer, treuer Kamerad gewesen, welches letzteres durch neue Urkunden in Jakob Bleyers Buch "Friedrich Schlegel am Bundestage in Frankfurt" (München und Leipzig 1913) bewiesen wird. Es handelt sich um die Jahre 1815-18. Nach Friedrichs Übertritt zum Katholizismus drängte es ihn zu einem tätigen Leben in dem neuen Geist; vergeblich. Als er dann in seinem politischen Streben bitter enttäuscht wurde, wie man in Bleyers Buch liest, wirkte er nur noch für den wissenschaftlichen Katholizismus, so dass man ihn füglich neben Görres unter den bedeutendsten katholischen Journalisten Deutschlands wird nennen müssen. Und in dieser wohl literarisch unfruchtbaren, doch geistig reichen Wiener und Frankfurter Zeit hat sich Dorothea einfach glänzend bewährt. Das zeigt die Zuneigung der feinsten

Wiener Kreise zu ihr, besonders der gräflichen Familie Szecheny und vor allen der Gräfin Julie Zichy, der *beauté céleste* des Wiener Kongresses, das zeigt auch die Freundschaft mit Karoline Pichler.

Die Lebensgemeinschaft von Friedrich und Dorothea beruhte auf einem Einigsein im "Erhabenheitsdrang," in der Sehnsucht nach dem Unendlichen. Wenn Caroline die Diotima Friedrichs war und ihm intuitive Erkenntnisse aus Hemsterhuis vermittelte, dann darf man Dorothea seine wahre Lucinde nennen, die ihn zur Philosophie eines Shaftesbury, allerdings verchristlicht und mystisch vertieft, geführt hat. Dass er endlich auch im Virtuositentum à la Shaftesbury "Fragmentist" geblieben ist, kann bei seiner Hamletnatur nicht verwunderlich sein.

Wir haben Unger nicht nur für seine kurze und äusserst anregende Einleitung, sondern auch für seine Ausgabe als solche zu danken, da sie uns die Briefe der Schlegels an die Familie Paulus übersichtlich zusammenstellt. Vieles davon war schon einzeln bekannt. Ausser persönlichsten Dingen, wie der Freundschaft Dorotheens zu Caroline Paulus, und neben Klatsch können wir nun im Zusammenhang die interessantesten Urteile über den Katholizismus, Goethe, Schelling u. a. m. lesen, die das Schlegelsche Ehepaar kennzeichnen. Schliesslich seien noch Äusserungen über französisches Wesen u. s. w. erwähnt, die für die noch ausstehende Abhandlung: Friedrich Schlegel und Frankreich wichtig sind.

II. Ganz anderer Art ist Körners Ausgabe der Bonner Vorlesungen *August Wilhelm Schlegels* über deutsche Sprache und Literatur. Frau von Staël war 1817 gestorben, damit war Wilhelms französische Periode beendet, und seine deutsche beginnt. Das heisst natürlich nicht, dass er erst dann bewusst deutsch geworden wäre; denn schon 1806 forderte er eine "wache, unmittelbare energische und besonders patriotische Poesie." Seine kernige deutsche Gesinnung kommt auch in den Bonner Vorlesungen zum Ausdruck. Ohne kritische Seitenhiebe auf die Zeit geht es nicht ab. Die bleibenden Werte der alten deutschen Poesie werden gezeigt. Einige seiner Hoffnungen auf die Verlebendigung der altgermanischen Welt sind später durch Richard Wagner erfüllt worden. "In dem Masse hat eine Nation ein echtes Selbstbewusstsein, in welchem sie die Vorzeit ehrt und sich längstvergangener denkwürdiger Dinge erinnert," sagt Wilhelm Schlegel in diesem Zusammenhang einmal.

So bemerkenswert nun einzelne seiner Urteile auch sein mögen, z. B. über Volkspoesie (gegen Herder), Volksbücher (gegen Görres), die negative Wirkung der Reformation (wie Goethe), über Luther, Hans Sachs oder gar Frundsbergs Kriegsbuch, so bedeutsam auch das Interesse an der Verskunst, im ganzen lassen sich diese Bonner Vorlesungen in keiner Weise mit seinen Berliner oder Wiener Vorlesungen vergleichen.

Bei Körners Ausgabe wäre ein wenn auch kurzer Vergleich der verschiedenen Vorlesungen sehr am Platz gewesen, was der Herausgeber leider absichtlich unterlassen hat. Die dargebotene Tabelle, die Seite für Seite anführt, was sich in Schlegels handschriftlichen Sammlungen und Druckschriften und Briefen über die betreffenden Gegenstände der Bonner Vorlesungen findet, ist sehr wertvoll, doch kein Ersatz. Ebenso hätte die sehr interessante Mitarbeit Friedrichs ganz kurz skizziert werden sollen. Immerhin ergänzt diese Ausgabe sehr willkommen Josef Körners eigene "Nibelungenforschungen der deutschen Romantik" (Leipzig 1911), und weiteren Veröffentlichungen ungedruckter Schriften Wilhelm Schlegels durch Körner dürfte mit Interesse entgegenzusehen sein.

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DR. HANS RHYN: *DIE BALLADENDICHTUNG THEODOR FONTANES MIT BESONDERER BERÜCKSICHTIGUNG SEINER BEARBEITUNGEN ALTENGLISCHER UND ALTSCHOTTISCHER BALLADEN* aus den Sammlungen von Percy und Scott. Sprache und Dichtung hrsg. von Dr. Harry Maync und Dr. S. Singer. Heft 15. Bern. Verlag von A. Francke. 1914. brosch. Preis M. 4.80. 208 S.

This work by Dr. Hans Rhyh is the first book which has been published, that treats systematically all the *Bilder und Balladen* in the last authorized edition of Fontane's *Gedichte*, 1889. Numerous articles in different periodicals have dealt with single ballads or groups of ballads. Of a more comprehensive nature are Richard M. Meyer's article on *Fontane's Balladen* (*Velhagen & Klasings Monatshefte* 1910, S. 65-72), which seeks to show the inner relation between the ballads and novels of Fontane, and Hans Benzmann's *Der Balladenstil Theodor Fontanes* (*Eckart* Bd. 7, September 1913).

The translations and adaptations of English and Scottish ballads were the subject of a Münster dissertation by Carl Wegmann (1910). It is this group of ballads to which Rhyh, too, has devoted the larger share of his attention. The chapter on *Bearbeitungen altenglischer und altschottischer Balladen* (pp. 21-114) was presented to the University of Bern as a doctor's dissertation before it appeared in its present form. It covers the same ground as Wegmann's dissertation. Rhyh states in his introduction that Wegmann's monograph did not come into his hands until his own work was nearly finished and that he then made use of the valuable extracts from the *Tunnel* records printed at the end of the Wegmann dissertation. That this state of affairs could exist, seems to imply lack of thoroughness in looking up the available Fontane

material, for Wegmann's work appeared in 1910 and was duly listed in the *Jahresberichte für die neuere deutsche Literaturgeschichte*. It would seem, too, that the *Tunnel* records would be one of the first sources to which an investigator of this subject would turn, for Fontane was a member of this literary society during a number of the years which were most productive for his ballad writing. It is true that these records are not at present accessible, as the *Königlich Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften* is preparing a complete edition of them, but Dr. Fritz Behrendt, who has charge of this publication, has kindly consented to search the records himself in order to find answers to any specific questions that may be presented to him.

Rhyn states that Wegmann does not treat the poetic style of the ballads, does not draw any conclusions, does not put his results together and does not touch upon the relation between the adaptations of English ballads and Fontane's original poems. These facts amply justify the appearance of a book on a subject, part of which had been treated before, yet the statement that Wegmann draws no conclusions whatever (*zieht durchaus keine Schlüsse*) seems to me altogether too strong.

In the section devoted to Fontane's adaptations of the English and Scottish ballads, Rhyn treats each poem separately, comparing it carefully with the original. He considers first the structure of the two ballads and then takes up the most important details. He devotes a section to a discussion of the poetic style and finally sums up in the last division the chief points that have been brought out.

The translations likewise show a free treatment of the originals, but only in the matter of details. The structure of the ballad is unchanged. These poems are discussed briefly at the end of the chapter on the English and Scottish ballads. Then Rhyn in a two and a half page summary enumerates the outstanding features of Fontane's method of work, which he has deduced from a study of the individual ballads. Rhyn passes over without discussion *Lord Maxwells Lebewohl* and *Leslys Marsch* because he does not consider them ballads in the strict sense of the term. He gives us, however, no reason for omitting a consideration of *Charles Bawdins Tod und Begräbnis*, *Robin Hood*, and *John Gilpin*.

Rhyn makes no allusion to a series of articles by Fontane on *Die alten englischen und schottischen Balladen*, printed anonymously in Cotta's *Morgenblatt für gebildete Leser* (February and March, 1861) though Fontane's classification of these ballads and his remarks on specific poems are very illuminating in connection with his own translations. Especially interesting is his mention of *The Child of Elle* which was the foundation of Bürger's *Ritter Karl von Eichenhorst und Fräulein Gertrud von Hochburg*. Bürger's ballad is compared most unfavorably with the original and Fon-

tane, to prove his point, cites his own translation of eight strophes of *The Child of Elle*. When and where, if at all, the whole poem was printed, I have been unable to ascertain. I found it under the title *Child Harry* in a ballad manuscript loaned to me by Herr Friedrich Fontane, the publisher in Grunewald near Berlin, accompanied by the note "probably never printed."

Rhyn's discussion of the English and Scottish ballads comprises the second division of the first and largest section of his work (pp. 11-186), which is devoted to the *Balladen im engern Sinn*. The ballads are taken up chronologically, as follows:

Balladen der 1. Periode (11-20)

Bearbeitungen altenglischer und altschottischer Balladen (21-114)

Balladen der 2. Periode (115-165)

Balladen der 3. Periode (166-179)

Ergebnisse der Untersuchung der Balladen im engern Sinn (180-186).

Every one who undertakes an investigation of ballads is at once confronted by the existing confusion and lack of agreement among scholars. There is no generally accepted definition of the ballad, in spite of the many attempts that have been made in this direction. As a result of his study Rhyn reaches the following conclusions in regard to the character of the ballad: "The real ballad presents an action in its development. It has both epic and lyric, usually also dramatic, elements. It often possesses a dismal, gloomy character. It makes use of sudden transitions, touching upon only the important points and leaving much to be filled in by the imagination. The familiar formulae and expressions of the folk song are frequently employed."¹ This definition has guided Rhyn in his classification of the poems which appear in the volume of Fontane's *Gedichte* under the general heading *Bilder und Balladen*. To be what Rhyn terms a *Ballade im engern Sinn*, a poem must have an action, consisting of an exposition, conflict, and catastrophe or solution. Rhyn takes up each ballad separately, proceeding in much the same manner as he did with the adaptations of English and Scottish ballads. He first discusses the date and circumstances of composition together with illuminating passages from Fontane's letters or other sources. Then he treats the structure and poetic style and gives his own estimate of the ballad. The source of *Archibald Douglas*, which is generally conceded to be Fontane's best ballad, is discussed at considerable length. Rhyn disagrees with the former theories and gives good reasons for his belief

¹ Die eigentliche Ballade stellt eine Handlung in ihrer Entwicklung dar. Ihrem Wesen nach ist sie episch und lyrisch zugleich, in der Regel auch noch dramatisch. Sie zeigt oft einen düstern Charakter und sprunghafte Darstellung und bedient sich häufig der Stilmittel der Volkspoesie.

that the ballad was suggested by a passage in the introduction to Scott's *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*.

After summing up in a brief section the results of his study of the *Balladen im engern Sinn*, Rhyn devotes two short chapters to a discussion of the poems which do not belong to this group:

II Abschnitt, Der Lyrik näher liegende Arten der Ballade (pp. 187-203).

III Abschnitt, Der Epik näher liegende Arten der Ballade (pp. 204-206).

Among the ballads in which the lyric element predominates, Rhyn distinguishes five groups:

1. *Das historische Stimmungsbild*

Here the action is no longer of chief importance. The aim is to give a picture of a definite situation.

2. *Das historische lyrische Porträt*

This group is closely related to the preceding, the aim being to give us a clear picture of some historical personage. Here belong Fontane's early sketches of the Prussian generals, as well as a number of the later poems.

Rhyn finds only one poem belonging to each of the last three groups. *Das mythologische Stimmungsbild* is represented by one of Fontane's early poems, *Der Wettersee*, *Das geographische Stimmungsbild* by *Goodwin-Sand* and *Das moderne Stimmungsbild* by the poem *Und alles ohne Liebe*.

The ballads in which the epic element predominates fall into two classes:

1. *Die Chronikballade*, of which *Der Tag von Hemmingstedt* and *Der Tag von Düppel* furnish good examples.

2. *Die Anekdotenballade*, represented by such ballads as *Alte Fritz-Grenadiere* and *Seydlitz und der Bürgermeister von Ohlau*.

The long poem *Von der schönen Rosamunde*, which is termed by Fontane a *Romanzenzyklus*, is omitted from discussion, as Rhyn considers it a short epic composed of nine cantos. At the close of his work Rhyn devotes one and a half pages to a discussion of Fontane's significance as a ballad poet.

Rhyn has brought together much valuable material and has made an important contribution to the existing Fontane literature. The larger part of the work consists of the analyses of the separate ballads. By this method Rhyn has avoided the dangers which arise from too subjective a treatment of such a subject. The ballads are taken up chronologically (A consultation of Fontane's unprinted diaries and letters would have furnished the exact dates for a few of the ballads which Rhyn has been unable to locate definitely), and we are not allowed to lose sight altogether of the development of Fontane's style, yet it is somewhat obscured by the mass of detail and the repetition inevitably connected with this method of treatment. With two exceptions (*Edward*, *Die*

Jüdin) Rhyn has limited himself to the ballads in the last authorized edition of the *Gedichte*, paying no attention to the early ballads, which Fontane, as the result of a careful process of sifting, omitted from the final edition, in order to make room for some of his later poems. Yet to round out satisfactorily any sketch of Fontane's development, it would be necessary to consider these ballads in the *Gedichte* of 1851, the *Balladen* of 1861, and the *Gedichte* of 1875, as well as some early ballads which appeared only in the *Berliner Figaro* and *Die Eisenbahn*, and others which have never been printed.

In connection with the study of Fontane's style, it would be interesting to ascertain just how far it was determined by outside influences. Late in life Fontane wrote:

"Wen hast du dir auserlesen,
Was ist Vorbild dir gewesen?
Epiſch, lyriſch und dramatiſch,
Manches klingt ſo Freiligrathiſch,
Manche wandgemalte Freſke
Streift das engliſh Balladeſke,
Strachwitz, Uhland, Lenau, Kerner,
Selbſt von Zacharias Werner
Schmeck' ich einen myſtiſchen Tropfen.
Ach, es iſt nicht herzu zählen,
Immer war's ein anderes Wählen."

Rhyn has treated at length the influence of the English and Scottish ballads. He thinks that one of the descriptions in *Der Wenersee* was suggested by Lenau's *Sturmesmythe* and he finds traces of Bürger's *Lenore* in *Treu-Lischen*. A more exhaustive treatment of this whole subject would be profitable.

The field of text criticism opens up another line of investigation bearing directly on Fontane's style. *Charles Barwids Tod und Begräbnis* has seventy strophes in the edition of 1851; in the last edition there are only thirty-one. In some cases Fontane worked upon individual lines a long time before he was finally satisfied with them. Occasionally changes were made at the suggestion of friends or critics. At other times he refused to accept proposed revisions. Rhyn has discussed the variant readings of *Der Letzte York*, but he has attempted no systematic treatment of the subject.

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THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF ENGLISH LITERATURE.

Edited by A. W. Ward and A. R. Waller. Volume VIII.

The Age of Dryden. New York. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1912. Large 8vo, pp. xii, 576.

The eighth volume of the Cambridge History of English Literature¹ maintains a high standard of excellence. It deals with one of the least appreciated periods of our literature—a period deliberately neglected by some on account of the license pervading much of its literary work and by others on account of its lack of originality. Yet the age of Dryden merits careful attention for several reasons, not the least of which is that then, to a large extent, was formed the characteristic style of our modern prose.

Looking over the names of contributors to this volume, we note several new ones—William F. Smith and C. W. Previt -Orton, Fellows of St. John's, Edward Grubb, Professor Schelling, A. T. Bartholomew of Peterhouse, Mr. Wheatley, Professor Hearnshaw of the University of Durham, Dr. Shipley, Master of Christ's, and Mr. Tilley of King's. It is clear that an effort has been made to secure writers qualified by special studies to treat the various topics presented.

The dominant figure of the period is ably treated by Dr. Ward himself. Dryden now appears in a somewhat more favorable light than formerly. That he was himself a libertine "remains unproved." And with reference to his conversion to the Catholic faith in 1688, Dr. Ward finds no evidence that he changed his faith for gain. With regard to Dryden's ability, it will be remembered that Congreve said of him that he was equally excellent in verse and in prose; and this remains indisputable. And if Dryden did not quite attain to absolute greatness, it must be borne in mind that the period was not a great creative age. It was a critical, reflective, calculating age, in which science flourished, and feeling was sternly dominated by reason. Such epochs are not apt to produce great imaginative writers.

Samuel Butler is handled by Mr. Smith, in a chapter which with its lucid narrative and its judicious quotations gives a clear picture of the noted satirist. If Hudibras is less read to-day than formerly, it is owing not to the quality of the work but rather to the obsolescence of its legal lore, and in part also to our having forgotten many of the minor historical allusions.

This is appropriately followed by a chapter on Political and Ecclesiastical Satire by Mr. Previt -Orton, whose equipment for his task was demonstrated by his valuable monograph on Political

¹ For reviews of previous volumes in this journal, see vii. 150-60, viii. 606-16, xi. 128-35, 476-88, xii. 668-71. For other reviews of Volume VIII see *The Athen um*, April 6, 1912, pp. 382-3; *The Nation*, May 9, 1912, xciv. 467-8; *Notes and Queries*, May 25, 1912, 11th ser. v. 419; *The Literary Digest* xlv. 943; *The N. Y. Times Sat. Rev.* xvii. 285; *The Review of Reviews* xlv. 637; *The Dial*, June 1, 1914, lvi. 456-9.

Satire in English Poetry (1910). As for the matter dealt with, it is a dreary lot of titles which he brings together. To-day who reads Denham or Marvell, or the twenty poems dealing with Advice to a Painter or kindred themes? Here and there is a gleam, but for the most part it is like a vast desert filled with bones. We welcome the discussion, however, as helping us to comprehend the peculiar form of much of the literary activity of the time.

This chapter includes some good remarks on the ballads. But surely not all the Restoration ballads belong under this heading; and the others should have been treated elsewhere. Indeed, the whole subject of popular and non-courtly poetry might well have had a chapter by itself. Poets like Anne Killigrew, John Pomfret, Sir Fleetwood Sheppard, and William Walsh who are included in the Bibliography have no place in the text of this chapter; while Philip Ayres and Thomas Flatman, who are also included in the Bibliography of this volume, are discussed in Volume VII. Such a lack of system is unfortunate.

The early Quakers are treated by the able pen of Edward Grubb. The origins of the movement are of great interest. It is most remarkable how this rediscovery by men and women of Puritan training of the mystical element in religion which Puritanism had somehow missed, resulted in a most voluminous literature. "Rude countrymen from the fells of Westmorland, as well as scholars with a university training—even boys like James Parnell, who died a martyr in Colchester Castle at the age of nineteen—became prolific writers as well as fervent preachers of mystical experience and practical righteousness." Many kept journals, and some of these furnish admirable portraits of simple natures in affliction, refusing to part with their sense of humor or to yield to bitterness. The numerous attacks on the Quakers, who never thought of themselves as heterodox, provoked replies often as acrid as their accusers. The prize volume of this lot is Samuel Fisher's quarto *Rusticus ad Academicos*, with its eight hundred closely printed pages and its sentences sometimes running to a page and a half. To the interesting question why the early Quakers produced no more lyric verse, Mr. Grubb replies that "very early, their spiritual life became confined in bonds, and freedom and spontaneity were largely lost in a rigour of thought and life that left little scope for originality of inspired expression."

The drama of the Restoration, Dryden excluded, is considered in three chapters. Professor Schelling writes the first of these, introducing a preliminary excursus on the influence of Spanish and French upon the Restoration drama. The net result of his discussion of Spanish influence is that it was not very considerable until the time of Charles I, and was a little greater in the era of the Restoration. He makes a slight mistake in saying (p. 145) that "Armado is the portrait of an actual mad Spaniard, known as

'fantastical Monarcho,' who haunted the London of his day." The fantastical Monarcho was an Italian; see Furness, *Variorum Love's Labour's Lost*, p. 123. Attention should perhaps be called to the somewhat plausible theory of the late Martin Hume (*Spanish Influence on English Literature*, pp. 268 ff.) that Don Armado owes most of all to the eccentric favorite of Henry IV of France, Antonio Perez.

The second chapter on the drama is the work of Mr. Whibley, who has here the opportunity to express himself about Congreve, Vanbrugh, Farquhar, who were (Dryden excepted) the ablest of all the playwrights of the time. He does full justice to *The Way of the World*, in which the comedy of manners found its highest perfection. We hesitate, however, to think of Farquhar as "a beginning of the sentimental comedy, that passion to be both merry and wise which has been the ruin of our stage." It is truer to say with the Tupperts (*Representative English Dramas from Dryden to Sheridan*, p. 158), "In Farquhar there is, of course, not the faintest element of the simpering prudery and tearful sentimentality of the bourgeois comedy of reaction against the drama of large license."

The third chapter on the drama, by Mr. Bartholomew, deals with the tragedians—among them Otway, Lee, Crowne, Southern, Rowe. The author gives some attention to French influence, and his remarks on Corneille well supplement those of Professor Schelling.

Not the least interesting chapter in the volume is Whibley's on *The Court Poets*. It was a strange attitude of mind which induced able men of the type of Sedley, Buckhurst, Mulgrave, and Rochester to devote their energies to such frivolities as went on at the court of Charles II. And they were just as careless of their literary output as of their other efforts. They threw off their poems "in their hours of ease, and did not make them proof against the attack of time." It is not alone, then, the change of taste which prevents us from reading their too unrestrained effusions; it is partly the fact that they did not perfect their work; they did not care for the approval of posterity, and posterity is correspondingly indifferent.

Professor Saintsbury continues from earlier volumes his studies of prosody. From this point of view the seventeenth century assumes great importance. It was the time of the Battle of the Couplets; of the irregular yet majestic blank verse of *Paradise Lost*; of the rise of the anapest. So great were the changes that "even Dryden, with his remarkable acuteness and catholicity of appreciation, would have been hard put to it to devise a *Prosodia* which should do equal justice to the verse of the generation before him and that of his own youth, as well as to his own and that of his contemporaries."

Lack of space forbids more than an enumeration of the remaining chapters. Messrs. Wheatley and Ward divide the chapter on Memoir and Letter Writers. Platonists and Latitudinarians are handled by Mr. Mullinger. Divines of the Church of England are treated by Archdeacon Hutton. One naturally wonders about the Nonconformist divines who find no place here. On the scale of treatment here carried out, something should have been said also of William Kiffin, Hanserd Knollys, Samuel Annesley, grandfather of the Wesleys, Matthew Sylvester, Nathaniel Vincent, Philip Henry, Oliver Heywood, Henry Jessey, David Clarkson, John Howe, John Owen, Benjamin Keach, Thomas Manton, Stephen Charnock, and probably several other Nonconformist writers, who, if their works did not win fame, nevertheless help us appreciably to understand the mind of the time. Legal literature receives attention from Professor Hearnshaw, and there is an appendix on Selden's Table Talk by Dr. Ward. W. R. Sorley writes illuminatingly on Locke; Dr. Shipley on The Progress of Science (a most important chapter); while the concluding chapter, on The Essay and the Beginnings of Modern English Prose, one of the most interesting in the volume, is by Mr. Tilley.

We have already commented on one or two omissions; and we may here add that a short chapter on the travelers would have added to the value of the book. Such a chapter would have included discussions of James Howell's Perambulation of Spain and Portugal (1662); Richard Lassels' Voyage of Italy (1670); John Ray's Observations (1673); Peter Helyn's Voyage of France (1679); Sir George Wheler's Journey into Greece (1682); Richard Ferrier's Journal in France (1687); Gilbert Burnet's Letters on Switzerland, Italy, etc. (1687); William Penn's Travels in Holland and Germany (1695); and at least eight or ten other similar works; surely enough material for a short chapter or section.

The Bibliography is, in some parts at least, disappointing. The bibliographical notes for Chapters V-VII should, we think, have been amalgamated into one alphabetical author list, criticism of individual authors being entered next to editions of their plays. Some omissions we note from pp. 479-81 are: H. Barton Baker, *History of the London Stage and Its Familiar Players*, London, 1904 (1st ed. 1889); Baker, Reed, and Jones, *Biographia Dramatica*, London, 1812; L. N. Chase, *The English Heroic Play*, New York, 1903; A. H. Thorndike, *Tragedy*, Boston, 1908; C. G. Child, *The Rise of the Heroic Play*, *Mod. Lang. Notes* xix. 166-73; J. W. Tupper, *The Relation of the Heroic Play to the Romances of Beaumont and Fletcher*, *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assn.* xx. 584-621, cf. W. E. Bohn, *Mod. Lang. Notes* xxiv. 49-54; H. W. Hill, *La Calprenède's Romances and the Restoration Drama*, *Univ. of Nevada Studies* ii. 3, iii. 2, 1910-12, pp. 158; D. H. Miles, *The Influence of Molière on Restoration Comedy*, Columbia diss., 1909 (rev. by A. H. Upham

in *JEGPh.* xi. 471-6, by G. Becker in *Anglia Bei.* xxiii. 275-6); F. H. Ristine, English Tragi-comedy, Its Origin and History, Columbia diss., 1910; H. Ferchlandt, Molière's Misanthrop und seine englischen Nachahmungen, Halle diss., 1907 (rev. by F. Kratz in *E. St.* xl. 270-1); Marie Pabisch, Picaresque Dramas of the 17th and 18th Centuries, Berlin, 1910 (rev. by A. Andrae in *Anglia Bei.* xxii. 46-8). Some of these will be found on p. 462. For Meyers (p. 480), read Myers. Under Rowe (pp. 497-8) we miss L. Stahl, N. Rowe's Drame The Ambitious Stepmother, Rostock, 1909; A. Behrend, N. Rowe als Dramatiker, Königsberg diss., 1907. We nowhere find Jeanette Marks, English Pastoral Drama, London, 1908. The best part of the Bibliography is Wheatley's careful work on Dryden.

The Index gives evidence of haste in its preparation and in the proof-reading. Moreover, it does not include the greater part of the Bibliography, only authors being entered from the Bibliography who do not appear in the text. It would be of great advantage if all the entries in the Bibliography could be included.

Finally, we must urge greater uniformity in the printing of personal titles and in the use of capital letters in general. Why should Quakers and Quakerism be spelled in the text with small letters and in the Bibliography with capitals? Why must we endure the unsightly "lord" Orrery, the "earl" of Cork, "puritanism," Star "chamber," etc., when the best usage in such cases, both English and American, favors the use of capital letters? Is it not both convenient and correct to designate proper nouns thus? In this one respect the typography of the Cambridge History is disfigured, we think, by too much caprice and wrong thinking. In other respects, however, it is good. We have noted only one misprint: on p. 123, l. 13 f. b., read agnosticism.

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MISTRESS DAVENANT, THE DARK LADY OF SHAKESPEARE'S SONNETS. Arthur Acheson. London (Quaritch); N. Y. and Chicago (Walter Hill). 1913.

THE SONNETS OF WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE: NEW LIGHT AND OLD EVIDENCE. The Countess de Chambrun. New York and London (Putnam's). 1913.

Amateur scholarship, in the sense of the term which implies a want of critical and philological equipment, finds peculiar pleasure in attacking the most difficult problems connected with Shakespeare. The two books before us are recent examples of this fact, and for that reason might be thought to need little attention from readers of the more serious sort. Since, however, they have

been widely announced by reputable publishing houses, and claim to treat matters vital to Shakespearean study, it becomes necessary to make clear just how far they require notice on the part of students of the matters concerned. In particular they involve one matter which for many years has been touched on vaguely, with little careful examination; namely, the alleged connection with Shakespeare of the book called *Willobie his Avis*. It is desirable, therefore, to give serious attention to whatever evidence has to do with this.

Mr. Acheson is already known to students of the Sonnets as the author of an interesting book called *Shakespeare and the Rival Poet*, in which he followed up Minto's "Chapman theory" with rather more assurance than evidence, and hinted broadly at other revelations regarding the Sonnets which would be published later. The present book is the partial fulfilment of this promise. "My findings are now," says Mr. Acheson, "generally accepted by Shakespearean scholars," a truly remarkable statement, unless its author has confirmatory information which has not been made public in the usual way. The fact is that he brought together a number of interesting facts about Chapman, as he now does about certain other persons, so intermingled with unsupported conjecture and assertion that no casual reviewer could undertake to disentangle them; and a fairly general silence on the part of scholars seems to have been taken for consent.

The main contentions of the second volume are these: that Matthew Roydon, a friend of Marlowe's and Chapman's, was the author of the anonymous *Willobie his Avis* (1594) and, incidentally, of a great many other poems of the same period not hitherto attributed to him; that he published the *Avis* in furtherance of a quarrel between Shakespeare, Chapman, and others, the details of which were sketched in the earlier book; that in the person of Willoby he represented Southampton, in that of Willoby's friend "W. S." Shakespeare, and in that of Avis herself, Mistress Jane Davenant, mother of Sir William. Minor assertions are, that the *Avis* was the "vulgar scandal" referred to by Shakespeare in Sonnet 112; that the Southampton-Shakespeare-Davenant triangle may be traced throughout his works until, in 1601, his period of comedy ended with the death of Essex and the imprisonment of his friend; and that Shakespeare and Roydon exchanged veiled hostilities in many writings hitherto unsuspected of esoteric significance.

The character of these hostilities, as indicated by parallel passages, may be illustrated from the evidences that Shakespeare was attacking Roydon in many portions of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. Bottom's alliterative tendencies ("Quail, crush, conclude, and quell!") are a travesty of Roydon's fondness for hunting the letter. When Theseus says of the Pyramus tragedy, "Thi passion, and the death of a dear friend, would go near to make a

man look sad," he is alluding jocosely to Roydon's "Elegy, or Friend's Passion for his Astrophel." When Pyramus says "Sweet Moon, I thank thee for thy sunny beams," there is "an evident parody" of verses in Roydon's Elegy:

O Sun! said he, seeing the sun,
On wretched me why dost thou shine?

When Bottom says, "This green plot shall be our stage," he alludes to Roydon's—

In midst and center of this plot
I saw one groveling on the grass.

The evidences offered for the omnipresence of the dark mistress (who, as we shall see later, was hostess of a tavern) are of similar character. It is curious that no one should have noted Shakespeare's singular interest in women of this calling. In *King John* he introduces into the Bastard's mouth a reference to St. George who "sits on his horseback at mine hostess' door"; whereas in *Avisa* we learn that the heroine dwells also in a house "where hangs the badge of England's saint." As early as the *Comedy of Errors* she appears as hostess of the Porpentine,

a wench of excellent discourse,
Pretty and witty, wild, and yet, too, gentle;

"a description," says Acheson, "that curiously matches that given of Mistress Davenant by Anthony Wood, 'A very beautiful woman, and of conversation extremely agreeable.'"

If the dramatist's passion was bandied about like this in his own works, one will not be surprised to learn that a passage in the *Histrion-Mastix*, attributed to his enemies, "alludes scurrilously to Shakespeare's relations with Mistress Davenant." Acheson does not quote this passage, of such importance for the biography of Shakespeare; but on turning to the play we find it to be this:

Phillida was a fair maid;
I know one fairer than she;
Troilus was a true lover;
I know one truer than he.

The proofs of Roydon's authorship of the *Avisa* and several other poems are, for the most part, of the same nature. Abundant parallels are cited with the Elegy on Sidney,—parallels whose significance cannot be argued one way or another, but must be left to the reader's judgment. Fair examples are the following: In the Elegy the eagle and the turtle are among the birds that assemble to mourn for Astrophel; in *Avisa* the same birds are mentioned in close collocation. In the Elegy Pallas provided Astrophel with armor, but this excited the envy of Mars, who destroyed him; in *Avisa* the goddesses assembled to provide the maiden with appropriate endowments, but Juno withheld her gift because of jealousy lest Jove be too admiring. In the Elegy are the lines—

My melting heart issued, methought,
In streams forth at mine eyes aright;

In *Avisa*—

When thinking on my hopeless hap,
My trickling tears like rivers flow.

But the fundamental resemblance is in the metre and stanza. Mr. Acheson repeatedly refers to the metrical form of Roydon's verse as characteristic, and is disposed to attribute to him whatever he finds written in that form, including such varied productions as an old ballad of Dido and the familiar "My mind to me a kingdom is." Now this stanza is nothing more remarkable than the *ababcc* type in four-stress verse, familiar from the days of Wyatt's "Give place all ye that do rejoice." If we should follow our critic's method it would be necessary to claim for Roydon not only Acheson's own motley collection, but poems commonly attributed to Surrey, Breton, Wither, Cartwright, Campion, Jonson, and many others. On the other hand, one poem in quatrains is included, because the alliterative phrases "gripping grief," "grisly ghost," "dismal day," and the like,—equally familiar to readers of minor Elizabethan verse—"mark it plainly as Roydon's."

It may have seemed that the foregoing account of Mr. Acheson's proofs has been given only for the sake of the innocent amusement which they may provide. But this is not the case. In any complicated argument of this character one needs to discover as soon as possible what may be the general background of the writer's information in the field of his subject, and what the quality of his judgment respecting such delicate evidential methods as the use of parallel passages. Having learned this, the reader may judge how far to trust when he cannot sift all the evidence for himself.

Passing, however, these more incidental matters, we should come to the one matter of importance to students of the Sonnets, namely, the question whether there is anything in the book called *Willoby his Avisa* which may or should be connected with them and their subject-matter. Let us briefly recall what original basis there is for the widely scattered suspicion that such is the case.* *Avisa* is a moral poem, of bourgeois tone, in praise of chastity, as personified in the character of Avisa, a young woman who, because of extraordinary charms, is subjected to great temptation both before and after her marriage. Of her wooers some are presented as pure villains; but one, the supposed author of the poem, Henry Willoby, is afflicted with a persistent and sincere, though guilty passion, and Avisa treats him with considerable kindness, though with inexorable virtue. The poem ends with her final dismissal of him. In Canto 44 occurs the prose interlude which has stirred up so much conjecture, relating that Willoby at length

"bewrayeth the secrecy of his disease, unto his familiar friend W. S. who not long before had tried the curtesie of the like passion, and was now newly

*First set forth, so far as I know, by Ingleby in the *Centurie of Prayse*. (See N. S. S. ed., 1879, p. 11.)

recovered of the like infection; yet finding his friend let blood in the same veine, he tooke pleasure for a time to see him bleed, and in steed of stopping the issue, he enlargeth the wound, with the sharpe rasor of a willing conceit, perswading him that hee thought it a matter very easie to be compassed. . . . Thus this miserable comforter comforting his friend with an impossibilitie, either for that he now would secretly laugh at his friends folly, that had given occasion not long before unto others to laugh at his owne, or because he would see whether another could play his part better then himselfe, and in viewing a far off the course of this loving Comedy, he determined to see whether it would sort to a happier end for this new actor, then it did for the olde player. But at length this Comedy had like to have growne a Tragedy, by the weake and feeble estate that H. W. was brought unto. . . .

(Spenser Society edition, pp. 75-6.)

In Cantos 45 and 47 W. S. speaks, inquiring regarding his friend's sadness and giving advice for the wooing of cold ladies; thereupon Willoby renews his vain attacks, and we hear no more of the cynical friend.

"W. S.," then, appears as one of the group of characters in the quasi-dramatic structure of the poem, who together represent the view that woman's virtue is never wholly impregnable,—the doctrine which it is the professed purpose of the poem to oppose. In matter appended to later editions some intimation is given that the work had been suspected of containing personalities¹, as would be very natural in view of the abundant use of initials and other more or less suggestive abbreviations. The grounds for the conjecture that "W. S." was Shakespeare are these: that the initials are his; that he had been in love; that the verses resemble a poem beginning, "Whenas thine eye hath chose the dame" included in 1599 in *The Passionate Pilgrim* (attributed, therefore, to Shakespeare, with the rest of that motley collection); and that W. S. is called "the old player."

As to the first two allegations, no one will dispute them, but there is reasonable doubt whether they narrow the possibilities to Shakespeare. As to the *Passionate Pilgrim* verses, anyone disposed to believe Shakespeare the author of these may suppose that he either wrote, or was imitated in, the 47th canto of *Avisa*. On the other hand, we may note (1) that the resemblance is not particularly striking, apart from the cynical doctrine of seduction, which, as the Preface to *Avisa* abundantly emphasizes, was highly conventional; (2) that, if we find the similarity impressive, either poem may have been written in imitation of the other, since we have no ground whatever for dating the origin of anything included in *The Passionate Pilgrim* miscellany; (3) that there is not the slightest real evidence of Shakespeare's authorship of the "Whenas thine eye" verses, which by Acheson himself are attributed to Roydon.

The words "the old player" have seemed ominous to more than one critic, even to the point of discussing whether Shakespeare

¹ A suspicion accentuated by the fact that in 1599 it was "called in" by the censors.

could be called "old" in 1594. Of course, W. S. is called "old" for precisely the reason that Willoby is called "new," and he is called "player" for the reason that Willoby is called "actor,"—that is, they have successively taken a part in the tragi-comedy of love. No one, so far as I know, has identified Willoby with a theatrical personage—certainly not Mr. Acheson, who conceives him to be Lord Southampton. Now it might be argued that, if we knew W. S. to be Shakespeare, the comedy-tragedy metaphor would have more point because one of the two persons concerned was a player in other than a metaphorical sense; and on the other hand it might be argued that its aptness would be impaired. But assuming the former, for the sake of argument, the fact is still far from furnishing us proof that either of the lovers *was* an actor, much less that he was Shakespeare.

Sir Sidney Lee, with rather less than his usual perspicacity, goes so far as to say that "the mention of W. S. as 'the old actor,' [misquoted for *player*] and the employment of theatrical imagery in discussing his relations with Willobie must be coupled with the fact that Shakespeare, at a date when mentions of him in print were rare, was eulogized by name as the author of 'Lucrece' in some prefatory verses to the volume."² Even if the "theatrical imagery" implied any special significance for the "player," it is hard to see why we should "couple" this fact with the conventional allusion to Shakespeare as narrative poet in the prefatory verses. It suggests, of course, no connection whatever with the story of *Avisa*, and could at most, be used by way of reply in case any one undertook to argue the improbability of Shakespeare's being known to the author of the book. The prefatory epistle mentions both Sidney and Spenser in somewhat similar fashion; if we had "P. S." or "E. S." in place of "W. S." in the body of the poem, should we "couple" the two facts on that account? Finally, it should be remembered that "W. S." is represented very unflatteringly in the story; so that, if the allusion to Shakespeare in the prefatory verses has anything of eulogy in it, as Lee assumes, it would not be likely to refer to the same person under the same auspices.

The notion, then, that Willoby's friend W. S. was Shakespeare is like the notion that H. W. was Henry Wriothsley, or that W. H. of the Sonnets was William Herbert, William Hall, William Hughes, William Hart, and William Harvey: it is quite open to anyone to hold, if he finds pleasure in doing so, provided he does not draw inferences from it which can only be drawn from known facts.³

² *Life of Sh.*, p. 157. The verses are these:

Yet Tarquine pluckt his glistering grape,
And Shake-speare paints poore Lucrece rape.

³ Acheson, of course, supposes that he has added another link to the chain of proofs in the fact that Roydon was author of *Avisa*; but, aside from the fact that his proofs of this authorship are of the most tenuous character, if we granted it as fully established, all we should have would be this: Roydon was

Let us, however, suppose for the moment that the foregoing objections are insufficient, and that there is adequate ground for accepting, as a working hypothesis, the view that Willoby's cynical friend was Shakespeare. What does it add to our knowledge of him? That he had lately been in love, and recovered from the passion. Were it not for that other passion, as irrational and unrelenting as love, which seizes upon so many students of the Sonnets, we should find it strange that these poems should at once be brought into the controversy; in other words, that the "late" love affair of W. S. should be assumed to be the affair of the Dark Lady, with the corollary that Shakespeare's passion for her was well over by 1594. This corollary should of itself raise grave suspicion of the identification, if it were indeed a necessary consequence; for there are very few, even of the "Southamptonists" and other theorists favoring a relatively early date, who would go so far as to follow the chronology here implied. But let that pass; for the inference is *not* a corollary. Do we know that Shakespeare was never in love but once? If his friends "laughed at his folly" in connection with the fascinating adulteress of the Sonnets, is it certain that this was the only opportunity he gave them for laughter? Of course, there are those—including Mr. Acheson—who know that this one personality dominated Shakespeare's whole life, reappearing in most of his plays; yet in that case we might be sure, if we could be sure of anything here, that the affair was *not* the one portrayed as an infection from which the lover had "recovered."

In other words, even if we should regard it as not only possible but certain that Willoby's W. S. is Shakespeare, we should have to agree with Dowden that there is still no reason for thinking that *Avisa* furnishes any "point of connection with the Sonnets."

Most of those who have been suspicious of such a connection have stopped with the general suggestion that the passion of W. S. might enable us to know the date of Shakespeare's entanglement with the Dark Lady. But Mr. Fleay, in his *Life and Work of Shakespeare* (1886), went much further, and announced the remarkable discovery that the Dark Lady was *Avisa* herself; and Mr. Acheson follows him in this view, though without acknowledging any acquaintance with the work of Fleay. It is a view which leads one to rub his eyes, and then to turn back to the "W. S." passage in the *Avisa*. Are we to understand, when W. S. is said to have recovered "from the like infection," that he had been in love with the *same person*, namely *Avisa*? There is nothing in the text to indicate this; on the contrary, *Avisa's* lovers and their arguments have been enumerated,—the list of them is the very

a friend of Chapman's; Chapman was *perhaps* an enemy of Shakespeare's; therefore when Roydon introduces a W. S. as a cynical person lately in love, it must be Shakespeare.

basis of the structure of this part of the poem,—and we hear nothing of W. S. except as the friend of Willoby. The whole natural tenor of the passages in question is that W. S. has experienced many affairs with ladies unknown, and on that ground bases his cynical confidence in their vulnerability.⁴

Another reason why Fleay's conjecture makes the reader rub his eyes is, of course, that the story tells us only of an unconquered Avis. When all is said, she remains the untouched flower of chastity; the symbol of English domestic virtue. The only answer to this is that the whole work is a satire, which must be read in a wholly different sense from the obvious one; and this is Fleay's judgment—and Acheson's. Interpretations of this hidden or esoteric character, like those offered of the beasts of *Daniel* or the *Revelation*, can be refuted with difficulty, since infinite possibilities are involved in the very hypothesis of hidden meanings. And we have already admitted that there is evidence going to show that *Avisa* came to be regarded as including some personal satire.⁵ To say that such personal satire lurked, or was suspected of lurking, in the numerous initials and allusions of the poem, is quite different from the supposition that the whole story is to be interpreted in an inverted fashion, as that of an unchaste lady. If it is, it is singularly lacking in point. From another standpoint we may put the question in this way. Suppose it to be the desire of the author to ridicule Shakespeare and Southampton for having been concerned in an intrigue with a countrywoman, the circumstances being that Shakespeare had first won her as his mistress, and that Southampton had then come in and cut him out. (If we have any reason for believing in such an intrigue at all, it is in this form that we must find it.) There are various possible satiric tales which he might devise to represent the interesting situation; but among them, it is safe to say, no one would ever, *a priori*, conceive of such a plot as this,—a virtuous lady is wooed by many lovers, whose persons and arguments are sketched in detail; she resists them all; H. W. joins the number, and, after a first repulse, consults W. S. for advice; W. S. bids him persist and hope for success; he does persist, but meets with a final repulse and adieu. If this be a burlesque, or a satire, of the story which has generally been read in connection with the triangle of characters

⁴It might perhaps be urged that he says of Avis:

She is no Saint, she is no Nunne,
I think in time she may be wonne.

But the utmost that this can be taken to mean, in connection with the natural reading of the context, is: because she does not appear to be saint or nun, though no one has yet moved her there is a possibility of doing so.

⁵Again Acheson follows Fleay here, without acknowledgment, in emphasizing the censors' attack on the book in 1599, at the time when a special effort to suppress satire was being made. (See Stationers' Register, June 4.) On the other hand there is no ground for his inference that the alleged edition of 1596 "met the same fate," because no copies are now known to exist.

in the Sonnets, the difficult irony of a Defoe or a Swift pales into insignificance beside the ambiguity which its author attained.

To Fleay's process Mr. Acheson has added one important step. Fleay found that the dark Avisia was an innkeeper's daughter in the "West of England." Acheson finds her to be an innkeeper's wife at Oxford, and further identifies her, as we have seen, as Mistress Jane Davenant. The evidence, briefly, is this: In the Preface to *Avisia* the writer refers to a certain A. D. as known to him as being equally virtuous with Avisia; and D. is the initial of Davenant. (The ordinary reader would suppose that A. D. was a different person from Avisia, as she is referred to in quite different terms; but in a process where everybody is to be identified with everybody else, this passes for nothing.) Further, as the Preface to the poem is dated at Oxford, we may locate the action of the story there. These two facts give us connecting links with the familiar scandal handed down through Aubrey respecting the parentage of Sir William Davenant and Shakespeare's intimacy with his mother. Aubrey's story, it should be observed, Acheson *disbelieves*, since Davenant's birth was far too late (1606) to be connected with the intrigue of W. S. and Avisia; still it goes to show that such a scandal existed, and, since Shakespeare would hardly have indulged in a second intrigue with the wife of an Oxford innkeeper after a ten years' interval, we may mystically refer it back to the period of the Sonnets.

Unfortunately Davenant of Oxford has been known only as the keeper of the Crown Inn, and Mr. Acheson was much troubled, at the time of writing his book, by the fact that there was no evidence connecting him with an inn of any other name; for a George Inn was required by his theory, since, as we have seen, Avisia dwelt at a place "where hangs the badge of England's saint." Discovering, however, that there *was* a George Inn at Oxford, he assumed that Davenant was its proprietor before he took over the Crown. Later he has issued a supplementary pamphlet, reporting a discovery reported to him by an Oxford antiquarian, to the effect that in 1619 Davenant was referred to as vintner of "the Cross Inn"; and as the sign of this establishment may have been the cross of St. George, the difficulty is not only removed but changed to a "remarkable verification of my theory."⁸ It is characteristic of Mr. Acheson's methods that, at the time when he was resting his theory on the conjecture that Davenant was the proprietor of the George Inn, he stated it as a known fact on a page removed at some distance from the explanation of his reasons

"This pamphlet is called "A Woman Coloured Ill," a title which refers to the fact that Mr. Acheson has discovered that the first line of one of the commendatory poems prefaced to *Avisia*, "In Lavine Land though Livie boast," contains in its first thirteen letters the anagram for the words "Ill Jn. Davenant," an obvious allusion to the "woman coloured ill" of the Sonnets. From this his readers may be led to hope for many new revelations to be discovered in cipher throughout the poem.

for making the guess. "In view of the crowded conditions of accommodations in [Oxford] during the stay of the Court, it is . . . likely that Southampton rested at the George Inn on Cornmarket Street, which at that period was conducted by John Davenant and his attractive wife." In like manner, having in his earlier volume set forth the theory that Chapman was among those claiming the patronage of Southampton,—a theory for which, it need hardly be said, the most diligent search of the "Southamptonists" has upturned no evidence—Acheson calmly tells us in the present book that "The Amorous Zodiac," "A Coronet for his Mistress Philosophy," and "The Shadow of Night," were first "submitted for Southampton's approval, and being again refused, were published in 1595, and . . . dedicated to his friend Roydon." These things do not appear to be evidence of an intention to deceive, but of a mental condition which is clearly incapable of distinguishing between a conjecture and an ascertained fact. It is with fine, if unconscious irony that Mr. Acheson promises those readers who agree with his conclusions as thus far published that his fuller findings "will appeal to them with equal credibility."

Turning to our second volume, we find that the Countess de Chambrun—who, we regret to observe, is an American Shakespearean despite her name—is a follower of Mr. Acheson. His conjectures are in her pages fully transmuted into well-known facts. We have seen, for example, that because no copy of the supposed 1596 edition of *Avisa* has been found, Acheson avers that that edition was suppressed by the authorities. In the Countess's book we are told simply that in 1596 the poem was "ordered out of print . . . as being eminently libelous to some great person, probably Southampton." The further assertion is made, without question or proof, that *Avisa* is "a parody of the drama of the sonnets" in libelous form. Of more importance is the statement that we have "contemporary evidence" connecting Shakespeare's name with a woman (Mrs. Davenant), and that this woman can also be associated with Southampton. As no details are given, we might be at a loss if we did not know from Acheson's book that Mistress Davenant can be "associated with Southampton" because he may have put up at an Oxford inn at a time when Davenant may have been its proprietor. As to the identification of the Dark Lady, the Countess hints that she had already hit upon it before learning of Mr. Acheson's researches, but without any reference to *Willoby his Avisa*. The Aubrey story was enough, and she does not seem to have been disturbed by the discrepancy in its date—which perhaps need not surprise us if she regards it as "contemporary."⁷

⁷It should be added, in fairness, that our author finds confirmatory evidence in the familiar letter of Lady Southampton (1599) telling her husband of the birth of a son to "Sir John Falstaff" by his "mistress Dame Pint-Pot." Again we are not to be disturbed by the fact that this was five years after *Avisa* and seven years before the birth of William Davenant.

But enough of this trifling. Let it be made clear in all seriousness that no reviewer could do injustice to the misstatements and fallacies in this book, which is really notable even among the countless absurdities in the literature of the Sonnets. "The rival poets . . . may be identified with Marlowe, Chapman, Greene, Nash, and Florio,"—this certainly meets one of the great problems of the Sonnets in a generous and inclusive fashion. "John Florio," by the way, is an anagram for "Hioloferne," which, of course, is to be made into Holofernes by the usual methods of the anagrammatists. Nicholas Rowe (another "contemporary," one is startled to learn) gives unimpeachable testimony to the effect that Southampton was both "Shakespeare's patron and [the] youth of the Sonnets." These are typical sayings. But the most wonderful remains. On page 15 we are told that "the Thorpe edition contains 154 sonnets, divided into three separate series by a note in the margin. . . . It seems very strange that this fact should never have been observed." It is truly extraordinary that it should not have been observed, and would of itself make the Countess's work immortal, if we owed to her such a discovery. A happy reference, however, to "a text facsimile in the Library at Washington" supplies a clue to the mystery. For the Praetorius facsimile of the Quarto (1886), Mr. Tyler supplied not only an introduction but marginal line-numbers, etc., which were set outside a ruled line enclosing the facsimile text; and on this margin he took, quite unwarrantedly, the liberty of inserting the captions "Series I, Series II, and Series III," opposite Sonnets 1, 127, and 153. It is this Tyler text which the Countess has discovered; and, to add to the gaiety of nations, she has had photographed one of the crucial pages of the facsimile, including the marginal additions in neat modern lettering, and labels it "a facsimile of page 57 of the Thorpe edition of the Sonnets." This reproduction really makes the book worth preserving; it would be difficult to find any other ground, unless it be the appendix, which contains a convenient reprint of Rowe's *Life of Shakespeare* and other more or less irrelevant material.

Acheson's book, on the other hand, deserves more serious attention, not for its conclusions, as it is hoped has been made clear, but because it represents a really considerable amount of research in the Elizabethan field, and contains a variety of facts and observations which will not come altogether amiss to the scholar. Of the work of the Countess de Chambrun any intelligent publisher should have been able to learn, with a little effort, that there was no excuse for bringing it out; whereas the distortions and misreasonings of Mr. Acheson it takes some penetration to apprehend, and when all is said one is not sure that so much industry has been wholly wasted.

Works like these, too, are instructive to all of us, because many reputable scholars exhibit in some degree the processes

which are thrown up before us here in exaggerated form. In other words, we are all tempted, at times, to cherish an hypothesis, to consider how many interesting things would follow if it were only known to be true, until in the end it begins to seem to us to have been true. The question of *Avisa* and the Sonnets of Shakespeare is typical. If there were proof that it was written by Roydon, and that he was engaged in a quarrel with Shakespeare; if there were any evidence that W. S. stands for Shakespeare and H. W. for Southampton; if we had good ground for supposing that *Avisa*, the chaste, was really to be understood as the *unchaste*; if Aubrey's story could have any reasonable reference to an earlier period; if we knew that a certain stanza in *Avisa* referred to an Oxford inn, and had any reason whatever for connecting that inn with Mistress Davenant;—if (not one only, observe, but) *all* these things were known, we should still have no certain proof, but an interesting and suggestive basis for suspecting that we have in *Avisa* a commentary on a portion of Shakespeare's Sonnets. Unfortunately not one of them has been shown to be more than *possible*, and an accumulation of possibilities, however entertaining to the imagination, does not provide cumulative proof. It may, however, look very much like proof to the casual eye. This is why a number of amiable newspaper reviewers appear to have been much impressed by the announcement of "Mistress Davenant, the Dark Lady of the Sonnets," doubtless quite unaware—as indeed Mr. Acheson himself may be, for we are by no means sure that his silence regarding Fleay is wilful—that the essentials of the theory had been set forth nearly thirty years ago, and failed to find acceptance with a single competent student of the Sonnets.

In conclusion: this new effort may be said to make it practically certain that there is no need to give further attention to the book called *Willoby his Avisa* in connection with the life or poems of Shakespeare, and to strengthen once more the probability that the identity of the Dark Lady of the Sonnets will never be known.

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THE "CHANSON D'AVEVENTURE" IN MIDDLE ENGLISH,

by Helen Estabrook Sandison. Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania, 1913. Pp. XII and 152.

A study of the relations of the shorter Middle English poems to preceding and contemporary French poetry is one of the chief purposes in Dr. Sandison's monograph, *The Chanson d'Aventure in Middle English*. The book consists of three chapters of discussion, to which are added three appendices. A brief, though adequate, bibliography of books referred to is prefixed.

In the first chapter the author sets forth the nature of the typical *chanson d'aventure* as she deduces it from the studies of Paris, Jeanroy, and Chambers, supplemented somewhat by her own researches. The second and third chapters deal with the Middle English type of lyric in question, first in regard to the conventional form, and then in respect to themes employed. In the appendices are contained chiefly twelve hitherto unprinted poems and a valuable alphabetical register of the Middle English *chansons d'aventure*.

The *chanson d'aventure* has two distinguishing features: the poet uses a conventional setting which serves to introduce him and his theme by telling how, in the words of the usual English translation, "this ender day" he rode out in the "grene wode" to amuse himself; he then reports an action in which he pretends he took a not inglorious part or of which at least he was a silent, though interested, witness. The *chanson d'aventure* thus broadly defined includes the *chanson dramatique* and the *pastourelle*—includes, in fact, by far the greater portion of Old French lyric poetry. This simple grouping does much to straighten out the confused terminology of French scholars, though the further suggestion, which Miss Sandison puts forth in a note, that the older term used by Gaston Paris, *chanson à personnages*, should be applied to the whole field of objective lyrics does not seem so happy. Is she quite sure that there are not many of these poems, such as the *chansons de danse* or the *raverdies*, which have nothing to do with "personnages"?

The greatest significance of Miss Sandison's study lies in the fact that she has proved beyond doubt that the Middle English poet relied almost wholly on foreign models for his literary form, at least when he wished to be artistic. That there are no fewer than forty-six Middle English *chansons d'aventure* dealing with love, genuine songs of this type in practically every sense except the language used, is little short of a revelation. That there are at least one hundred and thirty-two lyric poems in Middle English that approach more or less closely to the *chanson d'aventure*, is highly significant in the history of the lyric. We had all known that there was influence; Miss Sandison has determined its bounds and has surprised us in proving its extent.

As has already been hinted, the amorous lyrics read as if they were actual French poems, so closely do they conform to the type; the religious, didactic, and miscellaneous poems do not so clearly fulfill the requirements. At their best they are but imitations of secular lyrics in which the narrative preface is more than ever an easy means of getting under way, and the adventure itself too obviously simulated. Even in the palmiest days of miracles poets surely deceived themselves or their audiences but seldom into believing that the Virgin actually appeared on earth singing a

lullaby over her dead Son. Would it not be well for us to admit at once that most of the *chansons d'aventure* in English are adaptations? These imitations, resembling no known similar French poems, show that the French lyric once introduced into England took a distinct course of its own through the didactic and religious fields so dear to the English medieval mind.

The fact that Dr. Sandison finds no opportunity to comment upon the real content of the poems indicates very clearly how inadequate a classification of the Middle English lyric is that which is founded only on external traits. In the four classes of Middle English *chansons d'aventure*, amorous, religious, didactic, and miscellaneous, are found such diverse forms as popular ballads and complicated, artificial ballades, Christmas carols and heavy, satiric, political poems.

Miss Sandison likewise finds no space to mention the literary value of these poems, assuming perhaps that there is none. Yet the love lyrics at least are not wanting in this respect. From the earliest *chanson d'aventure* with its catchy refrain, "Now sprinkles the sprai," to the songs of that much calumniated lyricist, Henry VIII, there is more than once to be found a freshness and a simplicity that were never brought from France.

Miss Sandison has done her work well. She has studied carefully the influence of French forms, and in her search for sources and parallels she has been unusually sane. Her only fault has been one of omission, for after all the French poems furnished but the starting point. Some day we may realize that our Middle English poetry is literature, and is to be studied for itself alone.

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*THE COURT AND THE LONDON THEATRES DURING THE
REIGN OF ELIZABETH.* By Thornton Shirley Graves.

Menasha, Wis., The Collegiate Press, George Banta Publishing Co. 1913. 8 vo, pp. [vi] 93.

The main object of this doctoral thesis¹ is to show that the method of presenting plays at court during the first half of Elizabeth's reign profoundly influenced the method of presenting plays before the London public, and, as a result, determined in a large measure the stage construction of the playhouse. Hitherto the importance of the connection between dramatic performances at court and at the early theatres has been much underestimated.

¹It is only fair to the author to state that "most of the conclusions" in this monograph were reached "in the fall of 1910," although circumstances delayed the printing of the volume.

Professor Graves has performed a valuable service in directing the attention of scholars to the fact; and in addition he has thrown considerable light on the structure of the Elizabethan stage, and on the manner of performing plays in the public theatres. His work is throughout marked by sound judgment and painstaking research.

At the outset he devotes himself to a consideration of Neuen-dorff's recent *Die englische Volksbühne*, which contends that there were three distinct types of stage in use in the London theatres during the period 1576-1642. This contention Professor Graves refutes, to my mind with finality. He makes it clear that Neuen-dorff has misinterpreted evidence, has ignored important facts, and has often reasoned incorrectly. In the course of his discussion, I may add, he develops an interesting theory as to the construction of the "heavens" which overhung the stage. He says: "I believe that in some theatres at least the 'hut' projected further into the yard than is shown even in Varian's drawing, and that at the Fortune, Globe, Rose and Hope, perhaps at the Curtain and Theatre, the shed attached to it extended practically to the front edge of the stage." And, further: "The term 'heavens' doubtless had a double significance. In addition to being a cover or canopy over the stage, it was a 'heaven' in the sense that it was fitted up, perhaps very elaborately, to represent the firmament." This was accomplished by "canvas stretched overhead," painted blue, and adorned with stars and other celestial objects. The theory, to be sure, is not proved, but the evidence presented makes it very plausible.

Next the author discusses the use of the inn-yards for early dramatic performances, and the influence of such on the construction of the first theatres. He observes: "That inn-yard influence in the construction of the early theatres is possible, I would not, of course, deny, but that the inn-yard was the favorite place for theatrical performances, or that it was structurally the origin of the first theatres is at least questionable." Accordingly, he attempts to discredit the influence of the inn-yard, and to show that most of the structural elements of the theatres could be, and probably were, derived from other sources. I cannot help feeling, however, that the author has gone somewhat too far in belittling the use of inns for dramatic purposes. Whatever may have been the custom of the actors while traveling about the country, in London their "favorite place for theatrical performances" was unquestionably the inn-yard. The Order of the Common Council of London restraining dramatic exhibitions, December 6, 1574—which was the immediate cause of the erection of the first theatres—shows this: "Wheareas heartofore sondrye greate disorders and inconvenyences have beene found to ensewe to this Cittie by the inordynate hauntynge of greate multitudes of

people, speciallye youthe, to playes, enterludes and shewes . . . in greate Innes, havinge chambers and secrete places adjoyninge to their open stagies and gallyries. . . . And that no Inkeper, Tavernkeper, nor other person whatsoever wthin the liberties of thys Cittie shall openlye shewe, or playe, nor cawse or suffer to be openlye shewed or played wthin the hous-yarde or anie other place wthin the liberties of thys Cittie anie playe, enterlude, comodye tragidie, matter, or shewe." In the construction of the early London theatres surely the regular manner of presenting plays in the city was far more a determining factor than the makeshift methods employed by actors while traveling. Yet Professor Graves does well to put scholars on their guard, especially since there are some who overemphasize the influence of the "bare" inn-yards. He shows that the inns regularly used in London for dramatic performances "were by no means regarded as *ready-made* theatres"; they were, it seems, built over to some extent for dramatic purposes, and equipped with an adequate stage.

This discussion of the inn-yard influence leads the author to his main thesis: "I would derive the public stage in its *essential elements* from the English court; or perhaps I should say, it was suggested by the court methods of stage presentation." Accordingly he attempts to show how plays were presented at court, that this method was in the main followed by the actors in presenting plays before the public, and that ultimately it determined the structure of the first London theatres. The line of argument, substantiated by an examination of many plays, is illustrated by the following: "When Burbage observed how all difficulties in stage presentation had been overcome at court, let us suppose that the observation put him to thinking. In his public theatre he could not well construct 'howses' of painted canvas at the sides of his stage, a city or a 'Scotlande,' but he could do the next best thing—he could set in painted wooden walls two doors with windows above them, which could, and did, take the place of canvas houses; and by the use of sign-boards he could transform these sides of his stage into a 'Thebes,' or 'Asia' or 'Phrygia,' while behind these same doors actors could dress as they had probably done within the 'howses' at court."

Finally, under the heading "Court Influence in General," the author discusses the manner of presenting plays in the public theatres. He asks the question: "May it not be said, too, that as a result of our belief in the great indebtedness of the public stage to the inn-yards and in consequence of an undue consideration of the court in our discussions of the Elizabethan theatres, we have overemphasized the crudity of such structures and the inconvenience which audiences and managers were willing to tolerate in the presentation of plays?" The notion of the Elizabethan stage as a bare platform—derived perhaps from Sir Philip

Sidney's well-known remarks—is no longer tenable; and the present volume enables us to estimate more justly the advantages of the London stages for presenting the plays that were written for them.

A brief Appendix deals with the theory of the "canopy" stage, for which, thinks the writer "a great deal . . . can be said." Not very much definite evidence, however, is presented; and although the projecting balcony supported by posts is possible, the reviewer must confess himself skeptical.

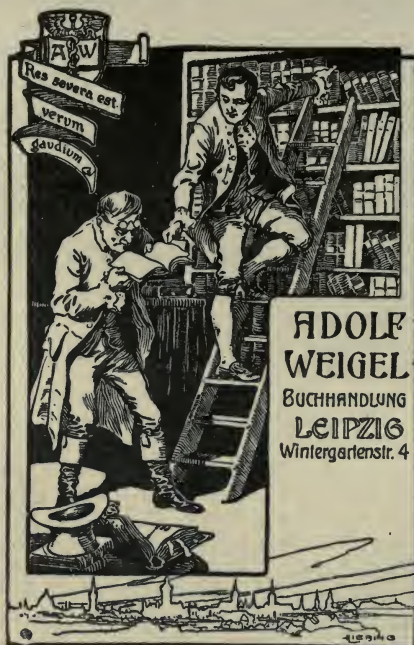
Taken as a whole this study is a valuable contribution to the subject of the Elizabethan playhouse, and as such is indispensable to every student of the early drama.

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SCHILLER'S ATTITUDE TOWARD LINGUISTIC PROBLEMS

As Schiller never was interested in language for its own sake, and was evidently not possessed of a pronounced talent for language study, we can hardly expect him to have been an unusually keen student of foreign languages. So far as Goethe's dictum is concerned, that he who does not know foreign languages is ignorant of his own (IV, 162; *Maximen und Reflexionen*, 1211), Schiller had indeed no reason to feel humiliated. He had received a rigorous training in the classical languages, at least in Latin, in the preparatory school at Ludwigsburg, and at the Military Academy. In the composition of Latin verses he was far ahead of his fellow pupils at Ludwigsburg, and his examiner, Professor Jahn, testified to his ability to translate the Greek New Testament with fair fluency. His later epigram, *Tote Sprachen* (Votivtafeln 51; II, 136)

Tote Sprachen nennt ihr die Sprache des Flaccus und Pindar,
Und von beiden nur kommt, was in der unseren lebt!

is significant of his valuation of classical languages. His knowledge of Greek, however, always remained limited. It was much better than Schlegel's malicious reference to Schiller's translation of Euripides' *Iphigenie in Aulis* ("Ohn' alles Griechisch hab' ich ja verdeutscht die Iphigenia") would have us believe. Nor is Wilhelm von Humboldt's statement quite correct when in the introduction of his correspondence with Schiller he says: "He acquired the spirit of Greek poetry without ever knowing it otherwise than from translations. In doing so he shunned no pains; he preferred translations that renounced any claim to poetic value of their own; best of all he liked the literal Latin paraphrases." In corroboration of the second half of this statement, Schiller writes to Körner, March 9, 1789 (II, 248f.): "After receiving the last two acts, . . . it will be fun for you to compare my work with Josua Barnes's Latin translation, for the latter, being the most faithful, was my real original.³² Then you will probably admit that I needed a high degree of enthusiasm of my own, and that I had to add much that is my own, in order to make it as tolerable as it is. I challenge many of our poets who think so highly of their Greek and Latin learning to prove that with a text as little inspiring they would have achieved even as much as I did. I could

³²Barnes's translation had first appeared in 1694 and been reprinted in 1778. Schiller also consulted the French renderings by P. Brumoy and Prevost.

not use the subtleties of Greek as a help—I had to guess at my original, or rather, I had to create one for myself.” To Humboldt he writes on October 26, 1795 (IV, 300): “Suppose, e. g., that nature had really intended me for a poet, you will be able to explain to yourself my un-Greek form, combined with a truly unmistakable poetic spirit, from the entirely fortuitous circumstance that in the decisive age where the mental constitution takes its definite shape perhaps for the whole life, I nourished myself exclusively on modern sources, wholly neglected Greek literature (so far as it extends beyond the New Testament), and used even Latin literature very sparingly.”

One might gain a somewhat different impression from a letter to Lotte von Lengefeld, November 15, 1789 (II, 371): “Among others, I wrote several letters to my native land. There are some good men there who were my teachers, and who still have much confidence in me. A certain Professor Nast, under whom I studied (or, rather, was supposed to study) Greek, proposed to me to undertake jointly with him an edition of the Greek tragic poets. My *Iphigenie* seems to have aroused in him high ideas of his former pupil’s Greek learning. I presume that he has this plan very much at heart, and I was glad I could comply with his wish.” But Schiller’s intention of embarking on similar ventures—which, barring a few scenes from the *Phoenissae*, were never carried out—is mainly based on the consciousness of his ability to arrive at the meaning of his Greek originals intuitively through the medium of literal translations, and not on any too high notion as to his knowledge of Greek. For only a few months before the letter last quoted he had written to Körner, September 28, 1789 (II, 341): “Why have I not learned enough Greek to read Xenophon and Thucydides in the original?” Six years later he even made up his mind to resume the study of Greek privately, and wrote to Humboldt, November 9, 1795 (IV, 317f.): “We³³ also talked much during these days about Greek literature and art, and on this occasion I firmly resolved on something that I had been considering for quite a long time, namely, to carry on the study of Greek. Since you are so very familiar with this, and also know my individuality, no one can advise me as well as you can, dear friend. What I may still know of this language you must not take into consideration—it consists more in a knowledge of words than of rules, nearly all of

³³Viz., Goethe and Schiller.

which I have forgotten. I desire especially to be supplied, in addition to a good grammar and an equally good dictionary, with a book that points out the method of study and the peculiarities of this language. As to the authors to be read, I should at once take up Homer, and combine perhaps Xenophon with it. This work will, of course, make but slow progress, as I cannot devote much time to it, but I mean to interrupt it as little as possible and persist in it. During the work on my play (*Wallenstein*) it is more easily possible to me, and it will at the same time help me to forget everything modern."

Humboldt's reply, November 20, 1795 (Leitzmann's edition, p. 210ff.) is very illuminative and worth quoting in full: "It is a fine resolution that you wish to learn Greek, and it has often touched me to see with what difficulty you must get from translations what others, who can go directly to the sources, are unable to comprehend. Your resolve has also been a new proof to me how thoroughly you take up everything with which you occupy yourself. But you will certainly experience many difficulties, and in view of the frequent interference with your work due to your poor health I scarcely know whether I ought to advise you to learn a language that is in itself always difficult and never repays the beginner for the trouble and time he must sacrifice to it. It will cost you much time, and that means a good deal for you who make such excellent use of your time. Your plan seems to me capable of execution only under the supposition that you can utilize for it those hours that would otherwise be lost in reading irrelevant things. I wish most heartily that you *knew* Greek; I am also convinced that you will learn it in an incredibly short time. Nevertheless I cannot but deplore the hours that will unfailingly be lost in the first beginning. If I were now, as I was last winter, at Jena, this objection could easily be met. One learns more easily in the company of another person, and we could at any rate chat away some hours in that manner. Assuming, however, that you remain faithful to your plan, Homer is certainly the proper beginning. I do not advise you to take up Xenophon at the same time. The old Ionian and the late Attic dialects differ so immensely that it would only mean additional difficulties. If you should wish to take up something else simultaneously, it would, in my opinion, be Herodotus or Hesiod. The only convenient and useful lexicon is *Hederici Graecum lexicon manuale ex cura Ernesti*. A more ample but inconven-

ient one is the one by Scapula. Since the latter is among my books at Jena, you may consult it also eventually. Of grammars the most methodical is Trendelenburg's *Griechische Grammatik*, latest edition. This also is among my books. As a repertory for all grammatical details that might occur to you I would suggest the Vollständige griechische *grammatica marchica* or, since it is probably no longer in the market, the so-called Halle grammar, which is the most convenient for reference; just as Trendelenburg's is for systematic instruction. I have been trying in vain to think of the desired book on the method of study and on the idiomatic character of the language. Trendelenburg's introduction contains some things, but not very much, and what he says on the middle voice you may regard as entirely incorrect. Some details you may also find in Harris's *Hermes*, a good translation of which you will find among my books. But the real book on the subject will have to be written yet. I have for a long time past reflected on a method of finding the categories under which to classify the peculiarities of a language, and the way of describing the specific character of any particular tongue. But as yet I cannot succeed, and the task is certainly fraught with many difficulties. How glad I should be if I could personally direct your Greek studies! How great an insight I should get from you into the language which I already know fairly well, and in the acquisition of which I could supply you with the data! So you will permit me, if you stick to your plan, to make this an occasional theme of our correspondence. In Homer the analysis of the forms will at first give you the greatest difficulty, and I am not sure whether you ought to attempt to recall this systematically into your memory. Should not the following method prove expeditious? The new translation by Voss is surprisingly faithful. Suppose you read first some fifty lines very carefully, lay the book aside, and take up the Greek text, try to make your way into it through mere memory, divination, tact, and afterwards verify by looking up whatever interests you. Thus your reasoning faculty would be more called into play, and you would enter more deeply than by the usual mechanical route. Be sure to inform me of your progress."

Schiller evidently did not make much progress—indeed, it is questionable whether he took up the study in good earnest; possibly even Humboldt's answer may have discouraged him. He renewed his intention, however, five years later, as expressed in a

letter to Goethe, September 26, 1800 (VI, 205), and again the plan did not materialize. During the five intervening years his ambitions had perceptibly diminished, for all that he now explains as his purpose is the desire to get an insight into Greek metrics. But even though according to his own confession, above quoted, his knowledge of Greek was limited to the knowledge of Greek words, he evidently was more than sufficiently acquainted with Greek word formation to imitate it successfully in his own poetry.

Schiller prized Greek all the more because to him it seemed to be the language of poetry *par excellence*, for a reason expressed in his *Æsthetic Lectures* (1792; XII, 352, 22): "Personality is the compensation given to the natural object for that which it loses through the abstract nature of language. A language that abounds in such personifications is a poetic language. Thus Greek mythology presented almost all actions of nature as actions of free beings, and has become almost indispensable to poetry." Or, as he phrases it in *Die Götter Griechenlands*: "Wo jetzt nur, wie unsre Weisen sagen, seelenlos ein Feuerball sich dreht, lenkte damals seinen goldnen Wagen Helios in stiller Majestät. Diese Höhen füllten Oreaden, eine Dryas lebt' in jenem Baum, aus den Urnen lieblicher Najaden sprang der Ströme Silberschaum. Jener Lorbeer wand sich einst um Hilfe, Tantals Tochter schweigt in diesem Stein, Syrinx' Klage tönt' aus jenem Schilfe, Philomelas Schmerz aus diesem Hain. An der Liebe Busen sie zu drücken, gab man höhern Adel der Natur; alles wies den eingeweihten Blicken, alles eines Gottes Spur." Mythological science has cruelly destroyed the lovely picture of Greek religion as the German classics viewed it; but so far as its imprint on language is concerned, Schiller has not been refuted, and never will be.

Of the character of the Latin language Schiller has the highest opinion. In his début as a critic, the review of Stäudlin's *Proben einer deutschen Aeneis* (1781), however, it is not Latin as a whole, but rather the diction of Virgil that arouses his unlimited admiration. He says (XVI, 157, 8ff.): "Mr. Stäudlin has dared to essay the flight of the Roman. . . . It is no mean venture to enter into competition with the delicate Latin poet who, as the translator admits, distinguishes himself especially through harmony and elegance—I should say, rather, whose entire greatness consists in the *expression* of Homeric descriptions. . . . A translation reveals to our critical eyes, naked and unprotected, his defects,

which before had been concealed in the charming garb of expression—there stands the great Virgil like a peacock bereft of his plumage—a beardless boy overagainst Homer the man. . . . Virgil will and must lose infinitely in every translation . . . or did the translator think that the Roman, on the contrary, would gain strength in the manly garb of the Teuton? . . . There is nothing more harmonious than a line of Virgil.” The numerous criticisms in detail offered, and emendations suggested, to the translator are convincing proof that Schiller must have possessed a far more than average knowledge of Latin, as indeed he demands from the translator “an accurate philological knowledge of both languages”—a demand of which, as we have seen, he falls far short in his own translations of Greek, but a demand that can only be deemed indispensable. Over a decade later, in the preface to his *Zerstörung Trojas*, the ottaverime rendering of the second book of the *Æneid*, he says (XVI, 111, 11): “He (the translator) thought that he detected the peculiar magic spell with which the Virgilian verse carries us away in the rare blending of ease and strength, elegance and greatness, majesty and grace, in which the Roman poet was undeniably far more aided by his language than the German translator can ever hope from his. . . (112, 3). It was this consideration in particular that caused the author to prefer the eight line stanza, that one among all German metrical systems in which our mother tongue at times forgets its native harshness and yet through its manly character is sufficiently prevented from falling into weakness and playfulness. . . (113, 17). The translator is very willing to submit to any cold-blooded critical test so far as the conscientiousness and faithfulness of his rendering is concerned, but he would most solemnly deprecate any comparison of his work with the unattainable diction of the Roman poet, which inevitably, and without his fault, must redound to his disadvantage. For he defies all past, present, and future German poets to cope without detriment with the delicate organization and the musical flow of the Latin tongue in such a vacillating, inflexible, broad, Gothic,³⁴ harsh-sounding language as our dear mother tongue.”

³⁴This word was in the eighteenth century equivalent to old-fashioned, bizarre, grotesque. Other instances of it are found in XVI, 171, 29 *Wo er tragisch sein will, wird er oft gotisch und burlesk*; 296, 25 *wechselte das Lächerliche nicht zu gotisch mit dem Rührenden und Schrecklichen ab*; 171, 8 *Der “Hymnus an die Schönheit” ist ein überladenes gotisches Gemälde voll Nichtsinn und Verwirrung*; letters I, 107 *die gotische Vermischung von Komischem und Tragischem*.

I am not aware that Latin exercised any influence on Schiller's language, unless it can be traced in the elative, or absolute, use of the superlative, which is rather frequent. In looking for cases of it, we have to disregard the usage of the curial style that demanded, and demands, phrases like *untertänigster* and *ergebenster N. N.* at the end of letters, and such harmless little falsehoods as *liebster Freund* that may be addressed to any one out of a dozen or more persons with whom the speaker or writer is more or less intimate. We have to confine ourselves to cases where, as in Lessing's *Emilia Galotti*, "Mein Weg ist der weiteste. Wir wollen heut noch über die Grenze," reference is clearly only to a very high degree of the quality expressed by the adjective. Of such we find, chosen at random, *Don Carlos* 102 ff., "Ihr Weg, hochwürd'ger Vater, ist der weiteste, bis Sie auf Petri Stühle niedersitzen; *Geisterseher*, II, 239, 27, Die Fahrt war die angenehmste; XV, 212, 36, Die Gefahr ist die höchste; XVI, 63, 30, der Empfang ist der feurigste; 130, 2, das zärtlichste Mädchen ward sehr bewegt; 168, 11, Reinhard's Poesien verraten die zärtlichste Empfindung und den lebenswürdigsten Charakter ihres Verfassers; letters, I, 37 (to Dalberg, July, 1781) Mehr lässt mich die tiefste Überzeugung meiner Schwäche nicht denken, gewiss aber wenn meine Kräfte jemals an ein Meisterstück hinaufklettern können, so dank ich es Euer Exzellenz wärmstem Beifall allein (ibid.) der gütigste Vorschlag Euer Exzellenz für das gütigste Anerbieten einer Reiseunkostenvergütung. His mature style is fairly free from this use.³⁵

For the study of modern foreign languages Schiller had not nearly such splendid opportunities as Goethe had enjoyed, both by early training and by travel in foreign countries; for Schiller never was abroad.³⁶ Of Italian he had no knowledge at all. English he knew only superficially. His earliest acquaintance with, or interest in,

³⁵In his youthful prose Schiller has a few cases of the so-called Klopstockian comparative ("rhetorisch abgeschwächter Komparativ," cf. Erdmann-Mensing, *Grundzüge der deutschen Syntax*, I, § 89); e. g., XVI, 173 f. "Er hat wahre, mehr zärtliche als starke Empfindung, einen mildern, gemässigten Schwung der Phantasie."

³⁶To a young Englishman Goethe said: "You have done well in that, for the study of German, you have come over to us, where you not only gain the language easily and quickly, but will be enabled to take along to England in your mind the elements on which our language rests, our soil, climate, way of living, manners, social intercourse, constitution, and the like." (*Gespräche mit Eckermann*, January 10, 1825.)

this language may have been imparted to him, perhaps even before he entered the Military Academy, by his globe-trotting cousin Johann Friedrich Schiller.³⁷ His acquaintance with Shakespeare in the Academy was based solely on the translations of Wieland and Eschenburg—which when in 1800 he translated *Macbeth* had to stand him virtually in the same stead as Josua Barnes's Latin *Iphigenia* in his translation of Euripides' work, even though in the case of *Macbeth* he did go back to the original and used Goethe's English dictionary. When Schiller writes to Dalberg, August 24, 1784 (I, 207), "I have at present divided my time between original work and the reading of French. Your excellency will certainly approve of my reason for the latter. In the first place it expands my knowledge of dramatic things and enriches my imagination, and secondly, I hope thereby to establish a wholesome equilibrium between two extremes, namely, English and French taste," it is a singular misunderstanding of his words to ascribe to him the alternate reading of English and French books.³⁸ Schiller always preferred to read English in translation. From Götschen he requests Robertson's *History of Charles V* in either German or French (October 19, 1786; I, 314). Locke he reads in a French translation, revised and recommended by Locke himself (letter to Körner, August 18, 1787; I, 387). He wants Körner to undertake for his collection the translation of English memoirs (New Year's Day, 1789; II, 202). A few years later, January 1, 1792 (III, 187), he asks Körner: "Do you not know a satisfactory translation of Locke? The one by a certain Tittel is absolutely inadequate. It would be glorious if you would undertake the work. I consider it both interesting and meritorious, and would engage upon it myself if I knew enough English." Nevertheless his creative instinct seems to have enabled him to judge English translations of German works rather accurately. Thus he writes to Goethe, September 12, 1794 (IV, 14): "I liked *Iphigenie* in English very much. So far as I am able to judge, this foreign garb fits her very well, and one is vividly reminded of the close kinship of the two languages." On the same day, he writes to Körner (p. 16) "His *Iphigenie* has been translated into English, and so far as I can judge, so happily that one thinks he has an original work before him, and it keeps its

³⁷See Berger's biography, I, 31 ff., and note.

³⁸As is done by Oskar Weise, *Wie lernt man einen guten deutschen Stil schreiben?* Leipzig, 1914, p. 12, § 11.

Goethean character very faithfully." On his own *Don Carlos* he addresses Georg Heinrich Nöhden, June 15, 1799 (VI, 39): "Accept my sincere thanks for your efforts concerning my *Carlos*. So far as I understand English and can judge the value of a translation, it is very well rendered; but, as poets are, they do not like to be deprived of even the most insignificant expression, and so I cannot deny that I feel sorry for several passages where strength and originality have had to be sacrificed to the spirit of the foreign language. Nor can I deny that I was loath to miss the meter in this translation." Schiller also, according to Howard Crabbe Robinson, who saw him at Weimar, appreciated Coleridge's translation of his *Wallenstein* very highly, and considered the translator a genius, but mentioned that he had made some ridiculous blunders.³⁹ Robinson in an earlier entry in his diary has the following: "The only conversation I recollect having had with Schiller arose from my asking whether he did not know English, as I saw German translations of Shakespeare among his books. He said, I have read Shakespeare in English, but on principle not much—my business in life is to write German and I am convinced that a person cannot read much in foreign languages without losing that delicate perception in the power of words which is essential to good writing."⁴⁰

If Robinson quotes the burden of Schiller's remarks correctly, and there is every indication that he does, then the poet might appear to be arrayed on the side of the antagonists of instruction in foreign languages. Of course, we know that there are two sides to this argument, and that much more can be said on the other, and that at least the average person's vernacular sensibilities are sharpened, rather than dulled, by the study of other tongues. Schiller himself certainly does not seem to have acted on the principle advocated so far as French is concerned. French ranks foremost among all the languages of which he had a knowledge, even though most likely he was not an ardent student of it for its own sake but carried on his reading with ulterior purposes in view. His mastery of the spoken tongue was mediocre at best. On this we have the testimony of Madame de Staël:⁴¹ "I saw Schiller for the first time in the salon of the Duke and Duchess of Weimar, in the presence of a highly cultured and imposing society. He read French very well,

³⁹Petersen, p. 323, No. 327; Biedermann, p. 392, No. 329.

⁴¹Petersen, p. 325, No. 331.

⁴¹Petersen, p. 368, No. 409.

but had never spoken it. I defended warmly the superiority of our dramatic system over all others; he did not refrain from opposing me, and without troubling himself about the difficulty and slowness in expressing himself in French, and without fearing the contrary opinion of the listeners, he gave voice to his innermost conviction. To refute him, I availed myself first of French weapons, vivacity and wit; but soon I discovered in what Schiller said such a wealth of ideas behind the obstacles of speech, and was so struck with this simplicity of character which caused a man of genius to engage in a struggle where he was lacking words for his thoughts; I found him so modest and so unconcerned about his success, so proud and so animated in the defense of truth as he saw it, that from that moment I bestowed on him my friendship and admiration." On another occasion during her stay at Weimar, she debated with him about Kant's philosophy;⁴² Frau von Stein regretted that he did not know enough French to inform her about it, and Ernst von Schardt reports the following: "With Schiller she talked about Kant. 'Poems, she said, cannot be translated from one language into another. But dogmas, doctrines must admit of intelligible expression in any language, why then are Kant's doctrines untranslatable?' " In French he (Schiller) could not answer this at all, he finally replied in his mother tongue, and my wife had to translate this and several other answers on the spot. She also asked what the word *transzendental* meant; then the answer was that he who understood this word also understood Kant's teachings. His doctrines, he said, were still in their infancy; after their attaining full maturity, his words would admit of understanding and translation." Schiller himself had looked forward to Mme. de Staël's arrival with mingled feelings. To Goethe he had written, November 30, 1803 (VII, 97): "Mme. de Staël is at present in Frankfurt, and we may soon expect her here. If she only understands German, I have no doubt that we shall master her, but to present to her our religion in French phrases and to cope with her volubility is too arduous a task." After his first meeting with her, he wrote to Goethe, December 21, 1803 (VII, 105): "Since even I, with my little skill in speaking French, get along quite tolerably with her, you, with your greater practice, will find it easy to communicate with her." Repeated meetings with her made him feel his deficiency more and more

⁴²Petersen, p. 379, No. 410; and p. 372, No. 414.

uncomfortably, and he writes to Körner, January 4, 1804 (VII, 108): "I see her often, and as I do not express myself in French with ease, I have really many hard hours."

But though deficient in the oral use of the language, Schiller read it sufficiently well all during his life to use French books with the same ease as German.⁴³ This is not the place to show how much Schiller owes to French writers for the cultivation of his narrative style, or to what extent he is indebted to French dramatists. But it should be noted that he also studied French writers assiduously for a graceful and easy flow of expression in general. Thus he writes to Körner, April 22, 1787 (I, 340), apropos of the *Liaisons dangereuses*: "I really wish I could acquire from this and similar books the carelessly fine and clever style that is almost never attained in our language." There are naturally, especially in the works of his first period, a good many thrusts against French ways as expressed in literature, although he does not count himself among "those conceited, strong-fisted patriots who save the taste of their country with the bludgeon" (XVI, 174, 17 ff.). The use of French by a contemporary rhymester seems to him to be "at times merely an expedient to cover up workaday thoughts with Gallic gewgaws" (ibid., I, 25 f.). As late as October 15, 1799 (VI, 96), we find Goethe's translation of Voltaire's *Mahomet* the following severe criticism of the chief French verse form: "The peculiarity of the Alexandrine verse to split up into two equal halves, and the nature of the rhyme to make a couplet of two Alexandrines, determine not only the entire diction, but they determine the entire inner spirit of these plays. The characters, the sentiments, the conduct of the persons, everything is thereby placed under the law of contrast, and as the musician's fiddle guides the movements of the dancer, so the two-legged nature of the Alexandrine guides the movements of the feelings and the thoughts. The intellect is summoned uninterruptedly, and every emotion, every thought is forced into this form as into the bed of Procrustes." For this reason he replaced the

⁴³An item that I remember having read on the occasion of the Schiller centenary in 1905, but which I cannot locate at present, tells of Schiller's unusual facility in translating French. In a social circle at Mannheim, he picked up a book from a table, and on being asked what it contained, fluently read from it a few pages in German. When afterwards a member of the company looked at the book he was surprised to find that it was in French and that the young poet had translated it without any one noticing it.

verse form in his translation of Picard's *Médiocre et rampant* (Der Parasit) by prose, and chose the iambic pentameter in rendering Racine's *Phèdre*.

The number and frequency of Gallicisms in his prose is proof of Schiller's intensive occupation with French writings. The most important of them may be enumerated here. He uses the simple definite article in expressions like (XV, 108, 12f.) war Gustav Adolf immer der erste bereit (181, 11f.) so wurde es diesem General nicht schwer, der erste den Wall zu ersteigen. The indefinite article is often used with abstracts where German employs no article at all: (XV, 82, 26) war von einem freien und aufgeweckten Geist, vieler Güte, einer königlichen Freigebigkeit; (XVI, 124, 25) mit einer gehaltenen Würde und hoher Ruhe; (125, 37) mit einer kühnen lyrischen Freiheit. He omits the numeral pronoun in superlative constructions like (XIV, 129, 24f.) war von den grössten Rechtsgelehrten seiner Zeit; (192, 36) der von den ersten war, die den Kompromiss unterschrieben; (242, 3f.) von denen, welche, waren auch Egmont und der Prinz von Oranien; (268, 35) ist von den ersten, welche stürzen; (XVI, 48, 28) Die Geschichte ist von den interessantesten, die ich kenne; (letter to Herder, July 24, 1787; I, 352) die Freude, die von den ersten Erwartungen meiner Hierherreise gewesen ist. He forms a personal passive of verbs governing a dative object in the active: (*Don Carlos*, 4756 f.) Verfassungen wie meine wollen geschmeichelt sein; (XV, 13, 35 ff.) eine Versicherung, die, von den katholischen Reichsteilen widersprochen; (375, 16 f.) gehorcht zu sein wie er konnte kein Feldherr in den mittleren und neueren Zeiten sich rühmen. He adds a negative in subordinate clauses after *hindern, verbieten, fehlen*: (VIII, 210, 11 ff.) zu verhindern, dass der Zuschauer nicht verwirrt wird; (XIII, 45, 9) hinderte aber nicht, dass sie sich nicht immer stärker ausbreiteten; 89, 29; 100, 37 f.; XIV, 250, 29f.; XV, 191, 16; 257, 6; 264, 38 f.; 277, 1; 289, 22; 335, 31f.; 375, 25f.; XVI, 110, 3; 113, 3; *Iphigenie*, 1686. He uses *nicht* in a dependent clause after a comparative: (*Don Carlos*, 71f.) mehr des Unheils als Gift und Dolch in Mörders Hand nicht konnten; (115) fürstlicher bezahlt, als er noch keine gute Tat bezahlte; *Piccolomini*, 1373f. weiter fördern, als es in Jahren nicht gedieh; XIII, 189, 32 nachdrücklicher, als offenbare Gewalt es nimmermehr gekonnt hätte; 240, 34 mehr Soldaten ins Feld, als alle Ermahnungen ihrer Anführer nicht vermocht haben

würden; letter of December 19, 1787 (I, 444) ich bin wachsamer, als ich nie war. He joins a relative clause to a noun with an adjective modifier by means of *und*: (XIV, 212, 3 f.) das einzige Mittel, den bisherigen Verwirrungen zu begegnen, und welches alle übrigen entbehrlich machen würde; (310, 1 f.) Straalen, einen genauen Freund des Prinzen von Oranien und der im Verdacht war; (XV, 11, 21 f.) ein lebhafteres, näher liegenderes Interesse als die Vaterlandsliebe, und welches durchaus unabhängig war; (46, 35 f.) die Calvinisten, als die Schwächeren und welche ohnehin vom Religionsfrieden ausgeschlossen waren. The structure is likewise wholly French in XV, 105, 3 ff. die Wut der Faktionen, von denen er endlich ein beklagenswertes Opfer ward. Overagainst such un-German modes of sentence structure, occasional slips like (XIII, 264, 26) eine kleine Geduld; (XIV, 87, 10) der Hass gegen diesen gewann es (*l'emporta*) sogar einmal über seine angeborene Verstellungskunst; (IX, 331, 10) Die grosse Angelegenheit! (= Das geht natürlich vor!) do not weigh very heavily, and do not seem to have been felt so strongly at Schiller's time.

"Every one, because he speaks, thinks he is also privileged to speak on language."⁴⁴ Of this claim—as amusing to the linguistic scholar as it is at times annoying—Schiller has made but sparing use. His utterances on his mother tongue in particular and on language in general are neither numerous nor systematic. As we have seen, he never studied language historically; nor has he given us any elaborate philosophical treatise on the subject. His statements on linguistic matters are occasional by-products of his æsthetic, historic, and poetic activity. As such, however, they are indeed worthy of more than passing notice.

We have above become acquainted with a somewhat derogatory utterance of Schiller on the German language, apropos of his translation of Virgil. He never expressed himself so harshly about it as Goethe did, when in a moment of ill humor he called German the vilest material for a poet—a statement that he, more than any one else, had even at that time put to shame. The earliest testimony of Schiller's views on German is found in his review of Stäudlin's *Proben einer deutschen Aeneis*, as quoted before, where, half ironically, he calls German a heroic language (XVI, 158, 28 f. "that Virgil would suffer so little in a translation that, on the contrary,

⁴⁴Goethe, *Maximen und Reflexionen*, 1212. IV, 162.

he would gain strength in the manly garb of the Teuton"). In 1789, in a double review of a translation of Goldoni's *Memoirs*, he replies to the charge of the translator (XVI, 192, 12): "Barring a few trifles, the rendering is easy and fluent. The reviewer finds nothing in it to object to, except that at times the speech becomes too pretentious and finical where it ought to be natural dialogue; which criticism, however, Mr. Schatz tries to obviate by saying in the preface that he had to commit this fault in order not to become insipid, because our tongue lacks real familiar ways of speaking (*façons de parler familières*). The reviewer confesses himself at a loss to comprehend what Mr. S. means by that, and that to him a fair number of recognizedly good writers, starting with Gellert and Rabener, seem to furnish visible proof that our language is not deficient in *façons de parler familières* that are not insipid." Again (p. 194): "That in the conversational portions his tone often becomes studied and prim the translator seems to have felt himself, and he attempts to lay this reproach on the German language in its entirety, which he says cannot avoid the extreme of platitude except through the opposite extreme of artificiality. Since Mr. Schatz probably does not intend competing with so many of our classical writers who have furnished models of the higher social diction in German, this reproach can probably extend no further than to the social circles that he himself has observed, and if these showed him no middle road between platitude and artificiality, it was at least a trifle rash to extend this judgment to his whole nation. Even though the German language must, from a certain class of people who would scarcely pass an examination in it, suffer this both unreasonable and undeserved stricture, one ought at least no longer at present to send it out into the world at large." But as both here and on a previous occasion he had deplored the lack of the elegant negligence in German style so characteristic of French, he writes to his princely patron, the Duke of Augustenburg, as late as April 5, 1795 (IV, 158): "Your serene highness' remarks concerning the ponderous presentation are well founded, and it deserves indeed the greatest attention on the part of the writers to combine the required thoroughness and depth with a facile diction. But as yet our language is not quite capable of this great revolution, and all that good writers can do is to strive toward this goal of form. The speech of fine society and social intercourse still shrink too much from the keen, often hair-splitting definiteness so indispensable to

the philosopher, and the speech of the scholar is incapable of the urbanity, ease and vivacity that the man of the world rightly demands. It is the misfortune of the Germans that their language has not been deemed worthy of becoming the organ of refined social intercourse, and it will suffer the evil consequences of this exclusion for a long time to come."

The preface to his own translation of Virgil, in which he calls German "vacillating, inflexible, broad, Gothic, harsh-sounding," appeared in 1791. In the same year Schiller, in a letter to Körner, November 28 (III, 169 f.), makes one of the most remarkable observations, if it is not the most important, to be found anywhere in his writings, on this subject: "If I could unite it with my other plans, a national subject after all would get the preference. No writer, no matter how cosmopolitan he may be in his mind, can escape from his fatherland in his mental processes. Even though it were only the language that stamps him, it alone would suffice to confine him to a certain form, and to assure his product of a national individuality. But if he were to choose a foreign subject, the subject matter would always be in a certain contradiction with the presentation, while on the other hand, in case of a subject chosen from his own country, contents and form stand in a natural relationship." Schiller's fine remark antedates as well as anticipates Wilhelm von Humboldt's ideas on the inner form of language by decades, and the work of Franz Nikolaus Finck by about a century. It is to be very much regretted that Humboldt did not know this letter to Körner⁴⁵ at the time when he wrote the *Vorerinnerung* to the publication of his correspondence with Schiller. As the passage quoted contains in it the undeniable truth which literary study of the past century has made trite and a truism, that "Wer den Dichter will verstehen, muss in Dichters Lande gehen," it also points prophetically to the worthiest and most difficult of all tasks in store for twentieth century philology, namely, the analysis of a speech community on the basis of its language.

Shortly after the beginning of his friendship with Goethe, in his famous letter of August 23, 1794 (III, 475), Schiller hints at the relative weakness and strength of his mother tongue from the viewpoint of prosody: "The little book by Moritz⁴⁶ I

⁴⁵The correspondence between Schiller and Körner was first published in 1847.

⁴⁶Karl Philipp Moritz, *Versuch einer deutschen Prosodie*. 1786.

have read with great interest and am indebted to it for some very valuable information. It is a veritable joy to render oneself a plain account of an instinctive procedure, which may also lead one astray very easily, and to verify feeling by law. In pursuing Moritz' ideas one sees a very beautiful order gradually replace the anarchy of language, and even though on this occasion the defects and limitations of our language are detected, one also learns its strength and knows how, and to what purpose, one may use it." Even if not very important in itself, the statement is significant as a sign of a juster general appreciation of his mother tongue as a poetical instrument. It does not necessarily imply that overagainst his erstwhile severe criticism of German in comparison with Virgil's language he had adopted Herder's view that "a creative genius can transform the harshness of our tongue into emphasis, its inflexibility into majesty." But it is noteworthy that from about the middle of the nineties we find no longer any criticisms on Schiller's part against his mother tongue, except the very slight one mentioned above in the letter to the Duke of Augustenburg, and the joking reference in Xenion, 310, entitled *Böse Zeiten*, jointly with Goethe (see Goethe, II, 340):

Philosophen verderben die Sprache, Poeten die Logik,

Und mit dem Menschenverstand kommt man durchs Leben nicht mehr,—

which is, of course, strictly speaking, not to be interpreted as a censure of the language itself.

Partly at least, as Albert Leitzmann has proven,⁴⁷ under the inspiring influence of Herder in the seventh and eighth collection of his *Humanitätsbriefe* (published at Easter, 1796), and of A. W. von Schlegel's observations in his review of the *Horen* (Jenaische allgemeine Literaturzeitung, January 4-6, 1796) and of Voss's translation of Homer (ibid., August 22-26, 1796), Schiller found words of the highest praise for his mother tongue in the plan of a *carmen saeculare*, entitled *Deutsche Grösse*, that must have had its birth shortly before the end of the century, but was never worked out and has remained a fragment. Here he says (II, 387): "The precious jewel of our German language, that expresses everything, the deepest and the most evanescent, the spirit, the soul, that is full of genius. Our speech will rule the world. Language is the mirror

⁴⁷Schillers *Gedichtentwurf "Deutsche Grösse,"* Euphorion XII (1905), 1 ff.

of a nation. When we behold ourselves in this mirror, a great and splendid reflection of ourselves meets our eyes. We are learning to express both the Greek with its everlasting youthfulness and the modern with its fulness of ideality."⁴⁸

As the last expression of the poet's opinion on the subject, and one that must have originated at about the same time as the plan of *Deutsche Grösse*, we have among his Votive Tablets (No. 48; I, 150) the distich called *Der Dilettant*:

Weil ein Vers dir gelingt in einer gebildeten Sprache,
Die für dich dichtet und denkt, glaubst du schon Dichter zu sein?⁴⁹

As these highly appreciative utterances on his mother tongue are the last in point of time that we have from him on the subject, they have to be considered as his final and definitive opinion. It is to be noted that they coincide with the time when after eight years of historical study and writing Schiller returned once more to poetry. Hence I would, even though the outward influence that helped them into being appears to be proven, attribute the poet's change of opinion to the exhilarating joy of having once more come into his own. Neither would I regard, as does Hermann Michel, l. c., his judgment of his language in *Deutsche Grösse* as the emanation of a transient mood. For not only had Schiller in the years immediately preceding become clearly conscious of his place on the Parnassus by the side of Goethe and the ancients, but we may well assume that he

⁴⁸This thought had been expressed also by Frederick the Great in his book *De la Littérature allemande*: "It may come to pass that our language, polished and perfected, will for the benefit of our good writers extend from one end of Europe to the other,"—an opinion all the more remarkable in the light of the fact that Frederick was anything but an admirer of German and its literature, handled the language very imperfectly, and wrote the very book from which the quotation is taken in French.—Schlegel, likewise, in his *Berliner Vorlesungen* (1803), said: "It is therefore not altogether too sanguine to hope that the time is not so very far remote when German will be the general medium of communication for the civilized nations."

⁴⁹The same idea is taken up by Goethe in that portion of his *Schriften über Literatur und Theater* that deals with *Deutsche Sprache* (1817; XXXII, 509): "Unfortunately we often forget that men write their mother tongue as if it were a foreign one. What I mean is this: When throughout a given epoch much has been written and the gamut of active human feelings and fates has been worked through in a certain language, then the content of the period is exhausted and the language with it, so that thereafter any person of moderate talent can readily use the existing expressions as settled phrases." Translation by Professor B. Q. Morgan.

was also filled with the proud consciousness that he was now possessed most eminently of that quality for which he had himself created the expression in one of his earliest coinages: *Sprachgewalt*. Where in his essay on *Naïve und sentimentalische Dichtung* he characterizes the language of genius he clearly has Goethe in mind, but the words apply to himself no less potently (XII, 175, 28): "From the naïve mode of thinking emanates necessarily also a naïve mode of expression both in words and in movements, and this is the most important constituent of grace. Genius expresses its most sublime and most profound thoughts with this naïve grace; they are divine oracles from the lips of a child. Philistine understanding, ever dreading to commit an error, crucifies its words as well as its concepts on the cross of grammar and logic; is hard and rigid, to avoid being vague; makes many words, to avoid saying too much; and robs thought of strength and keenness, so that it may not cut a person not on his guard: genius gives to its thought, with a single happy stroke of the brush, a permanent, firm, and yet entirely free outline. With grammar and logic, the sign and the thing signified will ever remain heterogeneous and foreign to each other: with genius, as though through an inward necessity, the expression springs forth from the idea, and the two are so much one and the same that even under its bodily veil the spirit appears nude. This mode of expression, in which the sign wholly disappears in the thing signified, and in which the language leaves the thought that it expresses so to speak nude, while the other mode of expression can never express it without at the same time veiling it, is what is by preference called the style of genius and originality."

The passage just quoted does not refer directly to the poet's mother tongue, but being an observation applicable to all languages, it naturally refers to German by inclusion. The characteristic feature of it is that the poet has again recognized in speech the instrument of carefree artistic self-expression which communicates itself to others through the force of the personality behind it; and that the poet has conquered the philosopher whose chief concern is the communication to others of the subject matter, with the thinker's personality strictly subordinated.

Of this dual character of language, it is naturally the speaker's or writer's inability for accurate communication that has at all times aroused overt or covert attacks against it. The indisputable deficiency of language as a medium of exact communication—of its

social side, then—brings with it, as its natural correlative, its deficiency as a means of cognition, and has led to criticisms such as Fritz Mauthner's voluminous work, and to repeated attempts at the creation of an algebraic language, in the hope of getting nearer to the final solution of the riddles of the universe.

In his *Viertes kritisches Wäldchen*, Herder says: "With each word that the soul learns it renders for itself more difficult the understanding of the thing that the word signifies." Goethe even goes so far as to call language a makeshift.⁵⁰ He is especially impatient with language from the point of view of the scientist—much more so than as a poet—and his strongest criticisms are hurled against the written language, such as, "Writing is an abuse of language, and quiet reading by oneself is a sorry makeshift for speech," (1811), and, "Certainly, putting down something in black and white ought to be entirely banished: all that is epic should be recited, the lyrical sung and danced, and the dramatic presented mimically" (1824).

Thought is more communicable, and speech, in the narrower sense of the term, less subject to misconception when it is accompanied by expressions of feeling that are less amenable to arbitrary use than words, namely, by gestures. Indeed, speech without words may be the most impressive language. This phase of the question was frequently referred to and discussed by Schiller's contemporaries, and it is but natural that the dramatist should have been especially impressed by it. There are no less than five characteristic illustrations in his *Don Carlos*:

268ff. In deinen blassen Mienen
Will ich das Urtheil meines Todes lesen—
Hör' an—erstarre—doch erwidre nichts—
374 Kann ich
In ihren Blicken Carlos' Hoffnung lesen—
705ff. Wenn Philipps ehrerbiet'ge Zärtlichkeit
Und seiner Liebe stumme Mienensprache
Weit inniger als seines stolzen Sohns
Verwegene Beredsamkeit mich rührten?
1332ff. Was du mir künftig magst
Zu hinterbringen haben, sprich es nie
Mit Silben aus, vertrau' es nie den Lippen;
Den allgemeinen Fahrweg der Gedanken
Betrete deine Zeitung nicht. Du sprichst

⁵⁰For a convenient collection of references, see Georg Rausch, *Goethe und die deutsche Sprache*, Leipzig und Berlin 1909, p. 14 ff.

will. On learning that a man has control also over his features, one no longer, from the moment of this discovery, trusts his face, and no longer accepts his features and gestures as expressions of his sentiments."⁵¹ A comparison of the different kinds of motions (ibid., 199, 22) shows their relation to linguistic expression: "The voluntary movement is connected with the preceding disposition but accidentally; the sympathetic or concomitant movement, however, is connected with it by necessity. The former is to the soul what the conventional signs of language are to the thoughts that they express; the sympathetic or concomitant movement, however, is to the soul what the passionate outcry is to passion." This observation is amplified in the essay *Über das Pathetische* (XI, 254, 8): "Still, even those organs that are subject to the control of the will power do not always await the decision of the will, but often instinct sets them into motion directly, especially when the physical condition is threatened with pain or danger. Thus a man's arm does stand under the control of his will, but let him unknowingly touch some very hot object, the drawing back of his hand is certainly no act of his will, but brought about solely by instinct. Still more: speech certainly is something that stands under the control of the will, and yet instinct can dispose also of this instrument and creation of the intellect after its discretion, without first consulting the will, as soon as a great pain, or even merely a strong affection, takes us by surprise. Let the most composed stoic suddenly behold something wonderful or unexpectedly terrible, let him be present when some one has slipped and is about to fall into an abyss. A loud outcry, and not an inarticulate sound, but a distinct word, will involuntarily escape from his lips, and nature will have acted in him before the will. This, then, is proof that there are in man phenomena that cannot be attributed to his person as an intelligence, but only to his instinct as a natural force."

Speech, then, according to this, and in general consonance with eighteenth century views, is "the instrument and creation of the intellect." As Michel has pointed out, we need not assume that Schiller has his ideas on the human, rather than divine, origin of

⁵¹These remarks recall to mind the frivolous word of Talleyrand that "language has been given to man to conceal his thoughts." While Talleyrand is generally quoted as the source, it is to be noted that the same idea has been expressed before him by Dionysius, Plutarch, Cato, Dante, Molière, Voltaire, and Edward Young; cf. Richard Zoosmann, *Zitate- und Sentenzenschatz der Weltliteratur* (Leipzig o. J.), under *Sprache*.

language from Herder's writings on the subject, for Kant also was of this opinion, and the defenders of the opposite view were growing fewer and fewer in number. Schiller does not concern himself much about the exact nature of the genesis of speech—in fact, he does not seem to have taken any interest in what others thought about the matter, as would appear from his letter to A. W. Schlegel of August 29, 1795 (IV, 303): "Your letters on poetry have given me much pleasure, and I am impatient to read the continuation. You seem to me to be on a very promising road, and the careful combination of the objective and subjective sides of speech, in the way in which you present it, will lead to very fruitful results in this matter. One might perhaps wish that you had approached your goal a little more rapidly, but I do not doubt that in the continuation you will justify the brief stop you make in speaking about language in general and its origin. I will defer my judgment on your entire investigation until I can survey more of your ideas. It is composed in a very graceful and lively style and ought to be welcome to every one who otherwise would have been deterred by the irksome access to the matter." To him it is sufficient that language, and in its retinue, tradition, existed at the earliest stage of human progress. In his inaugural address at the University of Jena he says (XIII, 17, 8): "A long chain of events, linked as causes and effects, extends from this present moment back to the beginnings of the human race. Only the infinite intellect can survey it in its entirety and completeness; to man narrower limits have been set. I. A countless number of these events either did not find a human witness and observer, or were not handed down through any sign. To this category belong all those that preceded the human race itself and the invention of writing. The source of all history is tradition, and the organ of tradition is speech. The whole epoch antedating speech, no matter how full of consequences it may have been for the world, is lost for universal history. II. But even after speech had been invented and through it a possibility had been created to express and communicate things that had happened, this communication was at first effected through the insecure and changeable means of legend. Such an event was transmitted by word of mouth through a long series of generations, and passing through media that are changed and do change, had to undergo these changes with them. Living tradition or oral legend, therefore, is a very unreliable source of history. Hence, all events

antedating the use of writing are almost entirely lost for universal history."⁵² Again, in *Etwas über die erste Menschengesellschaft* (XIII, 28, 6): "The first sons to whom the mother of the human race gave birth had a great advantage over their parents: they were brought up by human beings. All of the progress that the latter had been compelled to make through themselves and consequently much more slowly, redounded to the benefit of their children and was transmitted to them in their tender infancy, as if it were play, and with all the affection of parental love. With the first son, then, born of woman, the great instrument begins to be effective—the instrument through which all mankind has received, and will continue to receive, its education: tradition, or the handing down of thought."

Language being the creation of the human intellect, its meaning, and the meaning of words, is not determined by necessity but by convention and agreement.⁵³ The effect of this is discussed at length in one of the Kallias letters to Körner, February 28, 1793 (III, 297): "The medium of the poet consists of words; abstract signs, then, for species and families, never for individuals; signs, furthermore, the relations of which are determined by rules, the latter being embodied in a system by grammar. No difficulty at all arises from the fact that there is no material similarity (identity) between the words and things, for such we do not find either between the statue and the human being that it represents. But the

⁵²Cf. *Der Spaziergang* (I, 132), 135f. "Körper und Stimme leiht die Schrift dem stummen Gedanken; durch der Jahrhunderte Strom trägt ihn das redende Blatt."—What Schiller in *Die Sendung Moses* (XIII, 51, 38ff.) has to say on hieroglyphic writing is entirely antiquated, and based on totally erroneous conceptions. In passing it may be remarked that he does not here or elsewhere consider the double character of writing, and disregards the fact that hieroglyphic writing has monumental, rather than documentary, character: "Long before writing became a means of communication between distant persons and served the exchange of thoughts, it was so to speak an end in itself, as a pictured and purely monumental presentation of linguistic thought. The oldest records of the ancient languages are hieroglyphic, i. e., intended for the deity, for eternity, and but secondarily for mankind and earthly life. The first motives of writing are metaphysical, the first written records are monuments, not documents. The monument exists for itself and is a document of itself; it is not to be used, but worshipped, adored, looked at. If it has a purpose, it is only the theoretical purpose of contemplation." Karl Vossler, *Frankreichs Kultur im Spiegel seiner Sprachentwicklung* (Heidelberg 1913), p. 1.

⁵³*Les mots ne signifient naturellement, mais à plaisir.* Montaigne.

merely formal similarity (imitation) between words and things is not so very easy. The thing and its verbal expression are connected only accidentally and arbitrarily (barring a very few cases), only through convention. However, even that would be of little significance, because the question is not what the word is in itself, but only what conceptions it arouses. If, then, there were at all words, or word-sentences, that would present to us the most individual character of things, their most individual relations, in brief, the entire objective peculiarity of the individual, it would not matter in the least whether this were achieved through convention or through necessity.

"But that is exactly what is lacking. Both the words and the laws of their inflection and syntax are very general things that serve as signs not for one individual, but for an infinite number of individuals. We meet a difficulty still more arduous when it is a question of denoting the relations, which is effected according to rules applicable to innumerable and wholly heterogeneous cases at the same time, and adapted to an individual conception only through a special operation of the intellect. Before the object to be represented is brought face to face, visibly, with the imagination, it must take a most devious route through the abstract domain of thought, a route on which it loses much of its life and sensuous power. The poet has indeed no other means to represent the individual than the artificial juxtaposition of the general—"the lamp just now standing before me is falling over" is such an individual case expressed through the combination of entirely general signs.

"The nature of the medium of which the poet avails himself consists, accordingly, in a tendency toward generality, and thereby is at variance with the denotation of the individual (the poet's proper task). Language places everything before the intellect, and the poet is to place everything before the imagination (i. e., represent it); poetry demands visualization (*Anschauungen*), language gives only conceptions (*Begriffe*).

"Language, then, deprives the object, the presentation of which is entrusted to it, of its sensuous and individual character, and imposes upon it a quality of language itself (generality), which is foreign to it. It mingles with the sensuous nature of the object to be represented, the abstract nature of the representing medium, and so brings about a heteronomy in its representation. The object is presented to the imagination not as determined by itself,

that is, not as free, but moulded through the genius of language, if, indeed, it is not brought before the intellect only; and so it is either not represented as free, or it is not represented at all but only described.

"If, then, a poetic representation is to be free, the poet must overcome the tendency of language to generality through the greatness of his art and conquer matter (words and their laws of inflection and construction) through form (*viz.*, their application). The nature of language (that is, its tendency to generality) must disappear completely in the form given to it, the body must lose itself in the idea, the sign in the thing signified, reality in the form (*Erscheinung*). Free and victorious the object to be represented must shine forth from the representing medium, and must appear, in spite of all the bonds of speech, before imagination in its entire truth, life, and personality. In one word: the beauty of poetic representation is autonomous action of nature in the limitations of language."

The same ideas, partly in the same wording, are found also in Schiller's æsthetic lectures of 1792 (XII, 351, 26): "The nature of the medium, of the material, must be completely overcome. Thus in a statue the marble, in an actor his own natural character must not be visible. The poet must try to conquer the tendency toward generality that is contained in the nature of his language (which is antagonistic to individuality), so that the object to be represented may appear in its true individuality and specific character. Autonomous, self-determined action in nature represented through language constitutes beauty in poetry. A representation is beautiful if it has suffered the fewest limitations from the nature of the representing medium. The aim of representation for others brings about heteronomy in the work of art, and is apt to impair its beauty.—The freedom of poetic representation rests on the independence of the represented object from the specific character of language, the representing medium, and the exterior purpose of the work of art. The poet may avoid the first-named dependence, that on the abstract nature of language, by trying to individualize his object, *e. g.*, by using the part for the whole, the effect for the cause, in so far as greater distinctness is gained thereby. In the same way, representing the remote as though it were close at hand serves to vivify the picture of autonomous nature. To this category belongs also the analogy of ideas and sensations, especially with nonsensuous objects. Here there is the freedom of similes.

The poet links picture to picture, in which Homer was most lavish; Virgil used similes more sparingly and chose them more felicitously. In this way arises the most vivid expression.—The poet makes use of the sensuous to visualize the nonsensuous, and tries to arouse analogous emotions through analogous images, as Haller does in his *Ewigkeit*."

The generalizing trend of language is enhanced through abstract diction. This Schiller is willing to modify wherever it can be done without impairing the accuracy of the presentation (letter to Körner, January 5, 1795; IV, 95): "You will have to pardon me for the abstract style, which after all, for such a theme, shows considerable flesh and blood. For I believe that I was on the boundary line, and without weakening the force of my arguments, I could not have yielded anything of the rigor of my diction. If, however, you should find a word or phrase that might be exchanged for something more usual, be sure to call my attention to it. I am willing to do anything that my human nature will permit."

One way of infusing more blood into the style, Schiller recognizes, is to grant the verb a preponderating place, instead of "letting the noun do the work." Benjamin Constant, in his *Journal intime* (edited by D. Melegari, Paris, 1895), 22 Pluviôse XII (1804), has preserved the following:⁵⁴ "It is a brilliant observation of Schiller's that the verb produces a more animated style than the noun. Thus *das Lieben* (*aimer*) expresses more action than *die Liebe* (*l'amour*), *leben* (*vivre*) more than *das Leben* (*la vie*), *das Sterben* (*mourir*) more than *der Tod* (*la mort*). The verbs always express that which is present, the nouns more that which is past."⁵⁵

⁵⁴Petersen, p. 375, No. 418; Biedermann, p. 387, No. 322.

⁵⁵Goethe has an interesting remark on the same subject in his *Geschichte der Farbenlehre, Sechzehntes Jahrhundert, Julius Cäsar Scaliger*, XL, 88, 7 ff.: "What a different scientific perspective the world would have gained if the Greek language had been kept alive and been cultivated in place of Latin. . . . Greek is more naive in all respects, much better adapted to a natural, cheerful, brilliant, æsthetic exposition of felicitous views of nature. The use of verbs, especially infinitives and participles, makes all expressions contingent; the word does not really decide, circumscribe, or establish anything, but is merely an allusion designed to call up the object before the imagination. The use of substantives, on the other hand, makes the Latin language determinative and peremptory. Each concept is set up ready-made in the word, is congealed in the word, which writers then proceed to treat like a genuine entity." (Translation by Professor B. Q. Morgan.)—On the syntactic as well as stylistic aspect of this difference, cf. Hermann Wunderlich, *Der deutsche Satzbau, erste Auflage* (Stuttgart 1892), p. 17 ff.; *zweite Auflage* (1901) vol. I, p. 2 ff., especially 8 ff.

We find other expressions of Schiller's of the idea that thought, to reach its destination, must make a detour through language and never retains its integral life. One of the most striking is contained in the first letter on the *Ästhetische Erziehung des Menschen* (XII, 4, 29): "To grasp the fleeting apparition, he (the philosopher) must shackle it in the fetters of rules, must lacerate and dissect its beautiful body into abstract conceptions, and preserve its living spirit in a shadowy skeleton of words. Is it to be wondered at that natural feeling should not recognize itself in such a copy, and that truth in the analyst's report should appear as a paradox?" This idea is not new to him, for he had given it poetic expression in a passage of his *Don Carlos* in the eighties, nor is it a fleeting fancy, for he quotes this passage on three different occasions in his correspondence, after intervals of years. The first quotation occurs in a letter to Körner, April 15, 1786 (I, 289): "I should wish to write you so much today, my thoughts are so near to you, and yet I fear I shall give you an example of what you recently read:

Schlimm, dass der Gedanke
erst in die Elemente trockner Silben
zersplittern muss, die Seele zum Gerippe
verdorren muss, der Seele zu erscheinen."

In a somewhat different form, he quotes the passage to Lotte, July 24, 1789 (II, 306): "Your feelings on that evening were a vague divination of mine, and I wish they had been a reflection of them, then you would have understood me without words, and all the human beings and beings in human form about us would not have disturbed our intercourse. In my *Carlos* I had a passage that I have omitted with the whole scene in which it was contained. This passage expresses best what I mean.

Schlimm, dass der Gedanke
erst in der Worte tote Elemente
zersplittern muss, die Seele sich im Schalle
verkörpern muss, der Seele zu erscheinen.
Den treuen Spiegel halte mir vor Augen,
der meine Seele ganz empfängt und ganz
sie wiedergibt, dann, dann hast du genug,
das Rätsel meines Lebens aufzuklären

When I wrote these words I little thought that sometime I might have to let them speak for myself." And finally to Humboldt, February 2, 1796 (IV, 406): "I am so far as the contents of our letters are concerned so greatly behind you that I am fairly fright-

ened as to how I shall ever catch up with you. All my embarrassment would be a light matter if I could settle with you orally, but I am often in a queer situation with my pen. If I am once well started, as I was last summer and fall, I can, amidst the most burdensome activities, write long letters without considering the mechanical side of it. But when I once, as is the case now, have left this mechanism behind me, my thought dreads the long road it has to travel in order to reach its destination.

O schlimm dass der Gedanke
Erst in der Sprache tote Elemente
Zerfallen muss, die Seele zum Gerippe
Absterben muss, der Seele zu erscheinen;
Den treuen Spiegel gib mir, Freund, der ganz
Mein Herz empfängt und ganz es widerscheint.

This passage formerly contained in my *Don Carlos*, but excised, expresses somewhat what I now feel at certain moments when I am to write to you or to Körner."

The sentiment appears crystallized and in enduring form in the oft-quoted epigram entitled *Sprache* (Votivtafeln 41; I, 149):

Warum kann der lebendige Geist dem Geist nicht erscheinen?
Spricht die Seele, so spricht, ach! schon die *Seele* nicht mehr.

I cannot refrain from quoting here, both on account of the analogy offered and the gracefulness of its expression, a little poem by Oliver Wendell Holmes (not contained in the Riverside edition of his *Poetical Works*; first printed in *The Library*, for August, 1891), an author's plea to the reader:

Deal gently with us, ye who read!
Our largest hope is unfulfilled,
The promise still outruns the deed,
The tower, but not the spire, we build.
Our whitest pearl we never find;
Our ripest fruit we never reach;
The flowering moments of the mind
Lose half their petals in our speech.

It is, however, questionable whether Holmes had the identical thought in mind that Schiller desired to express. It seems, rather, that he thought not so much of the inadequacy of speech to convey the poet's idea, as of the poet's inability to exhaust all the resources of language for the attainment of his aim.

A highly characteristic passage which in spite of the negation contained in it shows clearly how intent the poet was on analyzing and clearly expressing to himself all that animated him, is found in

a letter to Lotte, February 10, 1790 (III, 46f.): "I feel that I am happy and shall be happy through you; I feel it no less deeply that you will be happy through me. I *feel* it, and that means much more to me than if I could analyze it in logical deductions and express these in words."

As we have seen in the case of his mother tongue, above, where he arrives finally at a deep appreciation and intense admiration of the language, the consciousness of his linguistic power as a poet causes him eventually to unite with a note of meditative resignation the triumph of the artist who has made the very imperfection of speech the tool of his conquest. It is the votive tablet *An den Dichter* (I, 149), an answer to the one immediately preceding on *Sprache*:

Lass die Sprache dir sein, was der Körper den Liebenden. Er nur
Ist's der die Wesen trennt, und der die Wesen vereint.

The meaning of language and of individual words being conventional, it becomes the speaker's and writer's duty to cultivate a fixed and stable diction. To Körner he writes, April 15, 1786 (I, 290): "I think you were too rash in your judgment (on Abbt's treatise *Vom Verdienst*), and were repelled by a certain chaotic expression, by the indefiniteness of some sentences." Similarly he criticizes Moritz's treatise *Über bildende Nachahmung des Schönen*, in a letter to Caroline von Beulwitz, January 3, 1789 (II, 199ff.): "I have merely glanced at his book. It is difficult to understand, because he has no fixed diction and often in the very midst of philosophical abstractions is tangled up in figurative language, and sometimes even connects specific concepts with words of different significance." He is therefore anxious to use words only with a well defined meaning, as in *Über Anmut und Würde* (XI, 241, 24): "*Reiz*, *Anmut*, and *Grazie*, to be sure, are ordinarily used as equivalents, but they are not, or at least ought not to be, since the concept that they express is capable of several definitions, each one of which deserves a distinct notation." In a footnote to the twelfth letter on the *Ästhetische Erziehung des Menschen* (XII, 43) he gives very careful definitions of the phrases *ausser sich*, *bei sich*, *von sich sein*, *in sich gehen*; and in the fifteenth (57, 2) defends his new coinage *Spieltrieb* on the analogy of general usage. There may arise conditions in which an individual thinks that language has as yet no word, and cannot have one, for what he feels; cf. *Geisterseher* II, 331, 21: "Your highness, that is love."—"Must it necessarily be a name under which I am happy? Love! Do not debase my

feeling by a name that a thousand weak souls misuse! What other man has ever felt what I feel? Such a being never existed—how can the name have existed before the sensation? It is a new and unique feeling, arisen with this new and unique being, and possible only for this being! Love! Against love I am proof!”—According to Caroline von Wolzogen, *Schillers Leben*, p. 243, under March 26, 1801, the poet said, over a cup of tea: “Young people should be accustomed as early as possible to give expression to their thoughts and feelings, for such communication demands of them forcible and logical thinking. Communication renders our oftentimes vague feelings clear, distinct, and general. We accustom ourselves at an early time to speak and listen, our ideas develop more quickly, our judgment becomes more reliable, and we grow easily used to embracing, with a full soul, our subject in its large outlines and in all of its phases.”

Schiller detested intensely all mere word sounds that had no meaning back of them. Thus he says in his *Philosophische Briefe* (XI, 111, 14): “Creation?—But no, that is merely a sound without meaning, which my reason must reject.” To Körner he writes on July 4, 1795 (IV, 201): “Some time ago I read in the *Deutscher Merkur* an essay by your friend (Friedrich) Schlegel on the *Grenzen des Schönen*. What a confusion of concepts and what a harshness of presentation! You must not pardon him for such a thing if you may tell him the truth. He is well informed and thinks about his subject. But he does not attain clearness, nor, for that very reason, ease of diction. I really fear he has no talent to become a writer.” Likewise to Goethe, July 27, 1798 (V, 410): “I also confess that in the æsthetic judgments of these two (the Schlegel brothers) I meet with such dryness, barrenness, and fleshless rigorism in words that I am often in doubt whether they really at times conceive of an object behind it all.” It is to such as these that, together with Goethe, he addresses Xenion 50, *Der Geist und der Buchstabe* (II, 99):

Lange kann man mit Marken, mit Rechenpfennigen zahlen;
Endlich, es hilft nichts, ihr Herrn, muss man den Beutel doch ziehn.

And in *Die Worte des Wahns* (I, 165) he shows the utter futility of any attempt to imprison the spirit in empty words:

Du kerkerst den Geist in ein tönend Wort,
Doch der freie wandelt im Sturme fort.

On repeated occasions we have been able to observe how careful Schiller always is to see to it that a new or unusual word in his writings should not remain a mere sound, and how carefully he fashions for it the right setting. Of this he renders a detailed account to the Leipzig philosopher Garve, January 25, 1795 (IV, 107): "In your last letter you raised some objections against the use of the word *ästhetisch*. I also dislike to render more difficult for the lay reader the understanding of a book that is to popularize philosophical truths, through the admixture of technical terms. But if the context explains these technical terms, indeed if one—as I consistently do in such cases—adds to them an explicit definition, I consider it an advantage to give such words gradually more currency, because definiteness and precision in thinking must necessarily be thereby promoted. Our language has, as far as I am aware, no word to denote the relation of an object to the finer sensibility, since *schön*, *erhaben*, *angenehm*, etc., are merely species of it. As the expressions *moralisch* and *physisch* are unhesitatingly used of education, and as these two terms by no means express that kind of education that attempts to cultivate the finer sensitive faculty, I regarded it as permissible, nay, necessary, to speak of an æsthetic education. It is the same with human intercourse: I call it *moralisch* when it concerns human relations that can be determined by duties; I call it *physisch* where only the exigencies of nature prescribe its laws; I call it *ästhetisch* where men are to each other nothing but phenomena, and where only the impression they make on the sense of beauty is considered."

This same letter to Garve contains, immediately adjoining the preceding, a fine passage that, as a wholesome antidote to Goethe's attack against *Schwarz auf weiss*, which he would like to see abolished altogether, and as a summary of some of the most important ideas of Schiller, as treated in the foregoing, may fittingly conclude our observations. "I regret," Schiller says, "that I did not succeed in encouraging you to compose a treatise on the writer and his specific relations. I should deem this subject all the more important because it is a very peculiar mark of differentiation of the new world against the old, that it receives by far the larger part of its culture in this way. From the very specific fact that the writer influences the reader as it were invisibly and from the distance; that he lacks the advantage of impressing the soul by living speech and the accompaniment of gestures; that he appeals to the feelings

only through abstract signs, hence, through the intellect; but that he has the advantage of leaving his reader, for that very reason, in a state of greater freedom of mind than is possible in living intercourse, etc.: from all of this, it seems to me, there emanate very specific rules and principles that would well be worth a development in detail. In speaking, the individual interferes, and may interfere, in a larger measure with the subject matter. Of the writer we demand the subject matter much more rigorously. But now there is a way of animating the presentation by imparting one's individuality, without impairing the subject matter. It is this way to which I would have desired to have you call especial attention."

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OLD ENGLISH *eo*, *ea*, *ēo(w)*, *ēa(w)*, *āw* IN MIDDLE AND NEW ENGLISH

Of the OE. diphthongs Jespersen, *A Mod. Engl. Gram.*, says: ¶3.601, The predominating element remained [in ME.] as a monophthong, and the subordinate elements disappeared. Thus *ēa* became [ɛ·] and *ēo* became [e·]. The short *ea* from whatever source became *a*, as in *eall* > *all*, *sceamle* > *shamble(s)*, *sceamu* > *shame*. The "short *eo*" was really two distinct diphthongs;¹ it was either an *e* modified through a 'hollow' element and then in ME. became (or remained) *e*: *heorte* > *herte*, or else an *o* modified after a front element and then in ME. became (or remained) *o*: *sceort* > *short*; thus also *geoc* > *yoke*.

3.602. But in some words the first element of an OE. diphthong, though not originally due to a preceding palatal, was treated in the same manner, the first element being absorbed into the palatal consonant, and the stress, as it were, shifted on to the second element. . . . Thus OE. *scēotan* > ME. *shete* and *shote*, now *shoot*. . . . OE. *cēowan* > *chew*—and *c(e)ōwan* > *chow*. . . . OE. *scēawian* > *shew*—and *sc(e)āwian* > *show*. . . . OE. *cēap* regularly becomes *cheap*, but in the two compounds *chapman* and *chaffer* we have *c(e)ap*-. Thus also after [j]: OE. *gēar* regularly > *year*, but *gēara* becomes *g(e)āra* > *yore*. OE. *geolca* regularly > *yelk*, but also *g(e)olca* > *yolk*.

3.603. An analogous change of the old diphthongs is also seen in a few cases, where no front consonant can explain it: OE. *lēosan* > ME. *lese(n)*. . . . and *lose*, OE. *scrēawa* > *shrew*. . . . but also *shrow*.

In these statements the main facts are presented, but they are not properly correlated or correctly explained. Without arguing this point, I will proceed to show by examples what actually took place. But it must be admitted that the validity of the proof often rests on the uncertainty of the older, especially the ME., orthography.

I. First of all it must be noted that the change of OE. *ēo* to NE. (ȝ)ū has nothing to do with the preceding sound. It is not a case of absorption of the first element of the diphthong, but of the shifting of the accent to the second element. Thus OE. *lēosan*,

¹So was the "short *ea*."

scēotan became locally *lēōsan*, *sceōtan*, whence NE. *lose*, *shoot*. This shift of accent began in the OE. period, as *gitrōwalice* 'getreulich' *Ri.* (Bülbring, *Ae. Elementarbuch*, §§325 ff.), and may explain some double writings as : *snēowan* : *snōwan*.

Where *ēo* remained a falling diphthong it became in ME. *ē*. Locally this smoothing began in the OE. period before palatals: WS., Kent. *rēočan*, *sēoc*, *flēogan*: Angl. *rēcan*, *sēc*, *flēgan*, etc. (cf. Bülbring, *Ae. Elementarbuch*, §198). When *ēo* became a rising diphthong (*ēō*), it resulted in ME. *u*, *v*, *ue*, *eu*, *o*, *oe*, and initially also *jo*. In many cases ME. *eo* is probably a rising diphthong. These various spellings seem to indicate a diphthong of the *i*-type (cf. Jespersen, *A Mod. Engl. Gram.* §3.819). And yet locally or under certain conditions OE. *eō*, *iō* may have yielded in ME. an *ü*-sound, perhaps where it corresponded to WG. *iu*. The examples following are from Stratmann-Bradley's *Middle English Dictionary*.

OE. *eō*: ME. *īō*, *īū*, *ū*

Betwūne 'between' Laʒ. 4307, OE. *betweōnan*: *betwēonan*; *betwēne*. *Bōde*, *būde* 'announce, command' O. & N. 530; Fer. 1825, OE. *beōdan*: *bēodan*; *bēden*. *Bōr* 'beer' O. & N. 1009, 1011, OE. *beōr*: *bēor*; *bēr*. *Blō* 'color' O. & N. 1547, OE. *bleō*, III, 1. *Brūst* 'breast,' gen. *brūstes* Fer. 1072, *brūstbōn* 'breastbone' *ibid.*, *brist* Lud. Cov. 14. *Brūse* 'bruise' Wicl. Deut. IX, 3, OE. **breōsan*, III, 2. *Chōke* 'cheek' L. H. R. 218, OE. *ceōce* (or *ceāce*), III, 4. *Chūs(e)* Fer. 4367; Marg. 103, OE. *ceōsan*, III, 8. *Crōp* 'creeps' O. & N. 826, OE. *creōpan*, III, 11. *Dūp(e)* 'deep' Fer. 1687; Brd. 27, OE. *deōp*: *dēop*; *dēp*. *Dūre* 'dear' Laʒ. 143, 2963; Fer. 282, *duere* Rel. I, 110, adv. P. S. 214, *dyere* Lk. VII, 2, *dūrest* Laʒ. 3081, *dūre-wurðe* *ibid.* 16686, *-liche* *ibid.* 15151, *durling* Rel. I, 170, Brd. 3, OE. *deōre*, *diōre*, III, 12. *Dōr* 'animal, deer' O. & N. 1012, *duer* Chr. E. 30, OE. *deōr*: *dēor*; *dēr*. *Drūri* 'dreary' Wicl. 2 Esdr. II, 2; Laʒ. 14547, *drūri-mōd* Fer. 1103, OE. *dreōrig*: *drēorig*; *drēri*. *Drōpen*, OE. *dreōpan*, III, 14 (or *dropian*). *Fōnd* 'fiend' Hom. 67, *voend* Rel. I, 243, OE. *feōnd*: *fēond*; *fēnd*. *Fōrðe* 'fourth' Hom. I, 397, *fūrðe* Bek. 587, etc., OE. *feōrða*, IX, 3. *Flō(n)* 'fly' Hom. I, 81; O. & N. 372, OE. *fleogan*: *flēogan*; *flēye(n)*. *Flō* 'flee' O. & N. 1231, OE. *fleōn*: *flēon*; *flē(n)*. *ʒōde*, *iōde*, *vde* 'went,' OE. *eōde*, III, 15. *ʒōl* 'yule' Orm. 1915; An. Lit. 5, etc., *ʒoill*, *yule* Barb. IX, 204, *ʒōle* 'December' H. S. 815, OE. *geōl*, *geōla*

III, 16. *Hū, hō, hue, hyō, 3hō* Orm. 115, *3hō, 3ō* P. L. S. 79, 84, OE. *heō* 'she'; *hā*, OKent. *hiā*; gen. *hūre*, OKt. *hiōra*. *Hō, hyō, hue, hā* 'they,' OE. (Kt., Angl.) *heō, hiō, hiā*; gen. *hōre, huere, hūra, hāre*, OE. *heōra, hiōra, heāra*; dat. *hōm, hām, 3ām*, OE. *heōm, hiōm, *heām*. Compare OFris. *hiā, hiāra, hiām*. *Heuld* Trev. V, 19, 97, *hueld* H. H. 159, *huld* Bek. 95, *hulden* Laʒ. 8080, OE. *heōld(on)*: *hēold*; *heeld, held*; *held*, III, 20. *Leude* 'people' Gaw. 126, *lūde* Gaw. 133, *lūed* P. S. 155, *lūd* Will. 452, *lūdes* Will. 390, OE. *liōde, leōde*: *lēode*; *lēde*.

Lōf 'lief, dear' O. & N. 1277, *luef* Rel. I, 110; Horn (R.) 564, *lūver* Trev. VII, 127, OE. *leōf*, III, 21. **Lūmen* 'give light,' *lūmes* Spec. 52, OE. *leōmian*, III, 22. *L(e)osen* 'lose' O. & N. 351, *lūse* Trev. VII, 49; Fer. 4469, 2d. sg. *lūst* Bek. 859, 3d. *lūst* O. & N. 1159, OE. *leōsan*, III, 23. *Lūre* 'face, cheek' Spec. 52, *pl. līres* Halliw. 522, OE. *hleōr*: *hlēor*; *lēre*; *leer*. *Mūkli* 'meekly' Fer. 1945, *muekliche, mucknesse* Ayenb. 65, OE. **meōc*: **mēoc*; *mēok, mēk*; *meek*. There is not the least ground for assuming that this is a loanword from ON. *miūkr*. *Nōd(e)* (*neode*) 'need' Hom. I, 3, 11, 83; O. & N. 466, 638, 906, *nūdful* 'needful' Langl. C II, 21, *neodep* *nūdep* Langl. B X, 63, C XII, 48, OE. *neōd* (*neād*): *nēod, nīed*; *nēde, nīed*; *need*. *Preost, prōst* 'priest' O. & N. 322, 902, *pruest* P. S. 159, OE. *preōst*: *prēost*; *prēst*; *priest*. *Schō* (**sīō*) 'she,' OE. *siō, seō*, III, 27. *Sūcne* acc. sg. m. 'sick' Laʒ. 17682 (*seoke* pl. *ibid.* 2954), OE. *seōc*: *sēoc*; *sēk*; *sick*. *Schūte* 'shoot' P. L. S. XVI, 139; Fer. 3254, OE. *sceōtan*, III, 29. *Stūreth* 'steers' Langl. A IX, 42, OE. *steōran*: *stēoran, stīeran*; *stēren*; *steer*. *Tuen* 'draw' H. H. 234, OE. *teōn*: *tēon*; *tēn*. *Teone, tōne* 'vexation, injury' O. & N. 50, *tuone* Laʒ. 6013, *tuene* Rel. I, 263, OE. *teōna*: *tēona*; *tēne*, II, 3. *Trōn* 'trees' O. & N. 1201, OE. gen. pl. *treōna*, IX, 13. *ƿuef* 'thief' Spec. 106, *ƿufpe* 'theft' Rob. 503, OE. *ƿeōf*: *ƿēof*; *ƿēf*; *thief*. *ƿūster* 'dark' Rel. I, 89, OE. *ƿiōster, ƿeōstre*: *ƿēostre*; *ƿēster*. *ƿūten* 'howl' Orm. 2034 (*ƿeotep* A. R. 120), OE. *ƿeōtan* or *ƿūtan*.

II. That *ū* may have resulted in ME. from OE. *eō, iō* seems probable from the parallel development of short *eo*, and from the following examples.

1. *Bystings, boystins, bwystings, bwoistin*, dial. forms of *beestings*, OE. *býsting, *biōsting*: *bēost*.

2. *Soil, swoil*, 'a seal' (dial.), OE. *seōl, siōl, seolh*. Here, however, *soil* from **sail* may represent OE. **sil, *silh*.

3. *Tine, tyne* (and *teen*) 'grief, sorrow, vexation,' ME. *tuene* Rel. I, 263, *tiene* Ayenb. 31, OE. *teōna*.

4. *Tire* 'become or make weary,' ME. *tire* 'tire' Townl. 126, *a-tiereð* 'fails' Hom. II, 29, OE. *teōrian* 'fail; tire.'

III. OE. *eō*: NE. *iū, ū, u, v, e*

1. *Blue, blew* 'blush; cause to blush' obs. from **blū* 'color, complexion,' ME. *blō*, OE. *bleō: blēo*, ME. *blē*, NE. *blee* 'color, complexion' (arch. and poet.).

2. *Bruise* (*brūz*) 'injure by a blow or by pressure, contuse, dent,' ME. *brōsen*, *broosen*, OE. **breōsan: *brēosan*, ME. *brēsen*, NE. dial. *breeze* (*brīz*) 'bruise, indent; press, bear upon'; OE. *brȳsan* 'bruise, crush,' ME. *brysen*, *brīsen*, NE. dial. *brize* (*braz*) 'bruise, crush, squeeze; press heavily.'

3. *Chols-* in *Cholsey* ('ship's island'), town in England, OE. *ceōles ig*, *ceōl*: *cēol* 'ship,' NE. *keel* 'boat, barge,' *Chels-ea*.

4. *Chuck* 'the underpart of the face, throat, pl. cheeks,' ME. *chōke*, OE. *ceōce* 'cheek' OFris., *tziāke* 'Backe': OE. *cēoce*, ME. *chēke*, NE. *cheek*, Germ. **keuk-* 'lump, bulge, etc.' in the following. Or *chuck* from *t/iik*, **t/iak*.

5. *Chuck* 'block; sea-shell; pebble, stone, jack-stone; part of the beef that lies between the neck and the shoulder-blade,' *chock* 'a block or piece of wood, used to prevent movement, as by insertion behind the props of a ship's cradle, under the sides of a boat on deck, under the wheels of a carriage, etc.,' *vb.* 'secure by putting a chock into or under; fill up a cavity like a chock' (or *chock* from **ceāc-*, cf. VI, 2): ON. *kiúka* 'bone, hoof; little cheese,' Norw. *kjuka* 'a little clump or ball, chunk; a block for support; a knot or gnarl on a tree, fungus on trees,' *vb.* 'roll or press together; mess,' Lith. *gužas* 'Buckel, Drüse, Knorren, Knopf,' *gužỹs* 'Kropf der Vögel.'

6. *Chuck, chuckie* 'a hen or chicken; a term of endearment,' OE. **ceōc-: cīcen*, **cīecen* (**keukīn*) 'chicken'; NFris. *sūkn*, ON. *kiúklingr* 'chicken'; *kokkr* 'cock.' Related to the above, with primary meaning 'chunk': Norw. *koka* 'clump, clod,' NE. *cock* 'a pile of hay,' etc.

7. *Chuck, chuckle* 'make a low guttural sound, as hens and cocks, cluck; laugh in a suppressed manner,' ME. *chucken*, OE. **ceōcian* in *ā-ceōcian* 'choke (to death); be extinguished (of fire),' or Norse loanword: Norw. *kjukla* 'whimper; cluck'; MHG. *kūchen* 'hauchen,' NHG. *keuchen*; OE. *cohhetan* 'cough.'

8. Choose 'select,' ME. *chūse(n)*, OE. *ceōsan: cēosan*, ME. *chēsen*, early NE. *cheese*.

9. *Cloof, clufe* 'the hoof of a horse, cow, pig, etc.; claw,' perhaps OE. **cleōf* 'cleft': *clēofan* 'cleave,' MDu. *clieve*, MLG. *klēve* 'Spalt'; ON. *klauf* 'cleft; cloven foot,' MHG. *klouber* 'Klaue, Kralle'; MDu. *clūve, cluuf, kluyve* 'claw, unguis,' Du. *kluif*, EFris. *klāfe* 'Klaue, bz. die greifende u. packende Pfote oder Hand.' Or *cloof* may be dial. for **clouf* (*klauf*) and identical with the last.

10. *Cloot* (and *cleet*) 'one of the divisions of the hoof of cattle; hoof, foot,' *cloots, clootie* 'devil,' perhaps OE. **cleōt-: *clēot-*, a derivative of *clēo, clawu* 'claw; hoof.'

11. *Croop* 'a stoop, bend,' *croopy* 'stoop down, bend, crouch,' ME. *crōpen* 'creep,' OE. *creōpan: crēopan*, ME. *crēpen*, NE. *creep*. Or the *ū* in *croop* may be dial. for *au*: NE. dial. *crowp*, MDu., MLG. *krūpen*.

12. *Doory* (and *deary*) 'very small, diminutive' (dial.). The word is regularly used with *little*, as: "a little *doory* thing," and is probably identical with *deary, dear*: ME. *dūre, duere* 'dear,' OE. *deōre*.

13. *Doovel, dule* 'devil' (dial.), ME. *d(e)ovel*, OE. *deōfol: dēofol*, ME. *dēvel, devel, dēl*, NE. *devil (devl)*, dial. *deevel, deil*.

14. *Droop* 'sink or hang down, languish; dial. drip, be wet with water,' ME. *drōpen*, OE. *dreōpan: drēopan*, ME. **drēpen*, NE. dial. *dreep* 'drip.' In part *droop* may represent ME. *droupen*, ON. *drúpa* 'droop.'

15. *Yewd, yud* 'went, walked' (dial.), ME. and arch. *yode* 'went' (Scott, Spenser, Chaucer), ME. *ȝōde*, OE. *eōde: ēode*, ME. *ēde, ȝēde* (this last with analogical *ȝ* or else from OE. *ge-ēode*).

16. *Yule* 'the feast of Christmas,' ME. *ȝōl, ȝōl*, OE. *geōl: gēol*, ME. *ȝēl*, NE. dial. *eel, yeal, yell*.

17. *Yoop* 'a word imitative of a hiccoughing or sobbing sound,' ME. **ȝōpen*, OE. *geōpan* 'swallow,' MHG. *giefen* 'Schreien, Lärmen,' Norw. dial. *gop* 'chasm.'

18. *Ewte (iūt)* 'pour in' (dial.), *yote* 'pour water on' (early), OE. *geōtan: gēotan*, ME. *ȝēten* 'pour.'

19. *Groot, grute, grut* 'finely pulverized soil, earth, mold; sand, grit' (dial.), OE. *greōt* 'earth, sand, dust': *grēot*, NE. dial. *greet, grete*, same as *groot*.

20. *Huuld, heud, hued, hude, hewed*, dial. pret. of *hold*, ME. *heuld, hueld, huld*, OE. *heōld: hēold*, ME. *hēld*, NE. *held*.

21. *Loof* 'lief' (N. Cy), comp. Sc. *leu*, *lure*, *loor*, ME. *lōf*, comp. *lūver*, OE. *leōf* 'dear,' comp. *leōfra* : *lēof*, ME. *lēf*, NE. *lief*.

22. *Loom* 'a coming (indistinctly) into view; the track of a fish,' *vb.* 'shine; come dimly into view,' ME. *lūmen* 'shine' (perhaps in part representing OFr. *lumer*), 2d sg. *lūmes* Spec. 52, OE. *leōmian* 'shine,' *leōma* 'radiance': *lēoma*, *lēomian*, ME. *lēmen* 'gleam,' *lēme* 'a gleam, brightness,' NE. dial. *leam* id., *vb.* 'gleam, shine.'

23. *Lose* (*lūz*) 'fail to keep,' ME. *lūse(n)*, OE. *leōsan* : *lēosan*, ME. *lēse(n)*, early NE. *leese* 'lose.'

24. *Loot*, *lute*, *luit*, *lut*, *lot*, dial. pret. of *let*, ME. *leōt*. This was an analogical formation, combining OE. *lēt* and *leort* or modeled after *hlēop*, *fēoll*, etc. From the pret. OE., ME. *lēt* comes NE. dial. *leet*.

25. *Rute* (*riut*, *rut*, *rēt*) 'of a child: cry loudly and vehemently, bellow,' *sb.* 'the bellowing of cattle at certain times of the day' (dial.), ME. **rūten*, OE. *reōtan* 'weep, lament,' ON. *riōta* 'brüllen,' OHG. *riozan* 'weinen, beweinen,' Lat. *rūdere*, etc. Cf. the words in VI, 19, with which these words are in part confused.

26. *Rud* 'reed' (dial.), *roody* 'rank in growth, coarse, luxuriant' (dial., prob. = *reedy*), ME. **rūd*, OE. *hreōd* 'reed,' *hreōdig* 'reedy': *hrēod*, ME. *rēd*, NE. *reed*.

Or *rud* might have developed in NE. from **riəd*, a dialect pronunciation of *reed*.

27. *Shoo*, *shu* 'she' (dial.), ME. *schō*, OE. *siō*, *seō* : *sēo*, ME. *sē*, *schē* (with *sch* from *schō*), NE. *she*.

28. *Shood*, *shewd*, *shude* 'the husk of oats after threshing; the husks of rice and other refuse of rice-mills,' *shud* 'husk,' *shudy* 'of porridge: containing husk of oats' (dial.), OE. *seōd* 'purse, pouch': *sēod*, NE. dial. *seed* 'the husk of oats; the inner covering of grain removed in grinding; a small piece or quantity, a fragment; a term of contempt applied to a person,' *vb.* (bag up, pouch out) 'of animals: to have the udders begin to swell previous to giving birth,' *seedy* 'full of husks, containing or made of the husks of oats; worn out, shabby; looking or feeling wretched,' ON. *siðör* 'pouch, purse,' MDu. *siet*, *zied* 'needle-case.' For meaning compare OE. *codd* 'bag: cod, shell, husk, skin (of grape).'

29. *Shoot* (*šūt*, *šūt*, *lut*, *lot*, *šēt*), ME. *schōten*, OE. *sceōtan* 'shoot'; *sceōtan*, ME. *schēten*, NE. dial. *šit* 'shoot.'

30. *Shot, shote, shut* 'trout; grayling,' OE. *sceōta* 'trout.' This is not certain, for the NE. words may have been formed independently from the same idea: 'spotted, variegated.' Compare NE. *shot* 'having a changeable color, like that produced in weaving by all the warp-threads being of one color and all the weft of another,' *bloodshot* 'of the eyes: bloodstreaked.' But NE. *sheat* 'trout' (*obs.*), *skeet* 'pollack,' OE. *scēota*, makes the connection probable.

31. *Sliut* (and *sleet*) 'the occasional evacuation of a cow (*obs.*); a slimy substance discharged from the nostrils of diseased animals,' OE. **sleōt*:-**slēot*, NE. *sleet* 'hail or snow, mingled with rain'; ON. *slota* 'herabhängen, lässig sein,' NE. *slut* 'an untidy woman, slattern,' Norw. dial. *slutr* 'Regen u. Schnee untereinander, unreine Flüssigkeit,' NHG. dial. *schlossen* 'schlaff oder weich werden, tauen,' *schlotzen* 'mit Schmutz zu tun haben, nachlässig sein'; MHG. *slōz(e)* 'Schlossen,' MLG. *slōt* 'Pfütze, Sumpf.'

32. *Sture* 'steer, young ox' (Thee art lick a skittish *sture* jest a yooked. *Exm. Scold.* 1746), OE. *steōr*:*stēor*, NE. *steer*.

IV. For short *eo* a similar shift of accent occurs, beginning in OE.: *weorold*:*worold*; *weorc*:*worc*; *sweord*:*sword*, etc. Here the *w* seems to have had something to do with the change. But the shift occurred also where *w* was not involved, as: *geolca*, NE. *yelk*:*yolk*; OE. *seolf*:*solf* 'self' (Bülbring, §330). Apparently the *e* fell out without affecting the quality of the *o*. But in other cases, where the shift may have been later, or else through dialect variation, OE. *eō* developed into an *ü*-sound, probably more open than the *y* in OE. Thus in WS., at different periods, occur: *sweord*, *swurd*, *swyrd*; *sweoster*, *swuster*, *swyster*; *weorðan*, *wurðan*, *wyrðan*, etc. (cf. Sievers, *Ags. Gr.* §72). In Kent., according to Sweet, *Hist. of Eng. Sounds*, §659, OE. *eo* became ME. *je*:*yerþe*, *lyerne*, *wyefde* from OE. *eorþe*, *leornian*, *weofod*. This is perhaps rather *üa*.

The double development is seen in the following examples. In each case the OE. word comes first.

Beorn 'warrior, prince'; *bern*:*beurn*, *biurn*, *buirn*, *burn*. *Betweox* (-*twix*:-*twux*); *betwex* (-*twix*):*betwux* 'between.' *Ceole*, *ceolor* 'throat'; *chele* 'throat':*chol* 'double chin'; dial. *chiller*:*cholly*, *choller*, *chuller* 'the flesh covering the lower jaw of man or beast, esp. when fat and hanging, dewlap, double chin. *Ceorl* 'churl'; *cherl*:*churl*. *Eorþ* 'earth'; *erðe*, *erthe*:*oerþe*, *urþe*, *vrþe*, *þorthe* (here

oe, u, v, ʒo probably all mean *ȳū*; *earth*, dial. *arth*:*yurth*, *yuth*. But the *y* in dial. *yerth*, *yeth* would come from **iərþ* with later shift. The same form might also explain *yurth*. *Deorc* 'dark'; *derk*:*dorc*, *durk*. *Feorr* 'far'; *fer*; *fur*; *far*: dial. *fur*. *feorh* 'life': dat. *vore*. *Geocsa* 'sob': *ȳixin*, *yexen*:*ȳoxen* 'hiccup, sob'; dial. *yex*:*yox*, *yux* 'hiccup, vomit, cough up.' *Geolo* 'yellow'; *ȳelu*, -*ou*:*ȳolou*, *yalu*, -*ow*; *yellow*: dial. *yallow*, *yollow*. *Geoloca* 'yolk'; *ȳelke*:*ȳolke*; *yelk*:*yolk*. *Geōmor* 'sad' (OHG. *jāmar*); *ȳēmer*, *yēmer*: *ȳōmere* adv., *ȳōmerli*. *Geond-an* 'beyond' (ME. *ȳeonder* 'yonder'); *ȳender*:*ȳonder*, *yunder*; dial. *yender*:*yonder*. **Geonian* 'yawn' (ME. *ȳeonien*); *ȳenen*:*ȳonen*; *yawn*. *Georne* 'eagerly'; *ȳerne*: *ȳorne*, *ȳurne*; *yearn*. *Heorde* (*hierde*) 'shepherd'; *herde* (*hirde*): *hurde*. *Heordan* 'hards of flax'; *herdes*, *heerdes*: **hurdes*; *hards*: dial. *hurds*. *Heorte* 'heart'; *herte*:*hurte*, *huerte*. *Leornian* 'learn'; *lernen*:*lurnen*. *Meoluc* 'milk'; *melk*, *milk*:*mulk*. (Mix) *meox* 'dung,' (mixen) *meoxen* 'dunghill'; (mix) **mux*; (mix, mixen): *mux* 'dirt, filth,' *muxen* 'dungheap.' *Reord* 'voice'; *rerde*:*rorde*. *Smeortan* 'smart'; *smerten*:*smurten*:*steort* 'tail'; *stert*:*stort*. *Sweord* 'sword': North. *suord*; *swerd*:*sword*; *sword*. *Weorc*:*worc* 'work'; *werc*:*worc*, *wurk*; dial. *wark*:*work*. (Werōd) *weorod* 'troop'; (werd):*wored-strencpe* 'army.' *Weorold*:*woruld* 'world'; *wer(e)ld*:*wor(e)ld*; *world*. *Weorpan*: North. *worpa* 'throw'; *werpen*:*worpen*; *warþ*. *Weorþ*:*worþ* 'worth'; *werth*:*wurth*, *worth*; *worth*. *Hweowol* 'wheel'; *howewelen* Shor. 109. *Seofon*: Ws. *sufon* 'seven'; *seven*: *sove(n)*; *seven*. (Self) *seolf*:*solf* Ru.;² (self) *self*:*sulf*; *self*: dial. *zul*. {*Seolfor* (*silfer*): North. *sulfer*; *selver* (*silfer*): *sulver* *sulver*. *þeorf* 'unleavened': gen. pl. *þorofra* Li. (cf. Bülbring, §330).

V. The change of OE. *ēa* from a falling to a rising diphthong began likewise in the OE. period. This resulted in *ā*, ME. *ā*, *q̄* or, where shortened, *a*: OE. *scēawung*: *scāwung* Lambeth Psalter (Bülbring, §333). Here also *ðāh* 'though' L (cf. Sievers, §163, Anm. 1), whence ME. *þēh*, NE. *though*. This cannot be a Norse loanword, for in ON. the final *h* had disappeared. That OE. *ēa* was sometimes written for *ā* is perhaps indicated by *hreāw* 'corpse' for *hrāw*; *meāw* 'seagull' for **māw*, *mæw*; *reāw* 'row' for *rāw*, *ræw*. Here *ēaw* could hardly have grown out of *āuw* from *āw*, *aīw*.

It is possible that OFris. *ā*, *ō* from Germ. *au* may represent a parallel development: *au*, *æō*, *æá*: *ō*, *ā*. If so, the palatalization was later than shift in accent.

OE. *eā*: ME. *ā*, *ē*

Ādmōd(e) 'gracious' Hom. I, 115, II, 89, 187, *āðmeden* 'grace' Laʒ. 21866, OE. *eād-*, *eāpmōd*: *ēadmōd*; *ēdmōd*. *Ūc*, *ŭk* 'eke' Gen. and Ex. 54, OE. *eāc*: *ēac*; *ēc*; *eke*. Or *ōk* may be from ON. *auk*. But why? *Blōte* 'soft with moisture' P. L. S. XIII, 154, OE. *bleāt*? See VI, 1. *Brād* 'bread' Hom. I, 242, OE. *breād*: *brēad*; *brēd*; *bread*. *Brōþel* 'wretched,' 'wretch' Langl. A XI, 61: Gow. III, 173; Lud. Cov. 217; Pl. Cr. 772, OE. *brēāþ* 'brittle': *brēaþ*; *brēþel* 'wretch,' Lud. Cov. 308; Pr. P. 50, OHG. *brōdi* 'gebrechlich, schwach,' MHG. *bræde* 'Gebrechlichkeit, Schwäche; Schwachheit in moralisch. Sinne,' *brædecheit* 'Schwachheit; fleischliche Schwäche, geschlechtliche Lüsternheit,' OE. *ā-brēoþan* 'deteriorate, prove untrustworthy, degenerate.' *Chōke* L. H. R. 218, *chokes* Man. (F.) 1820, OE. *ceāce* 'jaw': *cēake*; *chēke* 'mala, gena,' VI, 2. *Chaffare* 'chaffer' C. L. 1112, Wicl. Is. XXIII, 3, *chapman* Pr. P. 69, *chappmenn* Orm. 15783 (*cheapen* A. R. 290, 418; Mat. XXI, 12), OE. *ceāp-mann*, *ceāpian*: *cēap*; *chēpen* Gow. 1271, *chepman* R. S. VII, *cheffare* A. R. 300, Misc. 40, etc., VI, 4. *Chōst* 'strife' P. S. 1151; Mirc. 338 (*cheast(e)* A. R. 200; Hom. II, 163; Ayenb. 65), OE. *ceāst*: *cēast*; *chēste* Hom. I, 111, Shor. 113, etc. *Clōt* 'wedge' Pr. P. 81, OE. **cleāt*: **clēat*; *clēte*; *cleat*, Germ. **klauta*:- MDu. *cloot* MLG. *klōt*, OHG. *klōz* 'Klumpen, Kugel, Ball, Keil.' *Crāp* 'crept' Laʒ. 29282, *crōpe* Av. Arth. LXV, OE. *creāp*: *crēap*; *crēp*, etc., VI, 8. *Flō(n)* 'flay' Horn 92; Hav. 612; P. S. 191, OE. *flēan*: *flēan*; *flēn*. *ȝāpe* 'cunning, prompt, vigorous, bold' Alex. (Sk.) 3304, *ȝēp* D.Troy 6644, OE. *geāp*: *gēap*; *ȝēp*, VI, 12. *ȝōman* 'yoeman' Will. 3649, etc., OE. **geāman*, VI, 11. *Grātne* acc. sg. m. 'great' Ayenb. 238, OE. *greāt*: *grēat*; *grēt*. *Grōte* 'groat,' OE. **greāta*, OFris. *grāta*, *grāte*, MLG. *grōte*, MDu. *groot*. *Hāved* 'head' Hom. I, 233, OE. *heāfod*, VI, 13. *-Lōk* 'leek,' OE. *lēac*: *lēac*; *lēk*; *leek*, VI, 16. *Lān* 'reward' Hom. I, 163, OE. *lēan*: *lēan*; *lēn*. *Lōpen*, *lōpin* 'leap' Hav. 1896; S. S. (Wr.) 2417, OE. *hleāpan*: *hlēapan*; *lēpen*, VI, 14. *Lāther* 'lather,' OE. *lēāpor*, VI, 15. *Rad-dore* 'redder' C. L. 719; P. S. 330, OE. *reād*: *rēad*: *rēd*; *red*. *Rōke* 'smoke' OE. **rēc*, VI, 17. *Rōmen* 'roar' OE. *hreām*, VI, 18. *Rōvare*, *rōver* 'robber, pirate,' OE. *reāfere*; *rāfte* 'robbed,' OE. *reāfode*: *rēafian*; *rēven*, VI, 20. *Schōf* 'merges' Pr. P. 444, OE. *sceāf*, VI, 21. *Scōne* 'beautiful' Laʒ. 2299; Orm. 15665, OE. **sceān* (: *sceān-feld*) or *sceōne*. *Slō(n)* 'slay' Misc. 27; Hav. 1364;

Perc. 925, OE. *sleān*. *þōh*, *ðōg* 'though,' OE. *þeāh*, *ðāh* (R²): *þeah*, *þēh*. *Thōke* 'insolidus' Pr. P. 491, OE. **þeac-* 'melting, soft,' Norw. *taakka* 'bare place, condition of being free from snow,' *taakkevetter* 'a winter with little snow,' *taa*, ON. *þá* 'schneefreies Gefild.' *þrāt* 'threat' A. P. III, 55, OE. *þreāt*: *þrēat*; *þrēte*; *threat*.

VI. OE. *eā*: NE. *ō*, *ou*, *o*, *u*, *a*, *æ*.

1. *Bloat* 'make or grow turgid as by effusion of liquid in the cellular tissue; puff out, swell; puff up, make vain,' adj. 'puffed, swollen, turgid; cured by smoking, of herring' (i. e. soft-cured, not hard-dried), ME. *blōte*, 'soft with moisture,' perhaps OE. *bleāt* 'bringing misery,' **bleātian* 'become soft, weak; swell with moisture, bloat,' ON. *blautr* 'wet, moist, soft, tender, weak; of fish: fresh, not dried,' Norw. *blaut* 'wet, moist; soft, not hard; soft-hearted,' *sō*. 'timidity,' *blauta* 'be faint-hearted, lose courage,' OFris. *blāt* 'bloss (i. e. without a hard covering, as in Norw. *blautegg* 'egg without a shell'); arm,' OHG. *blōz* (puffed up, bloated) 'superbus,' MHG. *bloss*, unverhüllt, nicht bewaffnet': OE. *blēat* 'miserable' NE. dial. *bleat* (bare) 'cold, bleak (place),' *sō*. 'bleak weather.'

This is not certain, since *bloat* might represent OE. **blotian*: Norw. *blota* 'become soft,' Icel. *bloti* 'a thaw,' *blotna* 'become moist or wet,' etc.

2. *Choke* 'the fleshy parts about and under the jaws, the chops,' *chacks* 'jaws, chops, cheeks,' ME. *chōke*, OE. *cēace* 'jaw': *cēace*, (and *cēoce*, see III, 4), ME. *chēke*, NE. *cheek*. Here also belong *choke-*, *chock-*, *chuck-full*, ME. *chōke-full* (: *chēke-full*) and *choke* 'suffocate; obstruct, block up,' ME. pres. opt. *chōke* (: *chēke*), pret. *chōkede* (: *chēkien* 'suffoco') Germ. **kauk-* 'a round object, bulge, lump, block, etc.': OE. *cēac* 'pitcher, jug, basin.'

3. *Chops*, *chaps* 'jaws,' dial. *chope* 'a mug or tankard having the sides slightly inclined in a conical form,' OE. **cēāp-* 'round object, roundish lump: mug; chop': Norw. dial. *kaup* 'a wooden vessel, butt, tub,' *kaupa* 'a deep bowl to dip with'; OE. *copp* 'summit,' NE. *cop* 'top; tuft; a round piece of wood fixed on the top of a beehive; a mound or bank, a heap of anything; the conical ball of thread formed on the spindle of a wheel or spinning-frame,' ON. *koppr* 'Tasse, Napf, halbkugelförmige Erhöhung,' MHG. *kopf* 'Trinkgefäß, Becher, Hirnschale, Kopf'; Norw. *kūp* 'Ausbauchung, Höcker,' ON. *kūpóttir* 'rund, kegelförmig; *kūfr* 'rund-

licher Gipfel,' OE. *cȳf* 'tub, vessel'; Norw. *kubb* 'Block, dicker Baumstumpf,' NE. *cob*, *chub*, *chubby*, *chuff* 'a coarse, heavy fellow, chump; cheek,' *chuffy*, etc.

4. *Chop* 'barter; exchange, swap; bargain, chaffer,' *chap* 'buy or sell,' *chapman* 'merchant, peddler,' *chaffer* (*chaffare*) 'traffic,' vb. 'buy or sell,' ME. *chapman*, OE. *ceāpmann* 'pedler,' *ceāpian* 'trade, bargain'; *ceāpian*, ME. *chēpe(n)*, NE. *cheap*.

5. *Choaty* 'chubby, fat, applied to infants,' early NE. *chote* 'fat' (*chote* lambes at XIIId the pece *Invent.* 27 Hen. VIII, 1537), OE. **ceāt(ig)* 'chubby, chunky': Norw. *kaut(ig)* 'proud, pompous,' OFris. *kāte*, NWFr. *keat* 'Knöchel'; Swed. dial. *kūt* 'Knochen, Höcker'; MLG. *kote* 'Huf, Kōte,' MDu. *cote* 'joint, knuckle,' Du. *keutel* 'Kegel, rundliche Exkrementen,' MLG. *kotel* 'Kotklumpen.'

6. *Croze* (crease) 'the cross-groove in the staves of a cask or barrel in which the edge of the head is inserted; a cooper's tool for cutting this groove,' OE. **creās*:**crēas*, NE. *crease*. Compare the following.

7. *Crazzled* (crisped) 'congealed, slightly crisped or frozen, as a surface of ice; of coals: baked or caked together on a fire,' *crazzly* 'of a dry and skinny nature,' *crozzle* 'a halfburnt cinder or coal, anything burnt up or singed,' vb. 'shrivel or curl up with heat, burn to a cinder,' OE. **creāsl*:-*crēas-nes* 'pride' (crispiness), NE. *crease* 'a line made by folding or doubling'; MHG. *krūs* 'kraus, gelockt,' *krūsen* 'kräuseln,' Swed. *krusa* 'kräuseln, krausen; sich zieren, Umstände machen,' early Du. (Kil.) *kruys-kole* 'carbo,' *kruysen*, *kruyselen* 'denigrare, oblinere fuligine,' Flem. *bekruizen* id.; NE. dial. *crizzle* 'become rough on the surface, as water when it begins to freeze; grow hard and rough with heat; crisp, make rough with drought or heat.'

8. *Crōpe* (*krōp*, dial. pret. of *creep*, ME. *crōp*, *crāp*, OE. *creāp*:*crēap*, ME. *crēp*. Like this are other preterits of the second class: *froze*, OE. *freās*; *frēas*, NE. dial. *frēz*, *frez*; *chōse*, OE. *ceās*:*cēas*, ME. *chēs*; *clōve*, ME. *clāf*, OE. *cleāf*:*clēaf*, ME. *clēf*; ME. *lēk*, OE. *leāc* 'locked':*lēac*, ME. *lēk*; ME. *lās*, **lōs* (whence *lēste* 'lost,' or this from OE. *lcsode*?), OE. *leās*:*lēas*, ME. *lēs*; ME. *soop*, OE. *seāp* 'drank'; early NE. *sod* 'seethed,' OE. *seāp*:*sēap*, ME. *sēp*; ME. *shōf* 'shoved,' OE. *sceāf*:*scēaf*, ME. *shēf*; *shot*, ME. *schōt*, *ssāt*, OE. *sceāt*:*scēat*, ME. *shēt*.

9. *Daff* 'daunt, stun; extinguish (candle),' *daffen* 'stun,' *daffle* 'confuse, deafen,' *daff* 'fool, idiot, blockhead,' ME. *daffe*, OE. *deāf* 'deaf: *dēaf*, ME. *dēf*, NE. *deaf*, *deafen*, dial. *deaf*, *deave* 'make deaf, deafen, stun.'

10. *Yokel* 'a country bumpkin, a gawk,' ME. **ȝōk* 'cuckoo,' OE. *geāc*: *gēac*, ME. *ȝēk* 'cuckoo; fool,' MHG. *gouch* 'Tor, Narr, Gauch, Kuckuck,' ON. *gaukr*, ME. *gowke*, NE. *gowk*, *gawk*.

11. *Yeoman* 'freeholder,' ME. *ȝōman*, OE. **geā-mann*, OFris. *gā-man* (Gaumann) 'villager': OE. **gēamann*, ME. *ȝēman*, *yēman*.

12. *Yap*, *yawp* 'quick, apt, ready' (dial.) ME. *ȝēp*, *ȝāp*, OE. *geāp*: *gēap*, ME. *ȝēp*, NE. dial. *yeps*, *yeppy*, *yepper*, *yipper* 'brisk, active.'

13. *Hud*, *ad* 'head' (dial.) ME. *hafd*, *hāved*, OE. *heāfod*: *heāfod*, ME. *hēved*, NE. *head*.

14. *Lope* 'leap, move or run with long steps,' sb. 'a leap, a running,' ME. *lōpen* 'leap,' *lēpe* 'a leap,' OE. *hleāpan*: *hlēapan*, ME. *lēpen*, *lēpe*, NE. *leap*.

15. *Lather*, dial. *lother* 'suds made from soap moistened with water,' ME. *lāther*, OE. *leāpor*.

16. -*Lock* in *charlock* 'wild mustard,' *hemlock* 'a poisonous plant of the natural order *Umbelliferae*, ME. *kerlok* 'charlock' Halliw. 492, *carlok* 'eruca' Voc. 265, *hemlok*, *humlok* 'cicuta' Voc. 226, 265, etc., OE. *hem-lic*, *hym-lice*, *leāc* 'leek,' Germ. **lauka-n* 'tuft, bunch, bulb': OE. *lūcan* 'join together (so as to form one mass).'

17. *Roke* 'smoke, steam, vapor, mist; drizzling rain,' vb. 'steam, smoke, be foggy or misty,' *roky* 'misty, drizzly, cloudy,' ME. *rōke*, OE. **reāc*, OS. *rōk*, OHG. *rouh* 'Rauch'; ON. *reykr*, OE. *rēc*, ME. *rēk*, *rēche*, NE. *reek*, dial. *reech*. The dial. form *rook*, *rowk* represent an older **rūk*:- NFris. *rūkə*, EFris. *rūken*, MLG. *rūken* (and *rēken*), Du. *ruiken* (and *reiken*), etc.

18. *Rome* 'growl, roar' (Halliwell), ME. *rōmen* id., OE. *hreām* 'cry, shout, hue and cry, uproar': *hrīeman* 'make loud sound; shout, call out; wail, lament,' ME. *rēmen*, NE. *reem* 'cry or moan' (Halliwell).

19. *Rote* 'the sound of surf, as before a storm,' perhaps OE. **hreāt*. Compare Norw. *raut* 'a bellow,' *rauta* 'bellow'; ON. *hriōta* 'knurren, brummen, schnarchen,' OSwed. *riūta* 'brüllen'; Swed. dial., Norw. *rūta* 'storm, roar,' OE. *hrūtan* 'resound; snore,' ME. *routen* 'roar, snore,' NE. dial. *rout* 'low loudly as cattle, bray

as a donkey; bellow, roar; snore; make any loud noise,' MHG. *rüzen* 'ein Geräusch machen, rauschen, summen, schnarchen, brüllen, stürmen,' etc. Though NE. *rote* is probably related as here given, it may have original *u* rather than *au*.

20. *Rover* 'a robber, esp. a sea-robber, freebooter, pirate, forager,' *rove* 'lead a wandering life of robbery, esp. on the high seas, rob,' ME. *rqvare*, *rover* 'robber,' **rqve(n)* 'rob,' OE. *reāfian* 'rob, plunder, ravage,' *reāfere* 'robber': *rēafian*, ME. *rēven*, NE. *reave* 'rob.' NE. *rove* 'wander, roam' probably represents ME. **rqven* from ON. *rāfa* 'wander, rove,' the two words becoming early confused.

21. *Shoaf* (*fōf*, *lof*) 'sheaf; bundle of reeds,' *shove* (*lōv*) 'a handful of corn in reaping; a sheaf; a bundle of reeds; a row of shocks of corn,' ME. *schōf*, *schāf*, OE. *sceāf* 'bundle, sheaf': *scēaf*, ME. *schēf*, NE. *sheaf*.

22. *Shot* 'a nook, an angle; a plot of land, specifically, a square furlong of land,' *shot-ice* 'a sheet of ice' (Halliwell), ME. **schōt*, OE. *sceāt* 'corner, projection: piece of cloth, garment; lap, bosom; region, quarter (of the earth), inlet (of the sea)': *scēat*, ME. *schēte*, NE. *sheet*.

Scoot, *scute*, *skewt* 'a small, irregular plot of ground, a corner or division in a field; an odd piece of cloth' looks like a dialect variation of the above.

23. *Shote* 'a young hog, a pig; a thriftless, worthless fellow,' dial. *shot* 'a young weaned pig; a castrated pig; also used as a term of contempt for a young person,' *shoot* 'a puny or imperfect young animal, esp. a pig between a sucker and a porker; a term of contempt for a young person' OE. **sceāt*: **scēat*, NE. dial. *sheat* 'a young hog or pig of the first year.'

These are probably related to the preceding words, with the primary meaning 'angular, rawboned animal.' Compare Norw. dial. *skūt* 'om et magert knoglet dyr,' 'a term applied to a lean, rawboned animal': ON. *skūta* 'project, jut out.'

VII. For shift of accent in short *ea* the evidence is not so good. For beside *ea* occurs dialectically the unbroken *a*. Hence, NE. *bold*, ME. *bold*, *bāld* may come from the unbroken *bald* as well as from *beāld*. But evidence is not lacking. For ME. *chēld*: *chāld* 'cold' can only represent OE. *cēald*: *ceāld* (not *cald*). I find only one form that seems to indicate the retention of *e* as *ȝ*: *þe yalde laȝe* Ayenb. 7. But this is perhaps rather for *ealde*. Compare ME. (Kt.) *ȝare* 'ear' from OE. *ēare*.

Beald 'bold'; *beld*: *bald*, *bold*; *bold*. *Bearm* 'bosom'; *berm*: *barm*. *Bearn* 'child'; *bern*: *barn*. *Ceaf* 'chaff'; *chef*: *chaf* (*cæf*). *Ceald* 'cold'; *chēld*: *chāld*. *Eald* 'old'; *eld* (an *eld clēth* Hav. 546, *elde* Spec. 95, etc.): *uldere* 'older' Rob. (W.) 750. *Earm* 'poor'; *erm*: *arm*. *Eart* '(thou) art'; *ert*: *art*. *Eax* 'axletree'; *ex-tre* Wiel.; Pr. P. etc.: *ax-tre* Jul.; Mirc.; dial. *ex*: *axle*. *Fealg* 'felly,' NE, *felly*: dial. *fally*. *Gearcian* 'prepare'; *ȝerken*: *ȝarken*. *Geard* 'yard'; *ȝerd*: *ȝard*, *ȝord*. *Heard* 'hard'; *herd*: *hard*; dial. *eardly*, *iædli*: *hard*. *Mearc* 'mark'; *merke*: *marke*. *Mearg* 'marrow'; *merȝ*, *merou*: *mari*, *marou*; NE. *marrow* may be either. *Mearu* 'tender'; *merou*: *mare*. *Sceard* 'notched'; *scherd*: *schord*. *Scearp* 'sharp'; *scerp*: *scharp*. *Stearc* 'stiff, strong'; *sterc*: *starc*. *Healdan* 'hold'; NE. dial. *heeld*: *hold*. *Weald* 'forest'; *weeld*: *wāld*, *wōld*; *weald* (*wīld*) 'a wooded tract of country; any open country': *wold* 'an open tract of country.' *Wealdan* 'govern, wield'; *wēlden*: *wālden*, *wōlden*; *wield*: dial. (Dur.) *wald*.

VIII. Just as *eo*, *ēa* were in part rising diphthongs (*eō*, *eā*), so also the *eō*, *eā* resulting from palatalization became in part falling diphthongs. Thus *geōmor*: *gēomor* 'sad'; ME. *ȝōmere*: *ȝēmer*. In this case OE. *geō-* is from WGerm. *jā-*: OHG. *jāmar*, and yet the double development occurs as in the original diphthong. Similarly OE. *geā* (OHG. *jā*) gives ME. *ȝē* and *ȝō*. But OE. *gēar*, ME. *ȝēr*, NE. *year*: OE. *geāra*, ME. *ȝōre*, NE. *yore* is not a parallel case. OE. *gēar* (*jār*): *geāra* (*jāra*) are the same as *swār*: *swāran*, etc. (cf. Bülbring, *Altengl. Elementarbuch*, §129). On the effect of the *r* compare OE. *flōr*, NE. *floor* (*flōar*); OE. *hrōr* 'capable of motion,' ME. *rōre* 'commotion,' NE. *uproar*; OE. *hōr*, NE. *whore*. But OE. *mōd*, NE. *mood*; OE. *dōm*, NE. *doom*; OE. *fōt*, NE. *foot*, etc.

IX. OE. *ēow* and *ēaw* likewise became *eōw*, *eāw*, and fell together with OE. *ōw*, *āw* in ME. *ōw*, NE. *ōw*. Thus: OE. *treōwian*, ME. *trōwen*, NE. *traw*; OE. *sceāwian*, ME. *schōwen*, NE. *show*; OE. *grōwan*, ME. *grōwen*, NE. *grow*; OE. *blāwan*, ME. *blōwen*, NE. *blow*. That *w* had the effect of making the preceding *ō* more open is proved by the fact that OE. *eōw* is regularly written *ow* in ME., whereas OE. *eō* is more often *u*. This effect of the *w* probably goes back to the OE. period. Compare *blāwan* with *blātan*.

OE. *eōw*: ME. *ōw*, NE. *ō(w)*, *ou*

1. *Browster* 'brewer' (dial.), ME. *browstar*, *browstere* id., *brōwin* 'brew' Pr. P. 54, OE. *breōwan*. Cf. X, 2.

2. *Chow* 'chew' (dial.) ME. *chōwen* OE. *ceōwan*. Cf. X, 3.
3. *Four, fourth, forty*, ME. *four, fōwer, forðe, fourþe, fowerti, fourwertið*, OE. *fōver* Ri. (Bülbring, §331, *feower, feowerþa, feōwertig: feower*, etc., ME. *feurðe*: OE. *feorða*, ME. *furðe, furti*: OE. *fēorþ-a, -ung*, ME. *ferþ-e, -ing*, NE. *farthing*.
4. *Yow* 'ewe' (dial.), ME. **ȝōw*, OE. *eōw*. Cf. X, 5.
5. *Yowe* 'yew' (early), OE. *eōw*. Cf. X, 6.
6. *You* 'vos' represents in form (but not in pronunciation, see X, 7) ME. *ȝōw*, OE. *eōw*.
7. *Knowe* 'knee' Chaucer, *cnōwe* 'knees' *Laʒ*. 5388, *knōwede* 'kneeled' Misc. 48 (: *knēwede* Hom. I, 121), OE. *cneōw* 'knee,' *cneōwian* 'kneel': *cnēow*, ME. *knēw* (NE. **nīū*): OE. *cnēo*, ME. *knē*, NE. *knee* (*nī*).
8. *Nōwe* 'new' O and N. 1129, OE. *neōwe*: *nēowe*, ME. *nēwe*, NE. *new*.
9. *Sew* (pronounced *sō, sou*; for *sū* see X, 13) 'unite by means of a thread,' ME. *sōwe* Pr. P. 466; Langl. B VI, 9, OE. *seōwan*.
10. *Strōw* 'scatter' (dial. or arch.), ME. *strōwe(n)*, OE. *streōwian* (or *streāwian*).
11. *Trōw* 'trust, think', ME. *trōwe(n)* Hom. I, 67; Hav. 1656; Wicl. Deut. XXVIII, 66, *trouwenn* Orm., OE. *treōwian*: *trēowian*, ME. *trēwen*, NE. dial. *trew*.
12. *Troth* 'truth, faith,' ME. *trouth, trouwþe, trēwþe*, OE. *treōwþe*. Cf. X, 17.
13. *Trou* 'tree' Shor. 157, gen. *trōwes* Hom. I, 222, dat. *trōwe* O. and N. 135, Shor. 159, pl. *trēwes* Alis. 6762, *trēn* O. and N. 1201 (or *trōn*: OE. gen. pl. *trēōna*), OE. *treōw*: *trēow*: *trēo*, X, 18.

OE. *eāw*: ME. *āw, ēw*, NE. *ō(w), ou*

14. *Blow* 'a stroke with the hand or fist or a weapon,' ME. *blōwe*, OE. **bleāw* (or **bleōw*): OHG. *bliuwan* 'schlagen.'
15. *Dāw* 'dew' (ME.) Hom. I, 233, OE. *deāw*: *dēaw*, X, 19.
16. *Fāwe* 'few' Misc. 70, *fōwe, fōue* Rel. I, 85, *fōne* Ps. CVI, 39, OE. *feāwe*: *fēawe*, X, 20.
17. *Hoe* 'Haue, Hacke,' *vb.* 'dig or cut with a hoe,' dial. pret. *hew* (a new formation or=OE. *hēow*), ME. *hōwe* 'hoe,' OE. **heāwe*: OHG. *houwa*, MHG., MDu. *houwe* 'Haue,' whence OFr. *houe, hoe*.
18. *Mōwe* 'mew' Pr. P. 346, *sē-mōwe* 'alcedo' ibid. 452, OE. *mēaw* 'seagull': *mæw*, X, 35.

19. *Show* 'cause to be seen,' ME. *schōwen* C. L. 35, *shōwede* A. D. 262, *schāwe* Gaw. 27; A. P. II, 1599; M. H. 96, etc., OE. *gesceāwian* 'show': *gescēawian*, X, 23.

20. *Shrow* 'shrew' (early), dial. *srode* 'badly-disposed, wicked, vicious,' *shrowd* 'annoying, vexatious' Bradford, *Plymouth Plantation* 150, *shrode* 'shrewish' Polit. Poems (Furnivall) 30, ME. *shrōwe* 'wicked, evil,' 'wicked person,' OE. *screāwa*, X, 24,

21. *Sprawl* 'toss the limbs about, flounder,' ME. *sprawlen*, OE. *spreāwlian*: *sprēawlian*, X, 26.

22. *Strow* 'strew,' ME. *strowe(n)*, OE. *streāwian* (or *streōwian*). Cf. IX, 10.

23. *Thowless* 'inactive, weak, lazy, useless, *thowlessness* 'sluggishness,' *dowless* (*doules*, *daules*: *dūles*) 'lazy, helpless, thriftless' (dial.), ME. *thōwlesnes* 'heedlessness' Barb. I, 333, OE. *þeāw* 'custom, habit, usage, conduct, virtue,' *-lēas* 'without morality, ill-conditioned': *þeawlēas*, NE. dial. *thewless* 'feeble, inactive,' *dulless* id., X, 27.

24. *Thow* 'perspiration, sweat,' ME. *thōwe* 'a thaw' Pr. P. 492, *thōwin* 'thaw' ibid., *thōwes* Voc. 201, OE. *þāwian* (for **þeāwian*: OHG. *douwen*): *þawian*, NE. *thaw*.

X. The change of OE. *ēow*, *ēaw*, *ēw* to NE. (*ī*)*ū* is much later, in fact not until the NE. period. OE. *ēow* became ME. *ēw*, *ēu*; *ēaw*, *ēw* became *ēw*, *ēu*; and later both *ēu* and *ēu* became *īū* (which locally it still remains), and finally *īū* or *ū*.

OE. *ēow*: ME. *ēw*, *ēu*, NE. (*ī*)*ū*, *ū*

1. *Blew*, pret. of *blow*, ME. *blēw*, OE. *blēow*. Similarly: *crew* 'crowed,' ME. *crēw*, OE. *crēow*; *knew*, OE. *cnēow*; *grew*, OE. *grēow*; dial. *mew* 'mowed,' OE. *mēow*; dial. *sew* 'sowed,' OE. *sēow*; *threw*, ME. *þrēw*, OE. **þrēow*.

2. *Brew* (*brū*) 'produce as a beverage by fermentation; prepare by boiling,' ME. *breu*, *brēwe(n)*, OE. *brēowan*. Cf. IX, 1.

3. *Chew* 'masticate,' ME. *chēwen*, OE. *cēowan*. Cf. IX, 2.

4. *Clew*, *clue* 'ball or skein of thread,' ME. *clēwen*, OE. *clēowen*, OHG. *kliuwa* 'Knäuel.'

5. *Ewe* (*īū*) 'a female sheep,' ME. *ēwe*, OE. *ēow*. Cf. IX, 4.

6. *Yew* (*īū*) 'a tree of the genus *Taxus*,' ME. *ēw*, OE. *ēow*, *īw*. Cf. IX, 5.

7. *You* (*ȳu*), pronoun, ME. *ȳew*, Procl. 7, *ȳeu*, *ȳiu* Hom. I, 223, 237, OE. *ēow*: *eōw*, ME. *ȳēw* (=NE. *you* in spelling, but not in pronunciation). Cf. IX, 6.

8. *Hue* (*hiū*) 'appearance, color,' ME. *heu*, *hēw*, OE. *hēow*, *hīw*.

9. *Lew* 'shelter; a place sheltered from the wind' (dial.), ME. *lēw*, OE. *hlēow* 'covering, shelter': *hlēo*, ME. *lee*, NE. *lee* 'shelter; the shelter afforded by an object interposed which keeps off the wind,' Swed., Dan. *ly* 'geschützter Ort, Schutz vor dem Wetter.'

10. *Lew* (*liū*, *lū*) 'warm, sunny,' *vb.* 'make warm,' *lewth*, *looth* 'shelter, warmth' (dial.), ME. *lēwe*, OE. *hlēowe* 'warm,' *gehlēow* 'sheltered, warm,' *hlēowan* 'become warm' (*hlīewan* 'shelter, cherish, warm'), *hlēowþ* (*hlīewþ*) 'covering, shelter, warmth,' ON. *hlýr* 'warm, mild, snug,' etc.

11. *New*, ME. *nēwe*, OE. *nēowe*, *nīwe*. Cf. IX, 8.

12. *Rue* 'cause to grieve; repent,' *sb.* 'sorrow, regret,' *ruth* 'sorrow,' ME. *rēwe(n)*, *reuth*, *rewþe*, OE. *hrēowan* 'rue,' *hrēow* 'penitence,' **hrēowþ* 'ruth.'

13. *Sew* (earlier *sȳū*) 'unite by means of a thread,' dial. *shoo(w)* 'sew,' *shooster* 'one who sews,' ME. *sēwen*, OE. *sēowan* (*sīwian*) 'sew.' Cf. IX, 9.

14. *Spew* (*spiū*) 'vomit,' ME. *spēwen* (*spiwen*), OE. **spēowan* (*spīwan*).

15. *Strew* (*strū*) 'scatter,' ME. *strēwen*, OE. *strēowan*, *strewian*. See IX, 10.

16. *Thew* (early) 'slave,' ME. *þēw*, OE. *þēow*. Cf. IX, 23.

17. *True* (*trū*), *truce*, *truth*, ME. *trēwe*, *trēwes*, *treowes*, *trēuthe*, OE. *trēowe* 'faithful, true,' **trēowsa* 'pledge, truce' (for formation compare OE. *gālsa* 'wantonness,' *wrānsa* 'lasciviousness'), *trēowsian* 'pledge oneself,' *trēowþ* 'good faith.' See IX, 11, 12.

18. *Trēw* 'tree' (ME.), OE. *trēow*: *trēo*, ME. *trē*, NE. *tree*. Cf. IX, 13.

OE. *ēaw*: ME. *ēw*, NE. *ȳū*, *ū*

19. *Dew* (*dȳū*, *dīū*, dial. *dū*) 'aqueous vapor deposited from the atmosphere by condensation,' *vb.* 'wet with dew,' ME. *deu*, *dēw*, *dēwen*, OE. *dēaw*, *dēawian*.

20. *Few* (*fȳū*) 'not many,' ME. *feu*, *fēw*, *fæw*, OE. *fēaw*.

21. *Hew* (*hiū*), ME. *hēwen*, OE. *hēawan* 'hew, cut.'

22. *Lew* 'field, lea' (early), ME. **lēwe*, OE. *lēaþe*, dat. of *lēa(h)*, ME. *lēþ*, NE. *lea* (*lī*).

23. *Shew* (*fū*, early and dial.) 'show,' ME. *schēwen*, OE. *gescēawian*.

24. *Shrew* (sharp, keen; rough, rugged; *fig.* harsh, bitter) 'wicked, evil, unkind,' *sb.* 'a wicked or malignant person; a scold, termigant,' *vb.* 'make evil; curse,' *shrewd* 'sharp, keen, biting, harsh; having a vixenish temper; evil, malignant; sharp, keen, keen-witted, sagacious, sly, cunning, artful,' ME. *shrēw*, *shrēwe* 'wicked, evil,' *sb.* 'wicked person, devil,' *schrēwen* 'curse,' OE. **scrēaw* 'sharp, keen: harsh; malignant,' **scrēawa* 'sharper, harsh, evil person,' identical with *scrēawa* 'shrewmouse,' 'Spitzmaus' (X, 25): ON. *skröggr* (**skrauuā-*) 'Beiname des Fuchses,' NICel. *skröggur* (a sharp-boned 'scraggy' person) 'a decrepit old fellow,' Norw. *skrogg* 'wolf,' Swed. dial. *skragge* 'devil,' MHG. *schröuwel* id., Norw. *skragg* 'a shriveled, scrawny creature, esp. a horse; dry, stony place,' whence NE. *scrag* 'something thin or lean, and at the same time rough; a scrawny person,' *scragged*, *scraggy* 'rough with irregular points or a broken surface, rugged; lean, thin, bony, scrawny.' Cf. IX, 20.

Screw 'a stingy fellow, one who makes a sharp bargain, miser, skinflint; a vicious, unsound, or broken-down horse,' ME. *scrēwe*, etc., northern form of the above.

25. *Shrew* 'shrew-mouse,' ME. **shrēwe*, OE. *scrēawa* id. Cf. X, 24.

26. *Sprewl*, *sprule*, 'sprawl, scramble, struggle' (dial.), OE. *sprēawlian* 'move convulsively.' Cf. IX, 21.

27. *Thew* 'custom, habit' (early), ME. *þēw*, OE. *þēaw*. Cf. IX, 23.

OE. *āw*: ME. *ēw*, NE. *īū*, *ū*

28. *Blue* 'livid,' ME. *blēw*, OE. **blāw* 'blue,' *blāwen* 'bluish': **blāw* 'blue,' ME. *blō*, NE. dial. *blow* 'blue.'

29. *Brew* 'a steep bank or hill; an overhanging bank' (dial.), ME. *breu* 'eye-brow; bank, river-side,' OE. *brāw*, OHG. *brāwa* 'Braue': OE. *brā(w)*, *brēj*, ME. *brē*, NE. dial. *bree* 'brow,' Sc. *brae* 'bank, slope.'

30. *Grew* 'of a gray color,' *sb.* 'badger' (dial.), ME. **grēw*, *greu-hond* 'grayhound' S.S. (Wr.) 738, OE. *grāges* becoming ME. **grēwes*: OE. *grāg*, ME. *grei*, NE. *grey*, *gray*: ON. *grár*, ME. *grē*, *grē-hund*.

31. *Lewd* 'ignorant, lay; rude; vile, bad,' ME. *lēwed* 'unlearned, lay,' OE. *lēwede* id. Perhaps from the following crossed with Lat. *laicus*.

32. *Lew* 'weak, faint; of a leaden or pale color, pale, wan' (early), ME. *lēwe* 'weak,' OE. *gelēwed* 'debilitatum.' *lim-lēw* 'limb-laming, mutilation,' *lim-lēweo* 'lame in limb,' *lēwan* 'betray' (let go, give up), Goth. *lēwjan* 'παράδιδόναι, verraten,' *ga-lēwjan* 'hingeben, überlassen; überliefern, verraten,' *lēw* 'Gelegenheit,' etc., root **lēu-* 'give way, yield; let go, give up, etc.': LRuss. *l'ivty* 'nachgeben, nachlassen,' *l'ivkŷj* 'locker, lose, schütter, leicht; abgespannt,' Czech *leviti* 'lindern, mässigen,' *levěti* 'mässig werden,' *levny* 'mässig, lind; wohlfeil,' Lith. *liāutis* 'aufhören,' Lett. *l'aut* 'zulassen, erlauben,' *l'aulis* 'sich hingeben,' etc. (Cf. Berneker, *Et. Wb.* 715 with lit.)

Here also belong ON., Nicel. *lūinn* 'worn out, exhausted,' *lýja* 'tire, fatigue,' *lýjast* 'become tired, exhausted,' *lúi* 'exhaustion, weariness,' OSwed. *lūinn* 'ohnmächtig,' Norw. dial. *lūen*, *lū* 'exhausted, limp, dull' (author, *Mod. Phil.* VI, 445), and the following.

33. *Lew* 'tepid, lukewarm' (dial.), *luke* id., ME. *lēwe*, *lewke*, *leuke* 'lukewarm' (: *lēwe* 'feeble, weak,' etc. v. supra.) OHG. *lāo* 'lau, tepidus,' MDu. *laeu* 'lukewarm,' etc., Germ. **lēwa-* 'faint, feeble; limp, loose; slack, mild, etc.': Czech *leviti* 'lindern, mässigen.' In English *lew* 'tepid' fell together with *lew* 'sheltered, warm,' X, 10.

34. *Loose* 'freedom from restraint, license; the act of letting go, discharge; solution of a problem; the privilege of turning out cattle on commons,' *vb.* 'make loose or free, set at liberty; unfasten; relax, loosen, let loose; solve,' *adj.* (in part a back-formation) 'not fast, free, not tight, lax, slack, etc.' ME. *lēwse* 'open (uncultivated) land, pasturage': Ydumea, *ðat fulsum lond, of lewse god, was in hise hond Gen. and Ex.* 1576, *lewce*, *leuse*, *lōsyn*, *lowse*, etc. 'loose, loosen, slacken,' *lewse*, *lōs*, *loos*, *lous*, etc. 'loose,' OE. *lēwsa* (a making free, separation; loosening, relaxing, weakening; yielding, permission, freedom, etc.) 'destitution,' **lēwsian* 'loosen, relax, make loose, open, free, etc.': *lēwan* (let go, give up) 'betray,' *-lēwa* 'limp, lame,' Goth. *galēwjan* 'hingeben, überlassen,' *lēw* 'Gelegenheit,' LRuss. *l'ivkŷj* 'locker, lose, schütter, leicht; abgespannt,' etc.

ME. *lowse*, *lous*, *lōs* *adj.* is either OE. *leās* or ON. *lauss*, modified by association with the noun and verb above discussed, hence *lewse*, NE. *loose*.

35. *Mew* 'seagull,' ME. *mēwe*, OE. *māw* id. Cf. IX, 18.

36. *Rew, rue* 'row, order; hedgerow; the row or ridge in which grain falls when cut by a sithe' (dial.), ME. *rewe* 'row,' OE. *rēw*: *rāw*, ME. *rāw(e)*, *rōwe*, NE. *row*.

37. *Slēuþe* 'sloth' (ME.), OE. *slāwþ*, *slāw* 'slow': *slāw*, ME. *slōw(e)*, *slouþe*, NE. *slow*, *sloth*.

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THE FABLE AND KINDRED FORMS

It is by no means the absence of previous attempts which may justify an endeavor to define the fable—for a review of even the more important definitions already current would occupy a much greater space than is here possible—but the absence of any definition based firmly on the essential and fundamental principle underlying the fable. Everyone knows that the fable, to-day a plaything for children, is a *survival*, in the language of the anthropologists, of a form which once occupied the thoughts of mature manhood. The purpose of this paper, however, is not to concern itself particularly with the Fable in its origins, the animistic beast-tale, but to define more scientifically the *literary* type which has been known as the fable, or the moral fable, for centuries, or at least to define such tales among those commonly bearing the name as are really distinct from every other *genre*.

The fable will be sufficiently defined not by an enumeration of phrases descriptive of accidental or superficial characteristics, even if these be fairly constant to it, but by a statement of that psychological principle which allies it with kindred forms and divides it from others. Further, of course, the definition must set forth those narrower restrictions which shall differentiate the type from allied forms. Finally it must be definite, and as descriptive as is compatible with brevity. Before the discussion is complete certain other terms must be considered in their relation to the fable; as—typical illustrative tale, allegory, parable, and proverb. The term *apologue* is to be avoided, as that is used by some with the implication of allegory (N. E. D.), and by others without it. (Henry Seidel Canby, *The Short Story in English*, New York, 1909, p. 30.)

First consider the following little narrative from the *Ancren Riwle*, (Dr. Canby's modernization) which Dr. Canby calls an *apologue*, and which, to avoid the difficulty just alluded to, I wish to characterize by a different name:—

He casteth down his head, and begins to sigh before he says anything, and makes sad cheer, and moralizes long without coming to the point, that he may be the better believed. But, when it all comes forth, then it is yellow poison. "Alas and alas! (Wolawo) that he or she hath got such a reputation. Enough did I try, but it availed me nothing, to effect an amendment here. It is long

since I knew of it, but yet it should never have been exposed of me; but now it is so widely published by others that I can not gainsay it. Evil they call it, and yet it is worse. Grieved and sorry I am that I must say it; but indeed it is so; and that is much sorrow. For many other things he, or she, is truly to be commended, but not for this, and grieved I am for it. No man can defend them.

This passage will be seen to be simply the narrative of the supposed conduct of a *typical* scandal-monger. It employs no symbolism of any sort. Scandal-bearing is represented by the conduct of a typical specimen of the class given to the practice. Such narratives I wish to call *typical illustrative tales*. The actor in the narrative is in the same moral and intellectual sphere as the class at which the writer is striking. It is straightforward narrative stripped of everything except the details most typical of the class.

The *novella* or nondidactic plot story, the typical illustrative tale like the one just quoted, the fable, and the parable, all deserve to be called *reflective* tales, for all spring from a common matrix of reflection and observation; but the first two fall together in that they are to be taken literally—when they say one thing, they do not mean another—whereas the last two, the fable and the parable, have developed differently, saying one thing but meaning something else. The fable has gone one step farther than the *illustrative* tale: it has substituted for the typical figure or typical action an instantly or readily recognizable *symbol*. To generalize and simplify to the typical is to advance beyond the mere narrative of experience; but to substitute a symbol for the typical figure is a much more sophisticated procedure. The use of one thing to suggest another involves an intellectual subtlety not involved in other sorts of fiction, involves a process characteristic of a large and once very popular type of literature to which not only the fable and the parable, but divers other forms belong; that is, *allegory*.

I am aware that while most of the French definitions of the fable concede its allegorical nature without question, most of the German definitions, including Lessing's, deny it, and that some American scholars fall in with the German view. Again it becomes a matter of definition. What do we mean by *allegory*? The Oxford Dictionary reads as follows: 1. "Description of a subject under the guise of some other subject of aptly suggestive resemblance. 2. An instance of such description: a figurative sentence, discourse, or narrative, in which properties and circumstances attributed to the apparent subject really refer to the subject they are

meant to suggest; an extended or combined metaphor." I prefer, however, to express the idea more succinctly in words which I owe to Professor W. A. Neilson (Professor Neilson's course in the allegory at Harvard first drew my attention to the Fable.): "Allegory is organized symbolism."

A *symbol* is not an *example*, or a *type*. An *example* is a specimen, a sample, as it were, of the larger whole about which the real discussion is waged. A *type* is an example, or specimen, which embodies in itself all the defining characteristics of a class, and as few as possible, or no traits of individuality. The *symbol*, however, is neither an example in the larger sense, nor one in the narrower sense of type. It is something remote in kind from the thing it suggests, related to it, not by embodying all or most of its properties, but by association, either traditional, arbitrary, or in point of some peculiar fitness resulting from some minor resemblance which in no sense approaches reproduction or portraiture. A word is a symbol for an idea, although, except in cases of onomatopoeia, there can be no possible resemblance between the sound and the idea, much less between the idea and the written symbol, which is two removes from the mental concept. This is conventional symbolism.

But the word *allegory* is not used of ordinary words organized into a treatise. The descriptive phrase *organized symbolism* is restricted in application to artistic products in which not the mere words as such, or the paint, or what not, the technical indispensables of expression, are in question, but images or representations of concepts of one class used in place of and to suggest others, not mentioned, of a different class or sphere of existence.

Let us consider instances of these forms of expression. The *example* is a fairly loose form, and may retain more or less of the individual provided it approximate the class.

Mrs. Candour: "True, true, child; but there's no stopping people's tongues. I own I was hurt to hear it, as I indeed was to learn, from the same quarter, that your guardian, Sir Peter, and Lady Teazle have not agreed lately as well as could be wished." (The School for Scandal I. 1)

For an *example* of the gossip, not reduced to the absolute simplicity of the *type*, Mrs. Candour will serve. She has a name, if it be only a tag, and a "local habitation," also. This is about as near as we commonly come to the abstract ideal of *type* in literature, however; and narratives involving such figures, and even those less simplified,

are called *typical*. For the more highly simplified and perfect illustration of the *type* we may take the passage quoted from the *Ancrer Riwele*. In this we have all individual traits eliminated, and the actor, a mere embodiment of the characteristics belonging in common to the whole class of Scandal-Mongers.

If now we should substitute for the actor in this *typical* narrative an actor from a different sphere of life (which should serve as a symbol for the other), a fox, for instance, provided that when the reader saw *fox* he actually read *scandal-monger*, we should have *allegory*, or if in place of this *action*, typical of the class, there had been substituted another action which was clearly not intended literally, but, although quite different, suggested this action so strongly that when we read the text we understood and mentally substituted that intended, we should have *allegory*. It will be seen that the *type* and the *example* stories, both of which I include under the term *illustrative tale*, are very much alike, one being a narrowing and intensifying of the other; while the *allegory*, which has grown to look surprisingly like a fable, in much the same fashion as Little Red Riding Hood's grandmother grew to look like the wolf (only the wolf was not a symbol for the old lady, the vital distinction), is distinct from these two by the interposition of a complete and rather complicated mental process. It is, of course, by no means necessary that the symbol in allegory at large should always stand for a typical figure; such, however, is the use made of it in the fable, for the fable treats of general principles relative to classes.

The appearance of the animal in actions in which men would naturally appear is only half the process. If only this is observed, the fable may still be felt to be as much like the *illustrative tale* as a story of American Indians is like one of South African negroes, and no essential difference in narrative method perceived. But the other half of the process is also to be considered: for the substituted figure, the animal, the mind in reading resubstitutes the suggested, the symbolized for the symbol; in short, interprets just as it interprets the parable, only more simultaneously with the perusal.

But does such substitution actually take place in the reading of fables? The fable, as I have said, is a development from the animistic folk-tale (E. B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, Ch. on "Animism"). There is no allegory there, only the product of crude reflection and the "animistic" tendency of the human mind; that is, the tendency on the part of primitive man to attribute to non-

human creatures the human characteristics with which he is himself endowed, as soul, reason, speech—to see creation all on one plane. This process as exemplified in the beast-tale results in a curious product. There is the human element stamped upon the beast element. While the animistic tendency endured as a vital principle of the human mind, the two were fused in a way entirely consistent with the idea of the credible then current. These beast-tales were both possible and matters of belief. These two elements, the human and the animal, were fused, but still they existed, each distinguishable.

Now bring this animistic beast-tale to the age of reflection in which the old myths dissolved into allegory and allegoristic. The first thing that happens is the result of the passing of the animistic tendency as a vital creed-making faculty of the human mind. That outlived, a belief in these tales as possible gone (except in an imaginative way continued by the side of the rational and analytical disbelief), greater reflective power acquired and greater sophistication, and the two elements before fused together by a one-plane view of existence assert themselves and become perfectly apparent to the most obtuse. The beast-tale from this time on, and as we usually find it in written literature, is marked by a conscious blending of the two elements, the warp and the woof; now the animal characteristics are dominant and again they sink into abeyance, and the figures become men veiled by the merest screen of animal disguise. Even in the beast-tales and the beast-epic, at such times, one can not avoid a sense that after all the real actor is a man of some particular type for which the animal is made the symbol. So it is that even in the beast-tale (animistic) there is a filmy sort of allegory, a thread running through that every once in a while comes to the surface. Our animal picaresque fiction (*Reynard*) is at times apparently human roguery in disguise, i. e., set forth by symbols for the type.

But in the beast-tales as such, the allegorical vein is at most evanescent. The purpose in general is only to amuse, and if one wishes to read a meaning in the story he does so commonly at his risk. Nothing more than an imaginative belief is required, and even that may lapse and the ridiculous carry the tale. With the *fable*, however, it is different. The age of reflection, which broke down belief in the beast-tale, an age capable of perceiving and

handling abstract truth, observing the human element in these tales, in the case of the fable went farther, and wove through the whole an element of *human purpose*.

In the matured form, the fable is designed to present some general truth pertinent solely to man. This human element of our now three-ply fabric renders man the dominant *motif* throughout. The expression of human truth is the purpose, and there are only two ways by which tales of nonhuman creatures can be morally instructive to man. One way of bridging the chasm between the animal actors and the realm of human morals is to consider the fable a mere analogy in infra-human nature, to consider that the tale never developed farther than the marking of an analogy between relations in the infra-human world and relations in the sphere of conduct. If the fable type had developed no more sharply elsewhere than in the familiar fable of *The Dog and the Shadow*, in which the folly of human greed is mirrored in the fortunes of a dog with a piece of meat in his mouth crossing a stream, we might be compelled to accept this simple analogical process as the psychology of the fable: for the whole tale, if not quite possible, is easily within the range of the credible. There is nothing here which clearly advises us that the story is not to be taken literally.

A dog crosses a stream with a piece of flesh in his mouth. He sees in the crystal water below, another dog with another piece of meat. Snap! Splash! The dog is struggling empty-mouthed to shore.

It would be easy to ignore the fact that no dog's sense of smell ever so played the fool to his eyes, and to take the story as a literal picture from the lower creation drawn for an instructive similarity it bore to human conduct; in other words, to consider it simply an illustrative tale involving no allegory, no substitution and resubstitution, were it not true that by far the greater number of fables have gone beyond this representation of plausible episodes to narratives which can no longer be credited literally, and which by unmistakable signs identify the literal actor with that which the reader is intended mentally to substitute.

A fairly extreme case of this identification is the story of *The Wolf and the Lamb*, in which the wolf, drinking from the stream above the lamb, first accuses it of fouling the water which he is drinking, and then proceeds from specious argument to specious argument until with no justification except that of strength, he devours it. No one reading the story thinks he sees here a picture

of the life of animals in which a wolf hesitates or looks for pretexts under which to effect his purposes with apparent justice. Everyone is conscious that the story is devised solely to represent conditions in the world of men. The reason this story is inevitably taken allegorically is twofold: first, by its dissimilarity with the natural course of events in the animal world, it is made too remote from truth to be taken literally, i. e., *it is obviously false* (Note: The false natural history so prevalent in the Bestiaries and Lapidaries, where it is treated allegorically, and in popular superstition, where it is not, might raise the question as to what could be considered "obviously false." Without going further, one can be sure that the spectacle of familiar animals and inanimate things bearing themselves as rational beings can be so considered after the earliest, animistic period, notwithstanding the fact that in the beast-epic and *Tiermärchen* an imaginative belief is gained. For in these, closely marked types and evident human purpose do not bring the reason to bear with its disenchanting analysis), and secondly, the wolf and the lamb are brought into such close similarity with certain types of men, by their relationship to each other, by their power to speak, by the nature of their reasoning, and by the outcome, that the suggestion is too strong not to result in a veritable mental translation, although a preservation of the forms of wolf, lamb, stream, and the literal act of devouring, keep the story from becoming an illustrative typical tale in the realm of men. In such a fable, "organized symbolism" is undeniable.

I have chosen a fairly extreme case, and in so doing I am thoroughly justified in an attempt to define the type. It is only a matter of degree. Classification reveals the fact that the great bulk of the fables lies securely in the various groups which, by their *obvious falsity* can not be taken literally, and by their *close identification with some human type* can not fail of interpretation. Even those which preserve an approximate closeness to the credible, almost invariably exhibit some discrepancy with fact which suggests an allegorical intent; but without this, the influence of the bulk of the fables would tend to draw these over into allegory by accustoming the hearer and reader to seek an interpretation, not a mere similarity. When such interpretation and identification of the human with the symbolic do not occur, the tale is not to be distinguished from an illustrative incident in the lower creation, and strictly speaking, ceases to be a fable.

The fable, then, is to be distinguished on the one hand from the *illustrative tale in the realm of men* by the fact that it has gone one step farther and expressed the truth intended allegorically, and from an *illustrative tale of infra-human nature* (a nature analogy) by the same circumstance. These two are in point of narrative method similar, and represent the extremes to which the distinct fable type shades off—on the one hand, the simple non-animistic animal or other infra-human incident, and on the other, the non-allegoric, illustrative tale of men. That is, it varies naturally between the plane of its symbolism and the plane of its interpretation.

The fable established as a form of allegory, it becomes properly a near relative of the *parable*, and a distinction must be drawn. One of the differences commonly brought forward is that the fable employs animal actors, while the parable avoids them; thus Jacobs (Joseph Jacobs, *The Fables of Æsop*, London, 1889, l. pp. 204 ff.) says that the beast-fable is to be distinguished from the parable "by the latter characteristic (i. e., the use of animal actors) and its humorous tinge." We are not here concerned, however, merely with the beast-fable, but are seeking to get a more inclusive and fundamental concept than can spring from a definition narrowly restricting the sort of symbol used. As regards the "humorous tinge," this will not be adequate. Archbishop Trench (Richard Chenevix Trench, "Notes on the Parables of our Lord," Appleton, 1858, Ch. 1) goes further: the fable by its use of animals is limited in its possible scope to matters of the most rudimentary morality; while the parable, introducing symbols of a higher nature, can be used to inculcate spiritual truths (p. 11). Here, then, are two differences, one in the symbols used, and the other in the scope of the application, which we may accept in the rough, although some parables use symbols of a lower sort (The Mustard Seed, Matt. xiii, 31, 32; Mark iv, 30-32; Luke xiii, 18, 19), and some fables are not limited to symbols from the animal or the inanimate world. But admitting that the fable commonly chooses symbols of the lower sort, and the parable, those of a higher, and admitting that the fable deals with the lower morality, and the parable with the higher, spiritual things, what have we done more than to utter a descriptive phrase or two which serves externally, perhaps, to distinguish, but fails to reveal any fundamental division? So far, all that is said is that one aims higher than the other, and chooses a nobler symbolism.

But there is more here than is at first apparent. To get beyond, we must face the problem of what constitutes the difference between things of this lower morality and spiritual truth. It will be this which lies back of the difference in purpose and the difference in symbolism.

Perhaps the most essential difference between moral or prudential truth and truth spiritual is that the first can be positive and is common property. The lowest tribes have a certain morality, even when they seem almost totally deficient in religious instincts. Otherwise they could not continue to exist, as Mr. Tylor points out. The second comes by revelation, or individual insight, is acceptable, or to be rejected as each person sees. The crude items of the former are among "the certain self-evident truths"; the articles of the latter are among the dogmas of faith. Matters of the "morality" dealt with in the fables need but to be stated to be received; matters of spiritual truth must needs be presented persuasively to be received. A person wishing to communicate to another his conception of spiritual truth comes to him with something of which the other *could have no knowledge of himself*. In the first instance, it is *unfamiliar*. If he present it to another, it is with the view of obtaining that other's assent; and to gain this he must present it with some form of argument, persuasion, or means of making that view seem probable to him. On the other hand, there is no need to argue for self-evident facts. The teller of fables comes with no unfamiliar ideas, or individual views. His stock in trade is the morally obvious, the commonplaces of the commonplace, that which needs only to be seen to be embraced, if, indeed, civilization has not advanced beyond it.

Let us take an example or two. Christ in telling the parable of the Sower wished to present to his hearers a conception fuller than any they yet had of Himself, of His mission, and of the hearers themselves. It was calculated at once to convert and to convict. On the other hand, Nathan comes to the sinful King David. Does he present a new idea to the king? Here is a nice case, as the matter involved is one of the lower morality, ranging down through the idea of the sin of coveting thy neighbor's wife to the most elementary form of oppression of the weak by the strong, a theme so often treated in the fables, as in that of *The Wolf and the Lamb* already cited. Such an instance, not met in Trench's survey of the *New Testament*, puts his theory to the test. It is not hard, however, to

see that the idea of the parable comes to the king with a flood of new light. Oppression exercised by others, of course, he has known to be wrong; but that the king in the land—and the king can do no wrong is an old theory—could be bound by the common laws of morality was unthought of, as is proved by the fact that an interpretation was needed in the prophet's dramatic, "Thou art the man!"

To call the truth here presented spiritual, would be to dignify all morality with that attribute, and to break down very apparent distinctions. The key to the situation is in the fact that to David, blinded by desire and self-love, the truth would not be *obvious*, nor received of itself. The prophet saw the necessity of argument and persuasion, of rendering the king self-convicted, to establish his case. It was for this reason that he employed a parable. The nature of the parable must now be apparent. The fundamental characteristic is that it deals with truths, either in themselves or because of the relation they bear to the hearers, *not obvious*, or readily to be received, a meaning I should like to include in that one word. Furthermore, it is this characteristic which makes the interpretation (expressed or implied) an essential feature of it. Hence we see the disciples lingering to receive the key. It is in this that the parable differs markedly from the fable with its obvious morality; for although the latter was frequently preceded or followed by a promythion, or an epimythion, no one maintains that these are in any sense indispensable to it, or an integral part of it, the custom of using them, whatever its origin, being fostered and perpetuated by the love of the Middle Ages for amplifying on the obvious.

It is possible to go further. The presentation of non-obvious truths can have but one purpose, namely, to gain proselytes for them, and this must be done by making them plausible. How shall the teacher proceed? Is he to search for unfamiliar figures, improbable similes, incongruous combinations of the elements of his theory; or is he to lay hold of that familiar to the eyes and ears of his listeners; something known and commonplace to them all, for that to which he shall liken his idea? Two psychological principles control him: in the first place, for the mere purposes of exposition, it is logical to proceed from the known to the unknown; but beyond the requirements of mere clearness, this method is such that frequently sufficient momentum of acceptance can be acquired to

carry the listener unconsciously into a belief in the unproved unknown, by the familiarity and certainty of the analogy chosen. It is this second function of the parable which is usually overlooked, but which must invariably be a feature of it. The parable, beyond the mere attempt at explanation, which is one side of it, always seeks to gain acceptance for its content, and assumes to itself some of the properties of the *argument* (argument from analogy), a form of address which the obvious fable neither needs nor uses.

A *parable*, then, must be a convincing tale devised to render acceptable truths not obvious (or readily to be received) by the use of familiar symbols; but the fable, presenting the obvious, seeks only to bring it to pass that its precepts be kept in mind. It is not bound to argue its cause with the plausible, the familiar: it must rather strike the attention, arouse the interest, and amuse: visualize the idea, though it be in never so incongruous a guise, and impress it upon the mind.

This long digression on the parable has led to this, that the property of the fable to be *obviously false* already noticed as distinguishing it from the simple illustrative anecdote, also distinguishes it from the parable.

One further characteristic of the fable must be pointed out to distinguish it from other forms of allegory not yet considered, whether they be personal, occasional, or what not. This is the *purpose* of the fable, which is to *impress lessons of expediency and morality*. The *Parlement of Foules* bears slight resemblance to a fable, when judged by the criteria. The most obvious difference, however, is that of purpose; for it is purely occasional and personal.

As to the *proverb*, which assumes many forms and is often associated with the fable, it is not a *tale* and needs no comment.

When it has been added that the fable is relatively short, aiming to present but one principle of conduct and that, a simple one, the threads of the discussion may be pieced together into the following definition:—

A Fable is a short tale, obviously false, devised to impress by the symbolic representation of human types, lessons of expediency and morality.

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STUDIES IN SCANDINAVIAN PALEOGRAPHY

In an article published elsewhere¹ I have shown that the form of the Latin script that was borrowed in Eastern Norway was mainly Carolingian in character and that the date of borrowing would seem to have been the first quarter of the xiith century. In the following pages I shall discuss certain phases of Icelandic and Norwegian writing in the xiith and the first half of the xiiith century with a view to such questions as the date of borrowing of the Latin script in Iceland, the relation of Icelandic to Norwegian writing and the evidences of influence of one upon the other.

I

THE Y WITH DIVERGENT SHANK IN OLD NORSE MSS

A small number of the earliest Icelandic and Norwegian documents exhibit a variety of forms of *y* that historically belong to quite different periods. These seemed to me as possibly significant in connection with the question of origins. At the outset it will be best to review briefly the English practice from 950 to 1125 as regards the letter *y* and its changing forms.

In English Script the *y* with diverging shanks was prevalent down to about 950. In Thompson's *Introduction to Greek and Latin Paleography* (G. L. Pal.) facsimile 146, A. D. 950, maintains this form, while Skeat's *Twelve Facsimiles*, Plate II, late xth century, nowhere exhibits it. The successor of this *y* (see below) Keller, *Angelsächsische Paläographie*, holds to have established its "Alleinherrschaft" by 970 and he instances the use of the new type in the *Blickling Homilies* of 971². The old *y* is used throughout in the Vercelli Codex, which Keller dates 960-980³, though Wülcker, in the Introduction to the facsimile edition, dates it as "aus dem Anfang des xi Jahrhunderts."⁴ In the xith century the *y* with divergent shanks, which I shall hereafter refer to as *y*1, is for a time used sporadically in native MSS, cp. the single instance (*lyllige* in

¹"On the Earliest History of the Latin Script in Eastern Norway," *Publications of the Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Study*, II, pp. 92-106.

²A. S. Pal., p. 42.

³L. c. p. 40.

⁴*Codex Vercellinensis*, p. vii.

line 7) in Charter 19, 796, date 1017-1023, *A. S. Pal.* Plate VII. Its rarity is indicated by the fact that no instances of it occur in facsimiles 149-151, date 1001-1045, in Thompson's *G. L. Pal.*, nor in the *Register of New Minster*, 1020-1030, or the Junius MS of *Cædmon*, early xith c., *Pal. Society*, Ser. II, Vol. I, Plates 14 and 15. Also Latin MSS begin to exhibit the new γ , but it seems to me that here the traditional γ (γ_1) prevails down to about 1100. Thus the Latin parts of Ælfric's *Heptateuch* regularly have γ_1 , while, as noted above, the A. S. text has only γ_2 and γ_3 . This is what we should expect; the Latin scribe was not necessarily in touch with practical progress in the vernacular, and though he were, there was no reason why he should not continue to employ the γ which had established itself in and was a part of the script that he was using. And this he continued to do now and then clear into the xiiith century. Thus in facsimile 177, *G. L. Pal.*, first half of the xii century, the two occurrences of γ , one in the native name *Gypeswich*, the other in the Latin word *hystorias*, are both of the type γ_1 .

γ_1 was in the course of the xith c. supplanted by one whose right shank turned in⁵; before about 950 its base is turned to the left. I shall in the following designate this as γ_2 . From 950 to 1000 this γ_2 is used with decreasing frequency by the side of a γ whose stem bent to the right, γ_3 . Keller holds that the latter was used almost exclusively after 1000. I am inclined to think this latter dating somewhat early, even if the date of some of the MSS involved must be given only approximately. Thompson's fac.⁶ 150, dated by the *Paleographic Society* "early eleventh century," preserves regularly γ_2 , as also *Pal. Soc. Ser. II. Vol. I*, Plate 17, date 1020-1030. The Cotton MS of the *A. S. Chronicle*, date, 1045, evidently has mainly transitional forms, while *Cædmon*, Junius MS 11 *Pal. Soc. Ser. II*, Vol. I, Plate 14, date early xith c., also has many. And finally the Laud MS of the *A. S. Chronicle*, date as late as 1121, has in the main a stem that is straight or bent slightly to the left with no

⁵Especially in the first half of the xth century another form having both shanks turned to the right was in vogue. This γ resembled somewhat an ϵ , or even f . (See Table A, Nos. 4-5.)

⁶The abbreviations used will be easily intelligible: fac.=facsimile, c.=century, p.=page, l.=line, Cod.=codex, B. M.=British Museum, A. S.=Anglo-Saxon, O. N.=Old Norse, Norw.=Norwegian, Icel.=Icelandic, nw.=north-western, sw.=southwestern, e. and w.=eastern and western, respectively, *Pal. Soc.=Paleographic Society*, *Pal. Atlas=Palægografisk Atlas*, Copenhagen, 1905.

bend of the base to the right. One will clearly have to reckon with local tradition and schools. And here too a more conservative practice is evidenced among Latin scribes.

From about 950 the earlier punctuated *y* comes into vogue again, the unpunctuated *y*, as Keller shows⁷, being rarely met with after 1000. Plate II in Skeat's *Twelve Facsimiles* still shows only the unpunctuated *y*, but fac. 149 in Thompson's *Introduction*, 1001, has in all cases the new form.

We may then summarize: going back to 950 and before the *y* in native English script had prevailingly divergent shanks with and without punctuation. About 1050 the stem is turned to the right at the base, the right shank having for a half century been written with an inward turn of the top. It is now always punctuated. During the intervening century, but especially around 950 and soon after the stem of the *y* was turned to the left, while around 1000 a break or bend to either side is especially characteristic of it; it may also be straight and end in a sharp point. In Latin writing the traditional *y* was retained somewhat longer than in vernacular script.

The *y* with divergent shanks is found in the following Old Norse MSS; each will be referred to hereafter by the abbreviation given in brackets; Icel.: *Reykjaholts Maldagi* (RM), date last half of the xiith c., fac. in *Pal. Atlas*, 32; *Kirkedags Homilie* (KH), date, the same, fac. in *Pal. Atlas*, 1; and sporadically in *Rimfræði* (Rim), date about 1200, fac. *Pal. Atlas*, 6. The type occurs in the following Norwegian MSS: *Blasius saga*, AM 655. IX, date last half of the xiith c.; of this I am using a complete photograph in the Illinois University Scandinavian Collection (referred to here under IUS Coll); *Fagrskinna*, RA 51, fac. *Pal. Atlas* 23-24, and in the Tübingen fragments (*Tüb. Frag.*) of the older Frostathing Law, 1260-1270, of which there is a complete facsimile in *Norges gamle Love* (N. g. L.) Vol. V. Sporadically *y*1 is also found in the *Barlaams saga*, *Holm.* 6, fol., fac. *Pal. Atlas*, 21, *Frag.* RA 1B., and especially in RA 1C. *Cod. III.* (I U S Coll).

Of these occurrences that of RM is the most old-fashioned; its form will be found in the Table as B1. In KH the lower part is drawn out to a point; see Table B2. In the page of Rim *y*1 occurs in column 1, line 1, and in column 2, lines 5, 9, 18, 27, and 32. The

⁷A. S. Pal. p. 42.

stem bends prominently to the left or is blunt or hooked upward, approximating that of *RM*⁸. In especially *RM* and *Rim* the *y*1 corresponds closely to the English form of the xth-xith centuries. In the Norwegian *Blasius saga* the *y* assumes a strikingly modified form. In most cases here as all above the stem is the left stroke. In the *Blasius saga*, however, we find a variety of forms that are representative of quite different periods. The usual Anglo-Norman *y*1 with a prominent leftward bend is found a number of times (B 1v, 2, 6, twice, 8, twice, 16, and elsewhere); elsewhere, in a number of instances with a stem slightly bent to the right; but most often the stem is broken sharply to the left at the base of the line then curved around or broken abruptly forward to the right; see Table B9. Again in a few cases (possibly by accident) the stem is short and blunt so that the *y* appears almost like a dotted *v* of the type of the period of the first use of the dotted *y* in England, as exhibited in, e. g., fac. 152, date 814, in *G. L. Pal.* And again in a few cases we have a *y* with inward, turned right shank, as *pylla*, B, 1v, 24. Finally in *hæyra*, C, 1v, 14, a fairly normal *y*2 is used, whose stem seems to be the right side. These latter forms are mainly significant for the question of the time of writing; the earlier forms observed are instructive, however, for the light they seem to throw upon the question of the tradition they represent. The scribe of the *Blasius saga*, is employing an Anglo-Norman script, which seems to have been introduced into Eastern Norway in the first quarter of the xiith c.⁹ and he gives to his *y* the form, or his own approximation to it, which it has in the script of the time. But often he employs a form of *y* which may have been traditional in western Norway and which goes back to the time of the establishment of the Latin script there. That date would seem to have been about the middle of the xith c. or a little earlier.

Fagrskinna employs *y*1 in its eight occurrences of the letter; its form is loose as this script in general; the base of the stem is turned sharply to the left. The slanting position of the stem is that of a later period; the MS probably is from about 1250. See Table B4.

Tüb. Frag. of nearly a century later uses *y*1 prevaillingly in the traditional form, with a pronounced leftward curve of the stem and the right shank turned to the right and ending in a ball; now and then less regular shapes of it appear, but these are few. It is

⁸Type *y*3 occurs seven times in *Rim*.

⁹*Publ. Soc. for Adv. Sc. Study*, II, p. 105.

rather a remarkable thing to find the *y* with divergent shanks maintaining the traditional form in a MS of the latter half of the xiiith century. See Table B5.

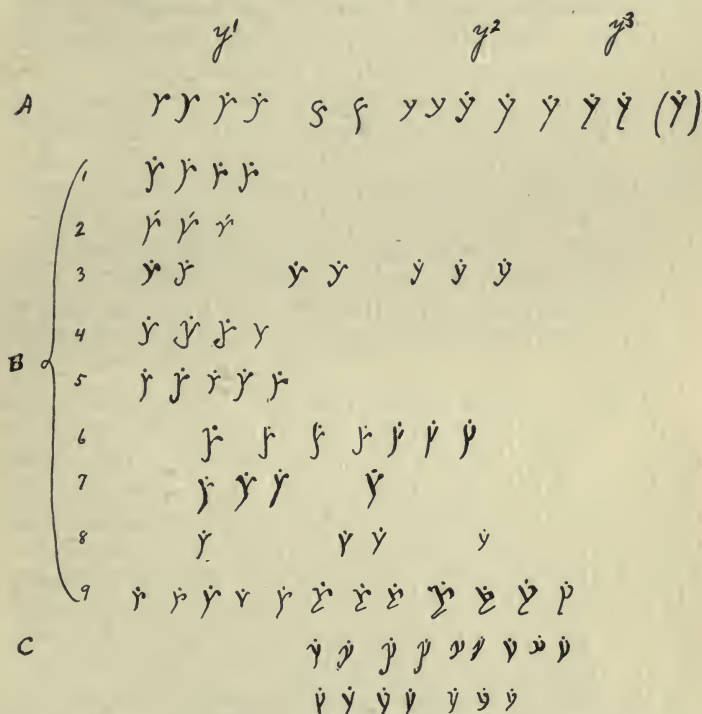
The Letter of King Philipp, *Pal. Atlas*, 48, date 1210, e. Norw., employs throughout a *y* whose stem is the left stroke; its right shank is transitional in shape, mainly straight or turned in slightly, but approaches in *unyta*, l. 4, the older shape. The e. Norw. *Barlaams saga*, of about 1250 has mainly a *y* which is transitional between *y*₂ and *y*₃, but the stem is regularly the left side, while now and then forms with outward-turned right side is seen, as in *læynilega*, l. 3, *herbyrgi*, l. 4 or *vygg*, l. 30. The type *y*₁ occurs several times in *RA I C, Cod. III*. The form is sometimes rather striking here, in that the position of the right shank is very low and the left main stem is nearly vertical, does not bend to the left at the top, but in one or two cases (in leaf c) rather bends slightly to the right. See Table B, group 6. Cp. the English *y* with both shanks turned to the right. See Table A, number 6. *AM 315g*. has only the later form of *y*; see below.

There is only one other Norw. document which exhibits the older form of *y*, namely *Frag. RA I B* from nw. Norway. The letter is fairly regular in form, with stem bent leftward or tending to the straight form; the right shank is prominently bent outward, but sometimes shortened so that it stands a little lower than the top of the left stroke. See Table B7. This fragment now and then exhibits a slightly different form of which I shall speak directly below.

THE *Y* WITH STRAIGHT RIGHT SHANK IN NORWEGIAN MSS.

Perhaps the earliest form of this *y* in Scandinavian documents is that which we find here and there in *RA I B* of the older *Law of the Gulathing*. In XIII, column 1, we have in the *y* of *lyrtitar*, line 27, and *nyta*, line 24, a *y* whose right shank is straight and clubbed. This is clearly only a modification of the older *y*,—in place of writing a shank with an inward curve a form develops in which the curve is replaced by a thick or clubbed end. The appearance of such a *y* is not very different from that of the older *y*. However, the change presents two possibilities in the further development of the letter: first, the shank will either become straight or, second, be turned in; and in either case the right shank would tend to become the main stroke. Such a development would be quite natural and on Scandinavian soil was probably quite inde-

pendent of the change to the *y* with clubbed right shank on English soil, as in, e. g., fac. 179, *G. L. Pal.*, *hyrcum*, line 6. Scandinavian writing here went in a somewhat different direction from that in England. As to the course of the latter see p. 531 above. In Norwegian script the result was a *y* with a straight right shank, at first written with a heavy stroke narrowing toward



the stem, later more often of uniform width. This is the *y* we have in the Letter of King Philipp, *Pal. Atlas* 48, among central east Norwegian MSS. The main stroke seems here in all cases to be the left one still. This stage in the development of the Norwegian *y* is also represented now and then in *RA I C. Cod. III*, also grouped with e. Norw. MSS (*Thronthjem*) by Hægstad. The type in question occurs, e. g., in leaf *b*, line 16, *lyritar*; of this kind, with a left stroke as the main one, is also *syniar*, line 26. In all cases the left is still the main stroke, the right shank being now

and then detached from the stem. The future course of the letter is suggested in one instance, that of *fyrr* in b8, in which the right shank is curved in slightly.

Fragm. RA 1 A of the older Law of the Eidsivathing, east Norw. proper of about 1200 exhibits a mixture of forms. The main stroke is the left one in *skyldr*, line 4, *flytia*, line 18, etc., but seems to be the right one in *kyr*, line 13. The right shank is straight and vertical, bending to the left as it joins the left side. The tendency to curve the shank inward is seen in the *y* of *tylfar*, line 27.

The next step in the development of the letter is seen in one that is found in *GkS 1347*, 4^o, from nw. Norway. Here the main stroke is always the right one. The top is blunt and the upper part is straight or bends slightly inward. There is one occurrence *fyrrir* line 6, of the typical English inward-turned right shank, but it seems doubtful whether this should here be regarded as representing the English tradition or merely an accidental form in this document. The leftward bend of the base (as in the old *y*) gives to the right stroke in this new *y* a general leftward curve. See Table C, group 2²⁻⁷.

The *Barlaams s.* shows a mixed condition. The left stroke seems always to be the main one but with *y1* (see above) we have a straight-shanked *y*, *tryði*, b 14, and other forms, sometimes quite regular forms with inward-turned right shank. It seems likely that these latter are native forms here evolved out of the form with clubbed end (or possibly influence of the *v* and the *p* upon the *y*?).¹⁰ I shall finally mention the *y* of *AM 619*, 4^o, *Homiliebók*, Hands I and II, nw. Norw., as evidently a direct development of those discussed above. The left stroke, which is also the main one, has the shape of the old *y1*; the top having an abrupt downward curve. The right shank is sometimes straight and vertical but most often curved inward slightly. Often, especially in Hand II, we meet with a form which suggests that a new influence is entering. This is, if anything, more noticeable in Hand III, sw. Norw. In *AM 315*, e, the left main stroke of the *y* is that of *y1*; but here the right side is regularly straight and vertical or bent in and parallel with the left side. In one instance, *læy/a*, 1v, line 21, the right shank is clubbed inward, while a turned-in shank occurs in *synia*, 2v, line. *AM 315 g. Fol.* shows the evolution to the form with an inward-curved

¹⁰The relation between *v*, *p* and *y* in especially sw. Norw. and Icel. MSS I shall discuss in a later paper.

main right stroke complete. For examples of these forms see Table, C, row one. The later evolved native forms and possible English influence I shall not discuss here.

The question then arises: is there any direct connection between the Norwegian and the Icelandic γ with divergent shanks? This question seems to me must be answered in the negative. The form in question is of independent origin in the two cases, the time of borrowing being in Iceland the xith century, in Norway the first quarter of the xiith century.

I have elsewhere attempted to show that the script we meet with in the earliest east Norwegian fragments of the last half of the xiith c. and around the year 1200, is a chiefly Carolingian script borrowed in eastern Norway in the first quarter of the xiith century. See also above p. 530. The γ with divergent shanks is essentially an e. Norw. characteristic; the use of this γ in the nw. Norw. document *RA 58 B* is merely another evidence of the prestige and influence of e. Norw. writing in nw. Norway in the early part of the xiiiith century.¹¹ The extent of this influence in this particular case is further evidenced by the presence of γ -forms which are the outgrowth of γ_1 in several other nw. Norw. MSS. But also the evidence is not lacking that the Anglo-Saxon xiith century form of γ was known in e. Norway; it enters into and gives a strikingly modified form to the γ of the *Blasius saga*, and it reveals itself elsewhere. And the writing of e. Norway as of nw. Norway is in its general aspect and in its technique, that of the xiith century with many elements from the charter hand, while the earliest Icelandic fragments exhibits a wholly different style of script. What we have before us is a conservative Carolingian hand of the xith c., precisely like that of the *Benedictional*, date 1030-1040.* Quite similar to the script of *RM* is that of the *Kirkedags Homilie*, *Pal. Atlas*, 1 (see below). It is an excellent hand and distinctly an xith c. hand; the sustained contrast of light and heavy strokes, which Thompson, *G. L. Pal.*, p. 436, emphasizes as a distinguishing mark of xith c. writing, and which is so excellently illustrated in facsimiles 175-176 of Thompson's *G. L. Pal.* are wholly lacking. The shape of the mark of abbreviation also is to be noted; the grace of the xiith c. script exhibits itself in the short curved symbol with upturned ends such as we see

¹¹See Hægstad's *Vestnorsk Maalföre*, pp. 32-33.

**G. L. Pal.* fac. 175.

in fac. 175 or 176, or in the e. Norw. *Blasius saga*.* In *RM*, however, the stroke of abbreviation is straight with a hooked end, line 1, slightly curved with a hooked end, line 11, or slightly curved with blunt ends, line 11.

Now as regards the *y* of these two documents it is in both essentially a pure *y*1; there are no hybrid forms; and the *y* is in all instances this type of *y*. The *y* of *KH* is less archaic; possibly we may in this, together with the knowledge which the writer seems to show of A. S. script in his writing of the umlauts, see evidence of a new later loan. But the script of both documents is xith century Latin script. Also the evidence of *Rim* corroborates this dating. Here we have, first, a *y*1 whose main stroke is the left, second, a *y*2, whose main stroke is the right. These forms of *y* could have come to Iceland from a script which still used *y*1 but with it *y*2, or if we eliminate *y*2 from the English, it itself represents another current of borrowing, but also one of the xith century later than which the borrowed *y* would have had the form *y*3 as in Norway. It may be noted further that *Rim* employs a third *y*, a *y*1 whose main stroke is the right—a hybrid between *y*1 and *y*2.¹² As to the question of a direct connection between this Icelandic script and the earliest writing of southwestern Norway, which also goes back to the xith c. that may for the present be left in abeyance. I shall now examine the Norw. MSS, e., nw. and sw., with reference to an outstanding characteristic of a large number of them, the mark of the hand of the chanceries.

II

THE CHARTER HAND IN THE NORWEGIAN MSS

The English Chancery hand of the xith century is a set hand differing from the bookhand mainly in the extensive use of many cursive letters enlarged for capitals. In official documents it is a pointed hand with exaggerated long strokes drawn out into fine hair-lines. Sometimes one meets with a tendency to write the vertical stems with a short hook or spur near the top, *G. L. Pal.*, p. 521; see facsimiles 227-229 there, or Plates VI-X in Keller's *Angels. Pal. II*. In private documents beginning at the end of the xiith c. a style comes into use in which the letters are squarer in

*For discussion of this see *Pubic Soc. Adv. Scand. St.* II. pp 99-101.

¹²A fourth variant of *y* used in this MS does not concern us here; it also has the stem of *y*2.

form and vertical strokes are shorter, less exaggerated, while preserving the character of the pointed chancery hand otherwise. We shall now turn to the Norwegian MSS.

The finest example of the pointed charter hand among Norwegian MSS is the first hand of the *Homiliebók*, AM. 619, 4^o. It resembles very much that of the *Grant of Henry II*, date 1156; see fac. 227 in *G. L. Pal.* The long *s* is conspicuous as also the drawn-out verticals of the *þ*, the *r* and especially the lower part of the *g*. Especially striking is the almost uniform writing of an *a* with lengthened main stave, not only as a capital but also in the body of the word and finally. The *d* with slanting stem is regularly used although the straight *d* occurs, and the long *r* is used extensively in final position. Hand III is a smaller hand with less of exaggerated strokes, and the long *r* does not appear, but otherwise the hand is similar. Hand II is a bolder, somewhat set hand; it approaches more nearly that of the private charters but otherwise the style of script is quite the same. The tendency to use the straight-stemmed *d* is noticeable; note also the prevalence of the normal low *a*.

The features to be noted in *GkS 1347*, 4^o, are the enlarged *a* and *e*, the long *r*, and the tendency to lengthen the main stroke of the *þ*. The *f* is written with a spur at the left and the *l* with a clump in the same position. The spur written from the top of the *i* is proportionately very prominent and sometimes gives the letter the form of a 7. The pointed style of the capitals *A* and *D* is to be noted. Another nw. Norw. hand, AM. 315f, fol., exhibits the same general character; especially is to be observed the hooked vertical staves here consistently carried out, and the lengthening of the long staves below the line. The capital *E* of this hand is one which seems to be an outgrowth of the influence of the cursive type upon the capital; its exact counterpart in a slightly earlier form appears in Keller, *A. S. Pal.* Plate X, date 1058. Finally we may note the elaboration of the capital *N*. AM. 315e, fol., employs the long *s* and *f* together with the short, the enlarged *a*, *e*, *h*, *n* and *v* and lengthened-out long strokes in the first line of the page after the fashion of the charters. There are the pointed capitals, as *D*, the uncial *M*, and the usual *N* of the charters. The tendency to final elaborations seen in this MS may have aided in a form of the capital *E* noted above, with the stem bent to the left at the top and curved upper bi-stave, similar to that of an *r*. The source of this *E* is clearly a capital *Æ*, the bi-stave of whose *a* has been omitted.

On the other hand if the cross-bar of the *E* is omitted a form of *A* results which we meet with in many Norwegian MSS, and which I am not aware appears in other Scandinavian MSS. It may also be noted that the *v* (small and large, but especially the large), commonly exhibits a right shank which descends slightly below the left stroke, a characteristic of the *v* in the English charters.

In the script of the *Blasius saga* is to be noted, first, the extensive use of enlarged cursives, the pronounced pointed nature of many of its capitals, and its high-shouldered *e*. Of the first of these *a* and *e* appear prevaillingly in this form, the letters often taking on the squarish character which distinguishes this hand throughout. On the one hand the top of the *a* ends in a spur to the left and sometimes a hair-stroke up to the right, approaching somewhat the *A* of *AM. 315e*, noted above. The enlarged cursive *e* is round, as the small *e*, or straight, i. e., an enlarged high-shouldered *e*. The capital *E* is written with a pronounced backward slant, sometimes lying almost on its back as *En*, line 5 of *C*, 1v. Or again it is straight with a spur on the left somewhat below the top. The pointed character of the hand becomes especially exaggerated in the *O*; its top is narrow and bent to the right, the two strokes of the letter running parallel down first to the left, then to the right, an exaggeration of the pointed *O* which we meet with in such English charters as the *Grant of Henry I*, 1120-1130. We may note finally a *D* formed by two lines joined at the top by a hair-stroke; compare a *D*, whose top is not thus joined in *AM. 315e*.

RA 1B, of the older Law of the Gulathing has the enlarged *e* and *a* and in general similar features as *AM. 315e*; and *AM. 315g*, of *Niðarós Bjarkeyjarréttr*, pages 2 and 3 of the preserved fragment, is not especially different. The hooked verticals and the elaborate enlarged cursive *e* are particularly to be noted. In page 1 the spur of the verticals sometimes takes the form of a short cross-bar. The hand is a set hand such as we find in the private charters; the general form of the letters is here virtually that of a book-hand. A certain elaboration of strokes is about all that separates this hand from the literary script of about 1200. Clearly a different hand from that of pp. 2-3 of this fragment.

Now we may turn to *Strengleikar*, *Uppsala*, *DG. 4-7*, of about 1250, and sw. Norw. That which gives this MS its individuality paleographically, is the elaboration of the spur at the left of the verticals—it is drawn out into a sharp point, the line being

often nearly as long as the vertical of the letter. This is an exaggeration of a technique of the charter hand, but so gracefully made as decidedly to lend beauty to the script. The elaborate ornamentation of the superior strokes in the top line on the page is also to be observed.

RA. 58, Cod. A, Fragment of the King's Mirror, is clearly the work of an untrained scribe; the letters are uneven and the scale irregular, the whole script unsteady. The writing is again official in character approaching the set style. The long strokes in the first line of the page are written quite tall. The enlarged cursive *e* is used by the side of a form of capital somewhat similar to that of *AM. 315f. AM. 310, 4^o* of the Saga of Olaf Tryggvasson is not unlike the last in its general aspect, but the letters are better formed. It comes somewhat nearer to the literary hand, but not so much so as to differentiate it particularly from the group examined. A style of *E* is seen in line 23 of the fac. page, *Pal. Atlas 19*, which is a hybrid between the capital and the enlarged cursive, somewhat like that of some forms of *ε* in the *Codex Regius* or a rare *e* in the main MS of the *Konungs Skuggsjá*. It employs the enlarged *e*; the pointed *O* and the cross-bar of the superior stems may be noted. *RA. 81* is a square hand of the same style as the *Fagrskinna* fragments; it employs the long *s, f* and *r*. The tendency to elaboration exhibits itself in the finial of the *d* and in the swing of the long stems in general. The hand probably belongs to the beginning of the xiiith century.

Finally I shall speak briefly of the Tübingen Fragments. This is a set chancery hand with exaggerated long stems in the upper line and sweeping strokes in *f, þ, v, f* and the long *r*. There are enlarged minuscules for capitals by the side of the capitals. Among the latter is the *E* evolved from *Æ* by elimination of the bi-stave of *a*, as in *AM. 315e*. In, e. g., *En*, p. 3, line 3, the main stroke of this *E* preserves wholly the lines of the main stroke of the *a*.

In conclusion then: we have examined the ONw. MSS from the earliest fragments down to about the middle of the xiiith c., and we find in almost every instance a hand with strong charter hand characteristics, some MSS being written in a pure charter hand. In some cases it is a writing which is on the borderland between the hand of literature and that of the chancery. Of the two types of the latter that which tended toward the book-hand in the squarer form

of its letters, namely that of private documents, is on the whole the one which prevails.

THE CHARTER HAND IN ICELAND MSS

We may first take the two MSS *Homiliebók*, *Holm. Perg. 15*, 4^o (*Hom H.*), and *Gregors Homilier*, *AM. 677*, 4^o (*Gregor*), both of about 1200. We note that the cursive *a* and *e* enlarged for a capital are used by these writers. The letters are, however, not large and the exaggerations of the Norwegian hands are entirely lacking.¹³ On the conservative character of *Gregor* as regards *f* or *f*, *v* or *p*, see Hægstad, *VM. 11*. Similar is the condition in *AM. 645*, 4^o a hand of less pure character, however¹⁴. Even more conservative is *Agríp*, ca. 1225. Similar, in general, are the Fragments of *Olafs. s.*;¹⁵ the high *D* of II c., line 2, is the only point to be noted. *AM. 162 A. fol.* of the *Egils s.*, is a strikingly beautiful hand. The short stems are quite short but the superior staves are written very tall and the lower part of the *g* is drawn out very long. The shape of the letters is in general that of a literary hand; into which has been introduced the long *f*, *g* and *ð* of the charters, something which undoubtedly represents the Norwegian influence. Enlarged cursive *e* is regularly used. Another striking hand is that of the *Konungsbók* of the *Grágás*, 1250. The influence of the new style shows itself here in the whole character of the writing, whereas the exaggeration of long strokes is not especially conspicuous. The hand is practically that of xiiith c. private charters. Of similar style but closer to the book-hand is the *Kringla* leaf c2, 1260, and the *Staðarhólsbók* of *Grágás*, 1260.

But when we come down as late as the *Codex Regius* the characteristics of the Norwegian style of writing is evidenced in a variety of capital forms after the fashion of the charters. I shall note here the following: the *V* with a stem or left stroke descending considerably below the line as, p. 1, line 24; p. 7, lines 9, 16, 21, etc., and almost throughout in the form of this capital; the uncial *M*, often with exaggerated third stroke, as p. 1, line 29; p. 4, line 28; p. 8, lines 34, 10, 26, etc., etc.; the similar drawing out of the lower part of the

¹³Slightly enlarged *a*'s and *e*'s one finds also in Latin MSS of the xith c.; cp. fac. 177 in Thompson's *Introduction*.

¹⁴I cannot speak with reference to *AM 325 C*, *Am*, 686, c, b, 4^o, of intermediate date, as I do not possess photographs of these.

¹⁵Facsimiles in *Otte Brudstykker af den ældste saga om Olaf den hellige*, udg. ved. Gustav Storm, Kri. 1893.

H and *G* below the line; the pointed character of the capital *O* as regularly written in the MS, cp., e. g., p. 6, line 18, and p. 43, line 1; (cp. the *D*, p. 46, line 1); in the capital *S* of two strokes, as p. 3, line 13, a calligraphic variation of that of the charters; and finally the extensive use of enlarged *a* and *e*, frequently in exaggerated forms, and the exceedingly long *s*.

The conclusion is suggested by the brief examination here made, that the Latin script of Iceland, which was originally a pure book-hand, continued to preserve this character down to about 1225; at about that time a current of influence from Norway results in a style of writing which comes to have many of the marks of the chancery hand. As to the future of this hand in Iceland I am not here concerned. In Norway, however, the script used in books had in the xiith century in the main the character of a chancery hand prevailing somewhat set in style; a pure book-hand is rarely met with. The question as to how far back this style of writing dates in Norway and certain questions in Icelandic-Norwegian relations will be reserved for a later paper.

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July, 1915.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE FINN EPISODE

1. THE CONTENDING PARTIES

On one side we find the "Half Danes" (B. 1069), or "Danes" (1090, 1158), also loosely called *Scyldingas* (1069, 1108, 1154),¹ with their king Hnæf, Hōc's son,² and his chief thane Hengest. Other Danish warriors mentioned by name are Gūdlāf (1148, F. 16), Ōslāf (1148; called, more correctly, in the Fragment, l. 16: Ordlāf), Sigeferð of the tribe of the *Secgan* (F. 15, 24), Ēaha (F. 15), and Hūnlāfing (1143). Their enemies are the Frisians (1093, 1104) or *Ēotan*, i. e., "Jutes" (1072, 1088, 1141, 1145) under King Finn, Folcwalda's son, among whose retainers two only receive individual mention, namely Gārulf, son of Gūdlāf, (F. 18, 31, 33), and Gūðere (F. 18). Between the two parties stands Hildeburh, the wife of Finn (1153) and—as we gather from l. 1074 (and 1114, 1117)—sister of Hnæf.

The scene is in Friesland, at the residence of Finn.

It thus appears that the war is waged between a minor branch of the great Danish nation, the one which is referred to in Widsið by the term Hōcingas,³ and which seems to have been associated with the tribe of the *Secgan*,⁴ and the Frisians, i. e., according to the current view, the "East" Frisians between the Zuider Zee and the river Ems (and on the neighboring islands). The noteworthy interchangeable use of the names "Frisians" and "Jutes" shows that the Jutes, that is the West Germanic tribe which settled in Kent and adjacent parts (Beda, *H. E.* I, 15), were conceived of as quite closely related to the Frisians. This seems to be due to the fact that the Jutes had lived, at any rate for some time previous to their migration to Britain, in the vicinity of the Frisians.⁵

¹Cp. the inaccurate use of *Scyldingas* in the Heremōd episodes (913, 1710).

²Cp. 107, 1074, 1114, 1117.

³Wids. 28: *Hnæf [wēold] Hōcingum*.

⁴Or *Sycgan*; Wids. 31: *Sæferð [wēold] Sycgum*, cp. Finnsb. 24.

⁵Hoops, *Waldbäume und Kulturpflanzen im germ. Altertum*, p. 585; Jordan, *Verhandlungen der 49. Versammlung deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner*, 1908, pp. 138-40. See also Siebs, *P. Grdr.*² I, 1158, II², 524; Einenkel, *Angl.* XXXV, 419.—A state of friction between the Jutes and the Danes is possibly hinted at in the first Heremōd episode of the Beowulf, l. 902.

As to the name of the Jutes, it is well known that they are called by Beda (*H. E.* I, 15; IV, 14 [16]): *Iuti*, *Iutae*; in OE.: Angl. *Ēote*, *Īote*, (*Iotan*), IWS. *Țte*, *Țtan*. (Björkman, *E St.* XXXIX, 356 ff.; Chambers, *Widsith*, p. 237 ff.) Of the forms used in Beowulf, the gen. pl. *Ēotena* is entirely regular; the dat. pl. *Ēotenum* (instead of *Ēotum*) 1145 (also 902) is to be explained by the analogical influence of the gen. ending (cf. Sievers, *AgS. Grammatik*, §277, n. 1), unless it is due merely to scribal confusion with the noun *eotenas*. That really in all the instances the *eotenas* "giants," hence "enemies" (??) were meant (Rieger *et al.*), cannot be admitted.

Furthermore, the name of the Danish warrior *Ēaha* (by emendation: *Ēawa*) has been connected with the "Ingvaeonic" *Aviones* (Tacitus, *Germania*, ch. 40).

However, neither "Frisians" nor "Danes" are mentioned in the Fragment. It has even been argued that the Danish nationality of Hnæf and Hengest is a Beowulfian innovation, and that the enemies of the Frisians (in history and legend) were really the *Chauci*, their eastern neighbors, or some other Ingvaeonic people. But the names *Gūplāf*, *Ordlāf* (*Hūnlāfing*) certainly make us think of Danish tradition, since in Arngrim Jonnson's *Skjöldunga Saga* (ch. 4) the brothers Hunleifus, Gunnleifus, Oddleifus appear in the Danish royal line. (Chadwick, *The Origin of the English Nation*, p. 52, n.)

The point of view is distinctly—almost patriotically—Danish. The valor and loyalty of Hnæf's retainers (in the Fragment), Hildeburh's sorrow and Hengest's longing for vengeance (in the Episode) are uppermost in the minds of the poets. It is not without significance, perhaps, that all the direct speech (in the Fragment) has been assigned to the Danes, whereas the utterances of the Frisians are reported as indirect discourse only. On the other hand, no concealment is made of the fact that the Jutes have shown bad faith (B. 1071 f.). The final attack on Finn and his men, culminating in the complete victory of the Danes, is regarded as the main point of the story in Beowulf. Certainly, the lines announcing the recital of the Finn story in the Danish royal hall:
[be] *Finnes eaferum*, *ðā hīe se fār begeat* (1068) indicate clearly enough (by a characteristic anticipation) the victorious outcome: *swylce* . . . *Finn eft begeat/sweordbealo* 1146, *ðā wæs* . . .
. . . *Fin slægen/cyning on corþre*, 1151.

Finn himself, the husband of Hildeburh, plays such an insignificant part⁶ that the term "Finn legend" is virtually a misnomer, though "The Fight at Finnsburg" is an appropriate enough title for the fragmentary poem such as we know it.

That there was an historical foundation for this recital of war-like encounters among Germanic coast tribes, we may readily believe. No definite event, however, is known to us that could have served as the immediate model. Taking the Beowulfian version at its full value, an actual parallel of a war between Geats ("Danes") and Frisians (and Franks) is supplied by the expedition of Chochilaicus (Hygelâc), which took place between the years 512 and 520. The identification of Hengest with his better known namesake, who together with his brother Horsa led the Jutes to Britain, has been repeatedly proposed;⁷ but we should certainly expect a Jutish Hengest to have sided with the Frisians of our Finn tale. That the term *Ēotan* (i. e., Jutes) has been thought to refer to the Danish party (Hengest's party)⁸ is indeed a basic error in all the argumentations along this line. The only way of saving the person of the historical Hengest in this connection would be to assume that the Anglo-Saxon version embodies two distinct strata of early legend reflecting different phases of the history of the Jutes, viz., the settlement of the tribe in Jutland, which naturally tended to link them to the Danes (hence Hengest's position) and, on the other hand, their sojourn in proximity to the Frisians (hence *Ēotan* = *Frysian*).

2. THE RÔLE OF HENGEST

After Hnæf's fall Hengest assumes command over the Danes and concludes a treaty with Finn. During the winter he stays with his men in Friesland. But deep in his heart burns the thought of revenge. The part played by him in the last act of the tragedy is somewhat obscure, since it is only vaguely alluded to in a few

⁶Just like Siggeir, the husband of Signý (Völsunga Saga) and Etzel, the husband of Kriemhilt (Nibelungenlied) in somewhat similar situations.—It almost looks as if Hildeburh herself directs the funeral rites (B. 1114 ff.).

⁷Thus, in recent times, by Chadwick, *The Origin of the English Nation*, p. 52; Clark Hall's *Translation*, 2nd ed., p. 180; Clarke, *Sidelights on Teutonic History during the Migration Period*, p. 185 ff.; Willy Meyer, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Eroberung Englands durch die Angelsachsen* (Halle Diss., 1912).

⁸The impossibility of this view with regard to l. 1088 was insisted upon by Bugge, *Beitr.* XII, 37.

lines, which for years have proved one of the most troublesome passages of the entire poem: *Swā hē ne forwyrnde woroldrædenne,/ þonne him Hūnlāfing hildelēoman* (or *Hildelēoman*), *billa sēlest on bearm dyde* (1142 ff.). I would propose the following rendering. "Under these circumstances" (or "in this frame of mind") he did not refuse [him, i. e., Hūnlāfing] the condition (stipulation), when Hūnlāfing placed the battle-flame (Battle-Flame), the best of swords, on his lap (gave it into his possession)." It should be noted that *forwyrnan* is regularly used with the dative of the person (expressed or, as in this case, implied) and the genitive of the thing asked for or insisted upon. As to *woroldræden*, its second part, *ræden*, is not to be considered a mere derivative element (as in *camp-*, *fēond-*, *trēow-* *ræden*, etc.), but should be understood as the main semasiological element of a full compound, meaning "condition." The first element, *worold*, referring to something which is in accordance with the ordinary course of life, seems to be used (like *woruldmāgas*, Gen. 2178, *woruldnyt*, Gen. 960, 1016, *woruldman*, Met. Boeth. IV, 51, etc.) without any very distinctive meaning of its own, suggesting, however, Christian associations (*Angl. XXXV*, 116). In other words, Hūnlāfing (that is, Hūnlāf's son [Hall, *MLN.* XXV, 113 f.], and nephew of Gūplāf and Ōslāf) presents Hēngest with a famous sword with the stipulation (or, on condition) [we now supply, by conjecture:] that the vengeance he is brooding over is to be carried into execution. Hengest accepts, and keeps his word. The *sweordbealo slīðen* which overtakes Finn, is presumably administered by Hūnlāfing's gift (1146 f., 1152).

3. A FEW TEXTUAL NOTES ARE SUBJOINED

a. The interpretation of l. 1068 advocated above presupposes the old punctuation of Heyne, which makes the Episode begin at l. 1069: *Hælēð Healf-Dena, Hnæf Scyldinga,/in Frēswele feallan scolde*. This would leave the immediately preceding passage in the following shape: *þær wæs sang ond swēg*, *gomenwudu grēted, gīd oft wrecen,/ðonne healgamen Hrōþgāres scop/æfter medobence mēnan scolde,—/[be] Finnes eaferum, dā hīe se fēar beget*. That is to say, "many a song was recited," *gīd oft wrecen* 1065^b (Sievers, *Beitr.* XXIX, 571; also *Angl.* XXVII, 219, *MPh.* III, 249),⁹ and then a definite specimen of the scop's repertory is exhibi-

⁹The combination of *manig* and *oft* appears, e. g., in the familiar passage from Bede: *ond for his lēoþsongum monigra monna mōd oft tō worulde forhogdnisse onbærnde wæron* 342. 9, = cuius carminibus multorum saepe animi ad contemptum saeculi . . . sunt . . . accensi.

ted in summary and paraphrase. It might seem that the author passes rather abruptly (l. 1068) to the new theme, leaving unexpressed the thought: "and thus he sang." However, this difficulty vanishes, if the phrase of l. 1065^b be understood—as seems not improbable—in a more general sense: "there was plenty of entertainment by the scop" (or if *gid* be interpreted as part or "fit" of a lay). The insertion of *be* (Thorpe) in l. 1068: *be Finnes eafterum* "about Finn's men" or "about Finn and his men" (cp. *Hrēðlingas* 2960, *easorum Ecgwelan* 1710) is after all more natural than the change to *easoran* (*Bonner Beitr. z. Angl.* II, 183), though the latter would be quite possible stylistically (*Angl.* XXVIII, 443).

Of other modes of punctuation the one which makes the Episode (direct speech) begins at l. 1068: *Finnes eafterum* (. . . . *Hnæf. . . feallan scolde*) (Ettmüller, Grein, etc.) suffers from the serious defect that the dative of (personal) agency "by Finn's men" is practically out of the question. It is true, a strong effort has recently been made to establish the use of this dative in Anglo-Saxon (A. Green, *The Dative of Agency* [1913], p. 95 ff., *J E G Ph.* XIII, 515 ff.), but the instances adduced are of questionable value and afford only very slender support. Moreover, such a rendering of ll. 1068-70 would be contradicted by the facts of the story, since it is the Danes, not the Frisians, who are overtaken by the sudden attack (*fær*)¹⁰ leading to Hnæf's death—unless we take (with Grein and Bugge) *hæleð* as acc. pl., referring to *hīe*, which is certainly far-fetched. For the same reason we cannot agree with the punctuation adopted in the two latest German editions (and substantially identical with Thorpe's reading) which makes ll. 1069-70 the continuation of the subordinate clause introduced by *ðā*.

b. Ll. 1082-85. *þæt hē ne mehte on þām meðelstede/wīg Hengeste wiht gefeohtan,/nē þā wēalāfe wīge forþrīngan/þēodnes ðegne*. The construction *wīg Hengeste . . . gefeohtan*, though unusual (*Angl.* XXVIII, 443 f.), may perhaps just as well be retained: "he could not at all give fight to Hengest." It possibly receives support from Muspilli 76: *daz imo nioman kīpāgan ni mak*. (Nibel. 98: *don kund im niht gestrīten/daz starke getwerc*.) The apparently redundant *wīg* serves as "cognate accusative," com-

¹⁰Cp. [*þā hyne se fær begeat* 2230^b, *ðā hyne wīg beget* 2872^b, *þā hyne sio þrāg becwōm* 2883^b].

parable to *rāde* in Ags. Chronicle, A. D. 871: *cyninges þegnas oft rāde onridon*. Clearly, the general sense of the passage is: "he could be successful neither in the offensive nor in the defensive."

c. Ll. 1121-22^a. *bengeato burston, þonne blōd ætspranc, /lāðbīte līces*. An accurate description (I am told) of what might easily happen during the initial stage of the heating of the bodies by the funeral fire. This realistic trait puts one in mind of Scandinavian narrative and is paralleled, in fact, by a similar, though a good deal more repulsive observation cited by Alexander Bugge, *Vikingerne* I, 142 from an old Chronicle (ed. by O'Donovan), and which in a German translation (Ollrik, *Nordisches Geistesleben in heidnischer und frühchristlicher Zeit*, p. 74) reads as follows:

"Einmal hatten drüben in Irland die Dänen und Norweger um die Herrschaft gestritten, und die Dänen hatten gesiegt. Irische Sendboten, die nach der Schlacht zu ihnen kamen, sahen, wie sie Feuer zum Bereiten des Mahles zwischen den Leichen angezündet und den Bratspiess in den toten Körpern befestigt hatten; durch das Feuer platzten nun diese Leichen, so dass die Eingeweide herausfielen. 'Weshalb tut ihr etwas so Hässliches?' sagten die Iren. 'Weshalb sollten wir es nicht?' sagten die Dänen; 'hätten die and eren gesiegt, so hätten sie das Gleiche mit uns getan.' "

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THE OLD ENGLISH *CHRIST*: IS IT A UNIT?

The discussion of the authorship and unity of the Old English *Christ* has failed (if not theoretically, at least practically) to recognize the fact that we have to deal here, not with a single problem, but with two problems which are largely independent of each other—the problem of the unity of the poem, and the problem of its authorship.¹ The problem of unity has to do with the question, is the so-called *Christ* a unit, or is it three independent poems? The problem of authorship has to do with the question, is this poem, or are these three poems, all the work of Cynewulf? These questions must be investigated independently, for the answer we may give to one by no means determines the answer we must give to the other. It has been generally recognized that the three parts of the *Christ*, even if they are three independent poems, may nevertheless all be the work of Cynewulf. But the converse of this proposition has not been sufficiently recognized, namely, that the poem may be a literary unit even though Cynewulf be not the author of all three parts. Yet I do not see how we can regard the problem of the *Christ* as settled until this hypothesis has received full consideration. The discussion of the past twenty years has been concerned chiefly with the problem of the authorship of the poem; the problem of its unity has never been so fully discussed as it deserves to be. It is the purpose of the present article to isolate the problem of unity from that of authorship and to consider only the evidence that is available for answering the question, is the so-called *Christ* one poem or three?

Now it must first be observed that the problem of the unity of the *Christ* is chiefly that of determining the relation between Part I and Part II, for it cannot be successfully maintained that Part II and Part III are independent of each other. It is true that Part II is independent of Part III. It ends, clearly, at line 866² and

¹ Blackburn (*Anglia*, XIX, 95) is the only writer, so far as I have observed, who distinguishes clearly between these two problems. Other writers either ignore to a great extent the problem of unity and confine their discussions chiefly or wholly to the problem of authorship, or else mix together indiscriminately the arguments that concern the problem of authorship with those that concern the problem of unity.

² That Part II ends at line 866 is clear, not only from the spacing and use of capitals in the MS (Cook, *Christ*, p. 70) and the fact that lines 850-866 are based on St. Gregory's homily, but also from the fact that the Ascension is last referred to in line 866.

neither promises nor needs a continuation. Yet I do not see how we can deny that Part III *is* a continuation of what precedes it. In the first place, there is unity of subject between the two parts, in that Part III develops in greater detail the theme of the Last Judgment which is the subject of the latter portion of Part II. In the second place, the opening lines of Part III:

ðonne mid fēre foldbūende
se micla dæg meahtan Dryhtnes
æt midre niht mægne bihlām[m]eð,
scīre gesceafte, swā oft sceaða fæcne,

which in themselves are most unlike the beginning of an independent poem,³ are exactly parallel to the passages in Part II beginning

þonne [C rune] cwacað, gehyreð Cyning mæðlan (797)

and

þonne mæгна Cyning on gemōt cymeð (832).

Manifestly the *þonne* passage at the beginning of Part III stands in the same relation to what precedes it as do the *þonne* passages of Part II to the lines that precede them. In the face of this evidence we cannot avoid the conclusion that Part III (whoever may have been its author) was intended as a continuation of Part II.

The relation between Part I and Part II, however, is much more difficult to determine because of the fact that there is no community of subject between the two parts, the first being devoted to the Incarnation and the second to the Ascension and Last Judgment. We must not attach too much significance to the passages in Part II which deal with the Incarnation and Nativity.⁴ At first sight these

³ I know of only one other Old English poem which begins with *ðonne*—the so-called *Aufforderung zum Gebet* (*Bibliothek*, II, 277), of which the opening line is "*þænne gemiltsað þē, N., mundum qui regit.*" But, though it has always been printed as an independent poem, it is by no means certain that the *Aufforderung* is not a part of the *Ermahnung zu christlichem Leben* which it immediately follows in the MS (*Bibliothek*, l. c.). Lumby remarks in his note on the line: "*Thænne.* This first word indicates a connection between what is to come and what has gone before" (*Be Domes Dæge*, E. E. T. S., p. 68).

⁴ The passages are these:

Hwæt! wē nū gehyrdan hū þæt Hēalubearn
þurh his hydercyme hāls eft forgeaf,
gefrēode ond gefreopade folc under wolcnum,
mære Meotudes Sunu, þæt nū monna gehwylc
cwic þendan hēr wuna[ð], gecēosan mōt
swā helle hienþu swā heofones mearþu,

passages seem to be good evidence of continuity between the two parts. Lines 586 ff. look like a distinct reference to Part I, and the "hydercyme" of line 587 recalls to our minds the use of this word in a similar connection in lines 142 and 367.⁵ Moreover, these passages are not in Cynewulf's source and may very well have been inserted with the purpose of relating Part II more closely to what precedes it. But this interpretation of the evidence, though it is perhaps the most reasonable one, is not the only interpretation of which it is capable. These passages, though they are admirably consistent with the theory that Part II is a continuation of Part I, are not inconsistent with the theory that Part II is a complete and independent poem, for they are appropriate to its subject and in harmony with the context in which they are placed. Yet, even

swā þæt lēohte lēoht swā ðā lāþan niht,
 swā þrymmes þræce swā þýstra wræce,
 swā mid Dryhten drēam swā mid dēoflum hrēam,
 swā wite mid wrāþum swā wuldor mid ārum,
 swā lif swā dēað, swā him lēofre bið
 tō gefremmanne, þenden flæsc ond gæst
 wuniað in worulde. Wuldor þæs āge
 þrȳnysse þrym, þonc būtan ende! (586-599)

Hwæt! ūs þis se Æþeling ȳðre gefremede
 þā hē leomum onfēng ond lichoman,
 monnes magutūdre! (627-629).

Ūs secgað bēc
 hū æt ærestan ēadmōd āstāg
 in middangeard mæгна Goldhord,
 in fāmnan fæðm Frēobearn Godes,
 hālig of hēahþu (785-789).

Scyle gumena gehwylc
 on his gēardagum georne biþencan
 þæt ūs milde bicwōm meahta Wāldend
 æt ærestan þurh þæs engles word;
 bið nū eorneste þonne eft cymeð,
 rēðe ond ryhtwīs (820-825).

⁵ Sē wæs æ bringend,
 lāra lāðend þām longe his
 hyhtan hidercyme, etc. (140 ff.).

Hrēowcearigum help, þæt þīn hidercyme
 āfrēfre fēasceafte, etc. (367 f.).

though no strong positive argument can be based upon them, these passages have a negative value that makes them by no means irrelevant to the problem we are examining. If Part II contained no references to the subject of Part I, the fact would certainly be evidence against the theory that Part II is continuous with what precedes it in the MS. The evidence of these passages, therefore, cannot be ignored.

Of much greater value for determining the relation between the two parts is the passage with which Part II begins:

Nū ðū geornlice gæstgerȳnum,
 mon se mæra, mōdcræfte sēc
 þurh sefan snyttro, þæt þū sōð wite
 hū þæt geðode— þā se Ælmihtga
 ācenned wearð þurh clænne hād,
 sibban hē Marian, mægða weolman,
 mǣre mēowlan, mundheals gecēas—
 þæt þær in hwitum hræglum gewerede
 englas ne oððowdun, þā se Æþeling cwōm
 Beorn in Betlēm. Bodan wæron gearwe,
 þā þurh hlēoþorcwide hyrdum cȳðdon,
 sægdon sōðne gefēan, þætte Sunu wære
 in middangeard Meotudes ācenned,
 in Betlēme. Hwæpre in bōcum ne cwið
 þæt hȳ in hwitum þær hræglum oðȳwden
 in þā æþelan tīd, swā hie eft dydon
 ðā se Brega mæra to Bethānia,
 þeoden þrymfæst, his þegna gedryht
 gelaðade, lēof weorud.

Although no conclusive argument can be founded upon this passage, it is more easily reconcilable with the theory that Part I and Part II are continuous than with the theory that Part II is entirely independent of what precedes it in the MS. Certainly the address, "mon se mæra," is more difficult to explain upon the latter hypothesis than upon the former. The person so addressed was clearly the poet's patron, and he ought, to judge from the phrasing, to be one with whose individuality or relation to the poet the reader has already in some way been made acquainted. If Part II is an independent poem, the allusion is an utterly blind one. If Part II is a continuation of Part I, the blindness of the allusion may be the result merely of the fact that Part I has been transmitted to us in an imperfect condition. If we had the beginning as well as the conclusion of Part I, it is entirely possible that we should find prefixed to it an introductory passage which would make intelligible the per-

sonal allusion in line 441. Some previous knowledge on the part of the reader the address, "mon se mǣra," seems certainly to imply. Upon the theory of continuity between the two parts such knowledge can be accounted for; upon the theory of the independence of the two parts it can not.

No argument can be based upon the "Nū" with which Part II begins, for, as Brandl has pointed out, several Old English poems begin in a similar manner.⁶ Nor can we base any argument upon the mere fact that Part II, which treats of the Ascension and Last Judgment, opens with a passage treating of the Incarnation, for in thus connecting together the mysteries of the Nativity and Ascension Cynewulf is only following his source, St. Gregory's homily.⁷ Lines 440 ff. are therefore (except for the "mon se mǣra" allusion) quite capable of being explained as the opening of an independent poem. We cannot prove that they were intended by Cynewulf as a transition between Part I and Part II. Nevertheless we ought not to ignore the fact that if the poet was trying to effect a transition between the two parts he was successful in accomplishing his purpose. The passage, beginning with the resumptive "Nū" which carries us back to lines 416 ff., is *in fact* an excellent transition between Part I and Part II. We are obliged, then, to make a choice between two hypotheses: either lines 440 ff. were intended as a transition between the two parts, or else the appearance of a transition has resulted from the chance juxtaposition in the MS of two entirely independent poems. On the basis of antecedent probability alone the former hypothesis is preferable to the latter, and its probability is strengthened by the fact that the "mon se mǣra" allusion supplies us with independent grounds for the inference that lines 440 ff. are not the beginning of a new poem but continuous with what precedes them. I consider, therefore, that the evidence of continuity at the beginning of Part II, though less conclusive than the evidence of continuity at the beginning of Part III, distinctly favors our accepting lines 440 ff. as a transitional passage between Part I and Part II.

The argument set forth in the preceding paragraphs has a very important bearing upon another piece of evidence that must be considered in our examination of this problem, namely, the MS divisions of the text. Part I ends in the MS with *Amen* and is

⁶ *Archiv*, CXI, 449.

⁷ Lines 444b-446, however, are Cynewulf's own addition.

separated by a two-line space from Part II; Part II ends with the thrice repeated sign :7 and is separated by a two-line space from Part III, which begins with a full line of capitals.⁸ Now if there were no evidence in the text of continuity between the parts, this MS evidence, in conjunction with the internal evidence of the text, would be conclusive proof of the independence of the three parts. But we have evidence of continuity, evidence of the most convincing kind at the beginning of Part III and evidence that establishes a distinct probability at the beginning of Part II. It is only by ignoring this evidence and denying the existence of transitional passages that Trautmann has been able to use the MS evidence in support of his theory of the independence of the parts.⁹ But by employing such a method of argument one may prove almost anything. If Part III, in spite of the MS arrangement, is clearly continuous with Part II, the MS arrangement is of very little value in determining the relations of the parts to each other. The problem is one that must be solved chiefly by means of the internal evidence of the text; the MS indications are too ambiguous to be relied on.¹⁰

But the evidence which we have of continuity at the beginning of Part II is not of itself sufficient to prove that Part I and Part II constitute a single poem. Can a text treating three subjects so diverse as the Incarnation, Ascension, and Last Judgment be really a unit? If so, what is the organizing principle which unites these three subjects? This is the central issue of the problem, and Trautmann's position, however strongly I must dissent from some of his opinions, seems to me thoroughly sound when he says: "Gegen Dietrichs meinung zeugt der umstand, dass 'das dreifache kommen Christi' keine dem mittelalter geläufige vorstellung oder gar lehre war. Ich wenigstens weiss von keinem gedichte, keiner

⁸ Cook, *Christ*, p. 70.

⁹ See Trautmann, *Anglia*, XVIII, 383 (cf. Blackburn, *Anglia*, XIX, 91, 96). Trautmann says: "Da verbindende übergänge fehlen, sind diese drei 'hauptteile' als selbständige gedichte anzusehn."

¹⁰ Cf. Cook, pp. xxi, xxii: "So long as we have no other OE. example of a long poem divided into several members, the capitals, points, etc., which occur at 440, 867, and 1665, while they are pretty conclusive with respect to the intended unity of each of the Parts, by no means demonstrate that the several poems do not constitute members of a larger unity." The ambiguity of these indications in OE. poetical MSS may be sufficiently illustrated by a reference to the arrangement of the *Andreas* and *Fates of the Apostles* in the Vercelli Book (Krapp, *Andreas*, pp. xxxvi f.).

abhandlung, keiner predigt, in denen dieser gegenstand behandelt wird."¹¹ We must abandon Dietrich's "three-fold coming" as an organizing principle and must accept in its place none which is foreign to the world of ideas out of which our poem (or poems) grew.

The question we must ask is, what grounds have we for believing that the parallel treatment of the Incarnation and Ascension would have seemed to Cynewulf a natural subject for literary treatment within the limits of a single poem? No difficulty is presented by the linking together of the Ascension and Last Judgment in Part II; their association in the literature of the Church is so frequent as not even to require illustration. But the connection between the Incarnation and Ascension, though a less obvious one, was also a favorite with the Fathers. Both its currency and its theological basis may be illustrated in the following sermons, which serve as analogs to the parallel treatment of the Incarnation and Ascension in the *Christ*. In some cases the analogy to the *Christ* is complete, in that the writers connect with the Incarnation and Ascension the Last Judgment as well.¹²

St. Augustine's Sermo CCLXII, the second of his Ascension sermons, is as follows:

Caput Primum.—1. *Sancti Leontii solemnitas.* Dominus Jesus, Patris unigenitus et gignentis coaeternus, pariter invisibilis, pariter immutabilis, pariter omnipotens, pariter Deus; propter nos, ut nostis, et accepistis, et tenetis, factus est homo, forma assumpta humana, non amissa divina: potens occultus, infirmus manifestus; sicut nostis, natus est, ut renasceremur; mortuus est, ne nos in aeternum moreremur. Ille continuo, id est, die tertio resurrexit: nobis resurrectionem carnis in fine promisit. Exhibuit se discipulorum oculis videndum, manibusque tractandum; persuadens quod factus erat, non auferens quod semper erat. Conversatus est cum eis diebus quadraginta, sicut audistis, intrans et exiens, manducans et bibens; non jam indigentia, sed totum potentia: et manifestans eis carnis veritatem, in cruce infirmitatem, a sepulcro immortalitatem.

Caput II.—2. *Idem tractatur argumentum.* Hodiernum ergo diem ascensionis ipsius celebramus. Occurrit autem huic Ecclesiae alia vernacula solemnitas. Conditoris basilicae hujus sancti Leontii hodie depositio est.¹³ Sed dignetur obscurari stella a sole. Ergo de Domino potius, quod coeperamus, loquamur. Gaudet bonus servus, quando laudatur Dominus.

¹¹ *Anglia*, XVIII, 383 f.

¹² St. Augustine, Sermo CCLXII; St. Leo, Sermo LXXIV; Bede, Homilia IX, Liber II.

¹³ The sermon was delivered in the basilica of Leontius.

Caput III.—3. *Ascensionis fides et celebritas per totum orbem.* Hodierno ergo die, hoc est, quadragesimo post resurrectionem suam, Dominus ascendit in coelum. Non vidimus: sed credamus. Qui viderunt praedicaverunt, et orbem terrarum impleverunt. Scitis qui viderunt, et qui nobis indicaverunt: de quibus praedictum est, "Non sunt loquelaе neque sermones, quorum non audiantur voces eorum. In omnem terram exiit sonus eorum, et in fines orbis terrae verba eorum" (*Psal. XVIII, 4 et 5*). Ergo et ad nos venerunt, et nos de somno excitaverunt. Ecce celebratur hodiernus dies toto orbe terrarum.

Caput IV.—4. *Ascensionis Christi prophetia.* Recolite Psalmum. Cui dictum est, *Exaltare super coelos, Deus?* Cui dictum est? Numquid Deo Patri diceretur, *Exaltare*, qui nunquam est humiliatus? Exaltare tu: tu qui fuisti in ventre matris inclusus; tu qui in illa factus es, quam fecisti; tu qui in praesepe jacuisti; tu qui ubera tamquam parvulus in vena carnis suxisti; tu qui portans mundum, portabaris a matre: tu quem Simeon senex parvulum agnovit, magnumque laudavit: tu quem vidua Anna vidit sugentem, et cognovit omnipotentem: tu qui esuristi propter nos, sitisti propter nos, fatigatus es in via propter nos: (numquid esurit panis, aut sitit fons, aut fatigatur via?) tu qui omnia ista pertulisti propter nos: tu qui dormisti, et tamen non dormitas, custodiens Israel: postremo, tu quem vendidit Judas, quem Judaei emerunt, et non possederunt: tu apprehense, ligate, flagellate, spinis coronate, in ligno suspense, lancea percusse, tu mortue, tu sepulte, *Exaltare super coelos, Deus.*

Caput V.—*Exaltare*, inquit, *exaltare super coelos*, quia Deus es. Sede in coelo, qui pependisti in ligno. Iudex exspectaris venturus, qui exspectatus es iudicatus. Quis ista credat, nisi illo faciente, qui erigit de terra inopem, et de stercore exaltat pauperem? Ille ipse inopem carnem suam erigit, et collocat eam cum principibus populi sui (*Psal. CXII, 7, 8*), cum quibus iudicaturus est vivos et mortuos. Cum eis collocavit hanc inopem carnem, quibus dicit: *Sedebitis super duodecim sedes, iudicantes duodecim tribus Israel* (*Matth. XIX, 28*).

Caput VI.—5 [sic]. *Ecclesia gloria Christi.*—*Exaltare ergo super coelos, Deus.* Jam factum est, jam impletum est. Sed dicimus, Quomodo futurum praedictum est, *Exaltare super coelos Deus*; non vidimus, sed credimus: ecce ante oculos nostros est quod sequitur, *Exaltare super coelos, Deus, et super omnem terram gloria tua* (*Psal. LVI, 12*). Non credat illud, qui non videt istud. Quid est enim, *Et super omnem terram gloria tua?* nisi, super omnem terram Ecclesia tua, super omnem terram matrona tua, super omnem terram sponsa tua, dilecta tua, columba tua, conjux tua. Ipsa est gloria tua, *Vir quidem*, ait Apostolus, *non debet velare caput, cum sit imago et gloria Dei: mulier autem gloria viri* (I Cor. XI, 7). Si mulier gloria viri, Ecclesia gloria Christi.¹⁴

¹⁴ Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, XXXVIII, 1207 ff.

In the first three sections of his Sermo XXVIII (*In Nativitate Domini VIII*) St. Leo expounds the Catholic doctrine of the Incarnation; in the fourth and fifth sections he points out heretical opinions which are inconsistent with the Catholic doctrine; and in the sixth he proceeds as follows:

Absint a cordibus vestris, dilectissimi, diabolicarum inspirationum virulenta mendacia, et scientes quod sempiterna Filii Deitas nullo apud Patrem crevit augmento, prudenter advertite quod cui naturae in Adam dictum est, *Terra es, et in terram ibis* (Gen. III, 19), eidem in Christo dicitur, *Sede a dextris meis* (Psal. CIX, 1). Secundum illam naturam qua Christus aequalis est Patri, numquam inferior fuit Unigenitus sublimitate Genitoris, nec temporalis est ei cum Patre gloria, qui in ipsa Patris est dextera, de qua in Exodo dicitur: *Dextera tua, Domine, glorificata est in virtute* (Exod. XV, 6); et in Isaia: *Domine quis credidit auditui nostro? et brachium Domini cui revelatum est* (Isai. LIII, 1; Rom. X, 17)? Assumptus igitur homo in Filium Dei, sic in unitatem personae Christi ab ipsis corporalibus est receptus exordiis, ut nec sine Deitate conceptus sit, nec sine Deitate editus, nec sine Deitate nutritus. Idem erat in miraculis, idem in contumeliis; per humanam infirmitatem crucifixus mortuus et sepultus; per divinam virtutem die tertia resuscitatus, ascendit ad coelos, consedit ad dexteram Dei Patris, et in natura hominis accepit a Patre quod in natura Deitatis etiam ipse donavit.

Cap. VII.—Haec, dilectissimi, pio corde meditantes, apostolici semper memores estote praecepti, qui universos admonet dicens: *Videte*, etc. [quoting *Colos. II, 8-10*]. Non dixit *spiritualiter*, sed *corporaliter*, ut veram intelligamus substantiam carnis, ubi est plenitudinis Divinitatis inhabitatio corporalis (*Ephes. I, 23*): qua utique tota etiam repletur Ecclesia, quae inhaerens capiti, corpus est Christi (*Colos. I, 24*): qui vivit et regnat cum Patre et Spiritu sancto Deus in saecula saeculorum. Amen.¹⁵

St. Leo's Sermo LXXIV (*De Ascensione Domini II*) begins thus:

Sacramentum, dilectissimi, salutis nostrae, quam pretio sanguinis sui universitatis conditor aestimavit, a die corporalis ortus usque ad exitum passionis, per dispensationem humilitatis impletum est. Et licet multa etiam in forma servi Divinitatis signa radiaverint, proprie tamen illius temporis actio ad demonstrandam suscepti hominis pertinuit veritatem. Post passionem vero, ruptis mortis vinculis, quae vim suam in eum qui peccati erat nescius incedendo pandiderat: infirmitas in virtutem, mortalitas in aeternitatem, contumelia transivit in gloriam: quem Dominus Jesus Christus in multis manifestisque documentis (*Act. I, 3*), multorum declaravit aspectibus, donec triumphum victoriae, quem reportarat a mortuis, inferret et coelis. Sicut ergo in solemnitate paschali resurrectio Domini

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, LIV, 225 f.

fuit nobis causa laetandi, ita ascensio ejus in coelos praesentium nobis est materia gaudiorum, recolentibus illum diem et rite venerantibus, quo natura nostrae humilitatis in Christo super omnem coeli militiam, super omnes ordines angelorum, et ultra omnium latitudinem potestatum ad Dei Patris est provecta consessum.¹⁶

Then, after a short passage upon the gifts of grace which were bestowed after Christ's Ascension, St. Leo proceeds as follows:

Cap. II.—Ut igitur hujus beatitudinis, dilectissimi, capaces esse possemus, expletis omnibus quae evangelicae praedicationi et novi Testamenti mysteriis congruebant, Dominus noster Jesus Christus, quadragesimo post resurrectionem die coram discipulis elevatus in coelum (*Luc. XXIV, 50; Matth. XVI, 19*), corporalis praesentiae modum fecit, mansurus in Patris dextera, donec tempora multiplicandis Ecclesiae filiis divinitus praestituta peragantur, et ad iudicandos vivos et mortuos in eadem carne in qua ascendit adveniat. Quod itaque Redemptoris nostri conspicuum fuit, in sacramenta transivit; et ut fides excellentior esset ac firmior, visioni doctrina successit, cujus auctoritatem supernis illuminata radiis credentium corda sequerentur.

The third section of the sermon celebrates the unconquerable power of the faith of the early Christians; the last sentence and the section to which it leads up are as follows:

Totam enim contemplationem animi in Divinitatem ad Patris dexteram consedentis exererant, nec jam corporeae visionis tardabantur objectu, quominus in id aciem mentis intenderent, quod nec a Patre descendendo abfuerat, nec a discipulis ascendendo disceserat.

Cap. IV.—Tunc igitur, dilectissimi, filius hominis, Dei Filius, excellentius sacratiusque innotuit, cum in paternae majestatis gloriam se recepit et ineffabili modo coepit esse Divinitate praesentior, qui factus est humanitate longinquior. Tunc ad aequalem Patri Filium eruditior fides gressu mentis coepit accedere, et conrectatione corporeae in Christo substantiae, qua Patre minor est (*Joan. XIV, 28*), non egere: quoniam glorificati corporis manente natura, eo fides credentium vocabatur, ubi non carnali manu, sed spiritali intellectu, par Genitori Unigenitus tangeretur. Hinc illud est quod post resurrectionem suam Dominus, cum Maria Magdalene personam Ecclesiae gerens, ad contactum ipsius properaret accedere, dicit ei: *Noli me tangere, nondum enim ascendi ad Patrem meum* (*Joan. XX, 17*): hoc est, nolo ut ad me corporaliter venias, nec ut me sensu carnis agnoscas; ad sublimiora te differo, majora tibi praeparo. Cum ad Patrem meum ascendero, tunc me perfectius veriusque palpabis, apprehensura quod non tangis, et creditura quod non cernis. Cum autem ascendentem ad coelos Dominum sequaces discipulorum oculi intenta admiratione suspicerent, asti-

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, LIV, 397.

terunt coram ipsis angeli duo mirabili vestium candore fulgentes, qui et dixerunt: *Viri Galilaei, quid statis aspicientes in coelum? Hic Jesus qui assumptus est a vobis in coelum, sic venit, quemadmodum vidistis eum euntem in coelum* (Act. I, 11). Quibus verbis omnes Ecclesiae filii docebantur ut Jesus Christus in eadem qua ascenderat carne venturus visibilis crederetur; nec posset ambigi omnia illi esse subjecta, cui ab ipso corporeae nativitatis exordio famulatus servisset angelicus. Sicut enim concipiendum Christum de Spiritu sancto beatae Virgini angelus nuntiavit, sic ed editum de Virgine vox coelestium pastoribus cecinit: sicut resurrexisse a mortuis, supernorum nuntiorum prima testimonia docuerunt, sic ad iudicandum mundum in ipsa carne venturum, angelorum officia praedicarunt: ut intelligeremus quantae potestates sint adfuturæ cum iudicatu, cui tantæ ministraverunt etiam iudicando.

The concluding section of the sermon is summarized by the editor in the words: "Excitat nos ascensio Christi, ut terrena despiciamus tamquam peregrini, et charitate ditemur, sine qua ad Christum non itur," and ends with the sentence: "Resistamus ergo . . . et charitatem, sine qua nulla virtus potest nitere, sectemur: ut per hanc, qua ad nos Christus descendit, delectionis viam, etiam nos ad ipsum possimus ascendere, cui est cum Deo Patre et Spiritu sancto honor et gloria in saecula saeculorum. Amen."¹⁷

The following is the second of St. Maximus' sermons for Ascension Day, Sermo XLV:

Hodierni diei festivitatem, fratres carissimi, mysterium nobis dominicae Ascensionis instituit, ut Unigenitum Dei, quem pro redemptione omnium ad terras venisse gaudemus, pro aeternitate nostra coelum laetemur ingressum: nam haec est veritas fidei salutaris, ut cuius passionem credimus, gloriam non negemus. Nec magni sane miraculi res est, quod ad coelum redit qui venit e coelo, sed quod hominem, quem suscepit e terra, pervexit ad Patrem. Ait beatissimus David: *Laetentur coeli et exsultet terra* (Psal. XCV); quod eum de sacramento Christi cecinisse non dubium est: nam exsultat terra, quae regnare suum videt in coelestibus Redemptorem; laetatur coelum, quia et Deum suum, quem habuit, non amisit, et hominem, quem non habebat, accepit. Gaudet terra Filium Dei descendisse de coelo, sed non minus exsultat coelum Filium hominis ascendisse de terra. *Sedet, inquit, ad dexteram Patris*. Quam necessarium erat, carissimi, ut caro hominis, quae jamdiu erat peccato dominante captiva, illic vivendi acciperet libertatem, quo culpa transire non possit! Ascendit ergo ad Patrem Salvator, ut et ipse debito potiretur imperio, et nobis aeternitatis

¹⁷ Portions of this sermon are read as the lessons of the second nocturn at Matins on Friday and Saturday in the octave of the Ascension. See *Breviarium Romanum*, Proprium de Tempore.

promissae spes integra permaneret. Nec dubitandum, fratres, de hoc Domini, quem praedicamus, ascensu. Nam si Elias quondam Dei famulus ob castitatis et fidei merita curru flammeo et equis igneis usque ad coelum est elevatus, cur non tota devotione credamus Christum nostrum coelos supergredi potuisse, qui sempiterni Patris et Verbum est et voluntas? De hoc nempe dictum est per Spiritum sanctum: *Regna terrae, psallite Domino, qui ascendit super coelos coelorum ad orientem* (Psal. CII); et iterum: *Dominus in coelo paravit sedem suam, et regnum ejus omnibus dominabitur* (Psal. CII, 19); et alibi: *Dominus ascendit super coelos, et tonat*. Aut quomodo poterat non in coelum recipi, qui humanum genus vocabat ad coelum? Exsulemus itaque, dilectissimi, et laetemur, quia ibi esse nostrum novimus Redemptorem, unde cuncta et prospicere possit et regere, et quia illic ereptum ab inferis hominem collocavit, ubi non arbor scientiae boni et mali mortifera poma praetendat, sed salutaris ac simplicis bonitatis inhabitat plenitudo.¹⁸

Bede's Homilia VI, Liber I, *In Aurora Nativitatis Domini*, is upon Luke II, 15-20, the Gospel for the second mass of Christmas. After making clear in an introductory paragraph the relation of verses 15-20 to what precedes, Bede expounds the Gospel verse by verse, ending his homily with an application based upon verse 20. The third paragraph is as follows:

Transeamus, inquit, usque Bethleem, et videamus hoc verbum quod factum est. Transeamus ergo et nos, fratres charissimi, cogitando usque Bethleem civitatem David, et recolamus amando quod in ea Verbum caro factum est, atque ejus incarnationem dignis celebremus honoribus. Transeamus, abjectis concupiscentiis carnalibus, toto mentis desiderio usque Bethleem supernam, id est, domum panis vivi non manufactam, sed aeternam in coelis, et recolamus amando quia Verbum caro factum est. Illuc carne ascendit, ibi in dextera Dei Patris sedet. Illo eum tota virtutum instantia sequamur, et sollicita cordis et corporis castigatione procuremus, ut quem illi in praesepio videre vagientem, nos in Patris solio mereamur videre regnantem.¹⁹

The same thought is further pursued in the fifth paragraph:

Et venerunt festinantes, et invenerunt Mariam et Joseph, et infantem positum in praesepio. Venerunt pastores festinantes, et invenerunt Deum hominem natum, simul et ejusdem nativitatis ministros. Festinemus et nos, fratres mei, non passibus pedum, sed bonorum profectibus operum videre eandem glorificatam humanitatem cum ejusdem ministris digna servitutis suae mercede remuneratis; festinemus videre illum, in divina Patris et sua majestate fulgentem. Festinemus, inquam, nam non est tanta beatitudo cum desidia ac

¹⁸ *Patrologia*, LVII, 625 f.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, XCIV, 35.

torpore quaerenda, sed alacriter sunt Christi sequenda vestigia. Nam ipse cursum nostrum data manu juvare desiderat, delectaturque audire a nobis: *Trahe nos post te, curremus in odorem unguentorum tuorum.* Citius ergo virtutum gressibus sequamur, ut mereamur consequi. Nemo tardet converti ad Dominum, nemo differat de die in diem, ipsum per omnia et ante omnia precantes, ut gressus nostros dirigat secundum eloquium suum, et non dominetur nostri omnis injustitia.

The first and greater part of Bede's Homilia IX, Liber II, *In Ascensione Domini*, consists of a verse by verse exposition of Luke XXIV, 44-53. The second part of the discourse begins as follows:

Haec de lectione Evangelii, prout potuimus, exponendo transcurrimus; sed quia in eadem lectione apertum discipulis sensum ad intelligendum Scripturas audivimus, libet de ipsis prophetarum scripturis aliqua ad memoriam reducere, gaudiumque evangelicae solemnitatis etiam propheticae assertionis accumulare ac condire praeconiis. Loquitur ergo de hac solemnitate Psalmista: *Ascendit Deus in jubilatione: Dominus in voce tubae (Psal. XLVI).* Ascendit quippe in jubilatione, quia laetantibus de sublevationis ejus gloria discipulis, coelum petit. Ascendit et in voce tubae, quia praeconantibus angelis reditum ejus ad judicandos vivos et mortuos, sedem regni coelestis adiit. Qualiter autem Deus ascenderit, qui semper ubique praesens de loco ad locum mutabilis non est, idem alibi testatur dicens: *Qui ponit nubem ascensum, qui ambulat super omnes pennas ventorum (Psal. CIII).* Nubem namque dicit substantiam humanae fragilitatis qua se Sol justitiae ut ab hominibus ferri posset induit. Unde dicit Isaias: *Ecce Dominus ascendet super nubem levem, et ingreditur Aegyptum, et commovebuntur simulacra Aegypti a facie ejus (Isai. XIX).* Super nubem quippe levem Dominus ascendit, ut ingressus Aegyptum ejus simulacra subverteret, quia *Verbum caro factum est, et habitavit in nobis (Joan. I),* quia immune ab omni sorde iniquitatis corpus assumpsit, in quo mundum ingrediens, idolatriae ritum destrueret, nigrisque ac tenebrosis gentilium cordibus verum divinitatis lumen aperiret. Per naturae humanae nubem de loco ad locum venire dignatus est qui loco non clauditur; in hac irrisiones, et flagella, et mortem quoque voluit pati qui impassibilis semper in divinitate permanet; per hanc resurrectionis virtute coronatam ascendit in coelum qui potentia divinitatis coelum implet et terram. Hanc super pennas ventorum evexit, cum assumptam de terris non solum super universa aeris hujus spatia, sed etiam aetheris altitudinem sustollens, in majestatis paternae dextra collocavit. De hac assumptae humanitatis gloria etiam Amos ait: *Qui aedificat in coelum ascensionem suam, et promissionem suam super terram fundit (Amos IX).* In coelum quippe ascensionem suam aedificavit qui humanam sibi carnem et animam, in qua coelum subire posset, ipse creavit. Promissionem vero suam super terram fudit, quia, misso desuper Spiritu, omnes terrarum

fines gratia suae fidei, ut promiserat, implevit; cujus gratiam promissionis Psalmista et venturam in Spiritu praevidens, et citius venire desiderans, ait: *Exaltare super coelos, Deus, et super omnem terram gloria tua* (Psal. LVI). Ubi aperte significat quia priusquam Redemptor noster, assumpta mortali carne, mortis regnum dirueret, notus tantum in Iudaea erat Deus, in Israel magnum nomen ejus. At ubi resurgens a mortuis coeli alta Deus homo penetravit, toto jam terrarum orbe nominis ejus gloria praedicatur et creditur.²⁰

Continuing with the words, "Nec verbis solummodo prophetae, verum etiam gestis ejusdem Dominicae ascensionis praedicavere mysterium," Bede devotes two paragraphs to Enoch and Elijah, interpreting their translation as types as Christ's Ascension. He closes with a paragraph of application, of which the concluding sentence is: "Quaeramus faciem ejus semper, ut cum ipse qui placidus ascendit terribilis redierit, nos paratos inveniatur, quos secum ad festa supernae civitatis introducat Jesus Christus Dominus nos-ter, qui vivit et regnat cum Patre in unitate Spiritus sancti per omnia saecula saeculorum. Amen."

The intimate correlation of the three great mysteries of the Incarnation, Ascension, and Last Judgment which these sermons exhibit renders groundless Blackburn's objection that "if we consider the three parts as forming one poem, and Christ as its subject and hero, it is certainly strange that the writer chose to treat only events that occurred either before his birth or after his death."²¹ However strange the choice of material may seem to some modern minds, it would not have seemed strange to a writer of the period and theological learning of Cynewulf. But though we may acknowledge the choice of material to be a perfectly possible one for an eighth century poet, it is right that we should make the further inquiry, do we find in Parts I and II of the *Christ* any such unity of thought as leads us to believe that they are not isolated treatments of the Incarnation and Ascension, but a single poem? Such unity of theme, does, I think, exist between the two parts; it is in the thought expressed in the lines:

Hyht is onfangen
 þæt nū blētsung mōt bāem gemāne,
 werum ond wifum ā tō worulde forð
 in þām ūplican engla drēame,
 mid Sōðfæder symle wunian (99 ff.),

²⁰ *Ibid.*, XCIV, 178 f.

²¹ *Anglia*, XIX, 91.

and so constantly reiterated up to the very end of Part II:

Forþon wē, Nergend, þē
 biddað geornlice
 þæt se wites bona
 in helle grund hēan gedrēose;
 ond þīn hondgeweorc, hæleþa Scyppend,
 mōte ārisan, ond on ryht cuman
 tō þām ūpcundan æþelan rice,
 þonan ūs āer þurh synlust se swearta gæst
 fortēah ond forty[ht]e (261 ff.).

Gepinga ūs nū þristum wordum
 þæt hē ūs ne læte leng ōwihte
 in þisse dēaðdene gedwolan hýran,
 ac þæt hē ūsic geferge in Fæder rice,
 þær wē sorglēase sibþan mōtan
 wunigan in wuldre mid weoroda God (342 ff.).

Hē him þære lisse lēan forgildeð,
 se gehālgoda Hælend sylfa,
 efne in þām ēðle þær hē āer ne cwōm,
 in lifendra londes wyne,
 þær hē gesælig sibþaneardað,
 ealne wīdan feorh wunað būtan ende. Amen (434 ff.).²²

Hwæt! wē nū gehýrdan, etc. (586 ff., quoted above in note 4).

Swā wē men sculon
 heortan gehygdum hlýpum styllan
 of mægne in mægen, mærpum tilgan,
 þæt wē tō þām hýhstan hrōfe gestīgan,
 hālgum weorcum, þær is hyht ond blis,
 gepungen þegnweorud. Is ūs þearf micel
 þæt wē mid heortan hālo sēcen,
 þær wē mid gæste georne gelyfað
 þæt þæt Hælobearn heonan ūp stige
 mid ūsse lichoman, lifgende God (746 ff.).

Ūtan ūs tō þære hýðe hýht stapelian,
 ðā ūs gerýmde rodera Wāldend,
 hālge on hēahþu, þā hē [tō] heofonum āstāg (864 ff.).

This I take to be the theme of Parts I and II—man's hope through Christ of glory with God in heaven; the hope of which the Incarna-

²² The antecedent of "Hē" (l. 434) is "God" in l. 433, and the antecedent of "him" (l. 434) and of "hē" (ll. 436, 438) is "monna gehwylcum" in l. 431.

tion is the source and the Ascension the pledge, the thought of which so persistently echoes and reëchoes through sermon, office, and mass of Christmas and Ascensiontide:

Descendit ergo ille ut nos ascenderemus, coelestia submisit ut terrestria sublevaret; fecit se hominis participem ut hominem faceret Dei esse consortem.^{22a}

Hodie nobis coelorum Rex de Virgine nasci dignatus est, ut hominem perditum ad coelestia regna revocaret. Gaudet exercitus Angelorum: quia salus aeterna humano generi apparuit.^{22b}

Agnosce, o Christiane, dignitatem tuam: et divinae consors factus naturae, noli in veterem vilitatem degeneri conversatione redire. Memento, cujus capitis, et cujus corporis sis membrum. Reminiscere, quia erutus de potestate tenebrarum, translatus es in Dei lumen et regnum.²³

Dominus noster Jesus Christus, fratres carissimi, qui in aeternum est cunctorum Creator, hodie de matre nascendo factus est nobis Salvator. Natus est nobis hodie in tempore per voluntatem, ut nos perducatur ad Patris aeternitatem. Factus est Deus homo, ut homo fieret Deus. . . .²⁴

Nam quos virulentus inimicus primi habitaculi felicitate dejecit, eos sibi incorporatos Dei Filius ad dexteram Patris collocavit.²⁵

Vere dignum et justum est, aequum et salutare, nos tibi semper, et ubique gratias agere: Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens, aeternae Deus: per Christum Dominum nostrum. Qui post resurrectionem suam omnibus discipulis suis manifestus apparuit, et ipsis cernentibus est elevatus in coelum, ut nos divinitatis suae tribueret esse participes, etc.²⁶

Ut nos reduceret
Deus ab inferis,
Assumpsit hominem

^{22a} *Patrologia*, LIV, 487, a Christmas sermon attributed to St. Leo.

^{22b} Responsory after first lesson at Matins on Christmas-day (*Breviarium Romanum*, Proprium de Tempore).

²³ Sixth lesson at Matins on Christmas-day, part of St. Leo's first Christmas Sermon (*Breviarium Romanum*, *ibid.*).

²⁴ Fourth lesson at Matins on the vigil of the Epiphany, part of a sermon of St. Augustine (*Breviarium Romanum*, *ibid.*).

²⁵ Sixth lesson at Matins on Ascension-day, part of St. Leo's first Ascension sermon (*Breviarium Romanum*, *ibid.*).

²⁶ Preface for Ascension (*Missale Romanum*, Ordo Missae).

pro nobis miseris,
 Quo duce ducimur
 ad sedes aetheris,
 Mundati crimine
 parentis veteris.²⁷

That the author of Part I intended to emphasize this thought, I infer not merely from the persistence with which it is reiterated, but also from the fact that of the passages I have quoted above from Part I all but lines 261 ff. are the poet's own addition to his source material. We have, therefore, good ground for believing that the emphasis placed on this idea is not accidental but essential to the purpose with which Part I was composed. When we consider that the thought so emphasized is the very one best adapted to unify a poem dealing with the Incarnation and Ascension, the very thought which did unite these two mysteries in the thinking of the Church, we have strong evidence that Part I is not independent of what follows but is organically related to it.

The preceding argument may be summed up briefly as follows. With regard to Part III, we have seen that it is clearly not an independent poem but a continuation of Part II. From this it necessarily follows that the MS divisions of the poem cannot be accepted as proof of the independence of the three parts, for if Part III, in spite of the MS arrangement, is a continuation of Part II, so may Part II, in spite of the MS arrangement, be a continuation of Part I. With regard to Part II, we have seen that it contains a number of passages, not in Cynewulf's source, which refer to the Incarnation, the subject of Part I. We have seen also that the opening lines of Part II make an excellent transition between Part I and Part II, and that these lines, if we regard them as the beginning of an independent poem, present a difficulty which they do not present if we regard them as a transitional passage between the two parts. Moreover, we have seen that a parallel treatment of the Incarnation and Ascension is frequently found in Christmas and Ascension sermons of the Fathers, and that the material of Parts I and II would have possessed, for a poet of Cynewulf's theological learning, a unity which has not been perceived by those who have regarded it as too heterogeneous to be the subject of a single poem. Finally, we have found, in the emphasis which is laid throughout Parts I and II upon the thought of

²⁷ *Analecta Hymnica*, XX, 101 (Grad. MS Nivernense saec. 12. Cod. Parisin. Nouv. acq. 1235).

man's hope through Christ of glory with God in heaven, such a unity of treatment as leads us to believe that Part I and Part II of the *Christ* are not isolated poems upon the Incarnation and Ascension, but a literary unit.

Against this evidence in favor of the unity of the *Christ*, little or no evidence can be brought forward in favor of the independence of the three parts.²⁸ But though the evidence seems amply to justify us in regarding the *Christ* as a unit, a distinction must be made between the relation which Part III bears to what precedes it and the relation which Part II bears to Part I. Part III is a continuation, not of Part I and Part II, but of the description of the Last Judgment which forms the latter portion of Part II. It is united mechanically rather than organically with what precedes it, and we cannot trace through it that unity of thought which binds together Part I and Part II. Part I and Part II, on the other hand, possess a unity which is not mechanical or merely formal. Each part is the complement of the other, and the two parts possess a unity which is organic; a unity which, though less capable of exact demonstration, is of a higher kind than the bond which unites Part III with the text which precedes it in the MS.

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²⁸ I have considered in the previous pages all the arguments against unity which seem to me relevant and valid. With evidence as to the authorship of Parts I and III, I have at present no concern. The validity of the conclusions here reached is not in the least dependent upon Part III's being the work of Cynewulf. The conclusion that I have reached with regard to Parts I and II is, I recognize, more easily reconcilable with the hypothesis that Part I is the work of Cynewulf than with the opposite hypothesis. If it should some day be proved that Part I is not the work of Cynewulf, it would not be difficult to construct an hypothesis which, while recognizing their different authorship, would account for the unity of Parts I and II. Up to the present time, however, we have had nothing which even approaches proof that Part I is not Cynewulf's work.

SEBASTIAN WESTCOTE, DRAMATIST AND MASTER
OF THE CHILDREN OF PAUL'S

The sixteenth century was full of dramatists who were active and important in their own day, but who have been so illtreated by time that little or none of their work remains, and only the echo of their fame. Such, among others, were William Cornish, Richard Edwards, and William Hunnis—all masters of the Chapel Royal—the Earl of Oxford, and Sebastian Westcote, master of the choir-boys of St. Paul's. These men were much respected as writers in their own day, frequently and enthusiastically lauded; yet today only one undoubted example of all their work survives—the *Damon and Pithias* of Edwards. It is always to our great gain when one of the many buried dramatists is raised, as Mrs. Stopes has raised Hunnis,¹ and made again a personality, more than a name. Something of this nature, though to a slight degree and in a brief space, I propose to do in this article with Westcote, a man as little known about as any, though none before 1600 had a longer or more prosperous career as producer of plays. He is indeed so little known that slight as is the biography presented in the following pages, most of the facts there included are new. My purpose in writing upon him at the present time is rather to stir up interest in him and encourage investigation, with the hope that some one may uncover facts of greater value, than to write definitively. I am the more encouraged in my attempt because I am able upon fairly solid grounds to associate his name with one extant play.

Among the various companies of children, fugitive and permanent, which played throughout England in the sixteenth century, the choir-boys of St. Paul's, London, attained a degree of importance second only to that of the Chapel Royal itself. They are first to be met with in 1552, when in February they played before the Princess Elizabeth; but the notable part of their history lies between 1558 and 1590. In that period they played almost yearly at court, and were even more in demand than the Chapel boys themselves. And the man under whom they began their career and who directed them through the most flourishing part of it

¹C. C. Stopes, *William Hunnis and the Revels of the Chapel Royal*, in Bang's *Materialen* series, 1910.

until his death in 1582, was Sebastian Westcote. In these first thirty years of their history they must have produced many plays at court and in their private house near the cathedral, most or all of which must have been written by their master, Westcote, and some of which are doubtless now extant, if we could but tell them. One cannot help feeling an interest in the early history of the company which in its last years produced the plays of Lyly, and in the man under whose direction it prospered so well.

Westcote is first met with at court, where he held in 1545 the office of one of the Yeomen of the King's Chamber. His name is given among the quarterly payments, for Christmas, a^o 37,² and from the way the item is worded³ it looks as if this were the first assignment to him in this capacity. It is significant, I think, that the future master of Paul's had his beginnings at court. It meant that he came into contact with the life of the court, with its revels and masquings and interludes, and may readily have been inspired there with a lasting interest in dramatic affairs, an interest which he turned to account as soon as he was established as almoner and master at St. Paul's. There is even the strong possibility that the children of the Chapel Royal, who had been organized into a company of actors since the early years of Henry VIII, were the direct source of inspiration. The precise date of Westcote's transfer to St. Paul's is not known, but it must clearly have been between 1545, when he was serving at court, and 1552, when he played before Elizabeth with his children. There is no evidence that the Paul's boys had ever played before the advent of Westcote, so that we must give him the credit of starting them on their histrionic career.

From his will⁴ we learn that Westcote was born in the parish of Chimley in Devon, but when we are not told. We know nothing of his life until he appears as a subordinate officer in the Royal Household; are uninformed as to how he secured the post of almoner

²Brewer and Gairdner, *Letters and Papers*, Vol. 20, pt. 2, 1035.

³"To pay this quarter and so to continue quarterly to Sebastian Wescote, at Mr. Pers' assignment."

⁴In *Somerset House, Prerogative Court of Canterbury, 14 Tirwhite*. It has never been published, but is too long and too full of unimportant details to permit of inclusion here. Most of it is taken up with legacies to various of his relatives. The only reference to the theatre at Paul's is the one item in a codicil—"To Shepard that keepeth the doore of playes—10 s."

and master of the choir-boys at St. Paul's. From 1552 until 1582 he appears with great regularity in the court account books as master of the company of players known as "the children of Paul's" and as producer of plays. In this business, or in the various businesses in which he had a hand, he made a fortune; the extent of his possessions, as made known by his will, and the liberality of his legacies show him to have died the master of what passed in those days for considerable wealth. The unusual number of his household goods was in part due to his keeping a sort of hostelry for the almonry children. Yet they were his own and not the possessions of the office, for he bequeathed them to "the use of the same Almenrye howse," in the care of the Dean and Chapter. His gifts of money, moreover, show him to have been a well-to-do man.

From his will, too, we learn that his family was a large one, though he himself seems not to have married, from there being no mention of wife or children. He names a brother George and his children; a brother William then dead; a sister-in-law Elizabeth Westcote, widow, who was doubtless the relict of William; three sons of William—Roger, Sebastian,⁵ and Francis; a brother Robert and his son Andrew; his sister Jaquet Goodmowe and four daughters; his sister's daughter—whether Jaquet's or not he does not say—and her two children; Margaret Riche, sister-in-law; and "Westcote that is blind." To all these people he leaves generous legacies; the fact of his dispersing all his possessions among them and others not his kin proves almost beyond question that he had no personal family.

From his giving small legacies to the poor of Taunton in Somerset, Kingston near Taunton, and Kyrton in Devon, just as he did to the poor of Chimley and St. Gregory's near Paul's it seems likely that he had at some time in his early life lived in these places. To his sister-in-law, Elizabeth Westcote, who seems to have been closer to him than the rest, he leaves the lease of an unidentified estate called Westgreen.

That Westcote fattened and grew rich while ruling a company of children, whether his fortune came from that source alone or not, is indeed interesting. We know, however, that his life was not all

⁵It was doubtless this Sebastian Westcote who affixed his signature to a petition for arrears of pay of certain poor knights of St. George (in *Ashmole MSS* 1111, fol. 53, Bodleian). The petition is undated, but belongs in the reign of Charles I, after the outbreak of the Civil War.

a course of smooth prosperity, uninterrupted by crosses. In fact he got into a very serious difficulty (how serious, any one will appreciate who knows the sixteenth century at all), for he was several times suspected, and apparently with good ground, of harboring popish beliefs. Strype tells⁶ that on the visitation of St. Paul's by Grindal, then bishop of London, in April, 1561, Sebastian Westcote, a vicar choral, was presented for refusing the communion, and for being suspected of popery. But the bishop had mercy, expecting his submission, until July, 1563, when he finally pronounced excommunication.⁷ Sir Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, at that time seemingly a patron of Westcote, wrote in his behalf to the bishop, to which the bishop replied with a long and detailed explanation, almost an apology, which is fortunately preserved in Strype.⁸ The letter is a curious document in its revelation of the bishop's character, and a valuable one for the study of Westcote. Unfortunately it, too, is too long to quote here in full. Grindal begins by referring to Dudley's letter in behalf of Westcote, then under sentence of excommunication, and then goes into a history of the case. The trouble had begun about two years before, when Westcote had been complained of for refusing the communion. He was examined, and alleged as his reasons that his conscience was not fully satisfied, "but chiefly that he was not in Charity, because of certain Actions of Debt and Suretiship between him and Sir William Garret"; of these reasons the bishop approved the first, but censured the other as "meerly Frivolous," and Sebastian was given a definite period in which to reform his conscience. But when the appointed day had come, the sinner was still recalcitrant, and so continued in spite of all exhortation; so

⁶John Strype, *Life of Grindal*, ed. 1710; pp. 59, 76-78.

⁷The note of this excommunication (the brief statement that Westcote was summoned before the Court, and on his nonappearance was pronounced "contumacem" and excommunicated) is enrolled among the records of the Consistory Court of London, in the Principal Probate Registry, in Somerset House, London. The reference is *Libri Vicarii Generalis, Huick 1561-1574*, Vol. 3, fol. 77.

⁸P. 77. The letter of Dudley to Grindal seems not to be extant; but there is preserved in *Lansdowne MSS* 6, No. 69, a letter from Grindal to Sir William Cecil, dated August 12, 1563, which refers incidentally to Dudley's letter and his own reply. "My L. Rob. wrote to me earnestly for Sebastian, to whome I haue written a longe letter moche lyke an Apologie, the copy wheroff I sende you herewith."

that he was at last pronounced excommunicate. The bishop then goes at length into the justification of his action, in which he throws doubt upon the sincerity of Westcote's religious scruples; "for now after so long Trial, and good Observation of his Proceedings herein, I begin to fear, lest his Humility in Words be a counterfeit Humility, and his Tears, Crocodile Tears, although I myself was much moved with them at the first." Perhaps the most important reason of all, from our point of view, though it is bafflingly vague, is the statement that the bishop's conscience is heavy with the false teaching which had for two or three years been poured into the ears and minds of the children entrusted to Westcote's care; "wherein, no doubt, he hath been too diligent, as hath appeared by his Fruits." What was meant by the last phrase, with its definite allegation, one would much like to know. The bishop closes his apology by granting that Westcote shall have more time to meditate—to be exact, until after the following Michaelmas—before the rigors of the law are applied.

This letter is of value not so much for its contribution to Westcote's biography, as for its commentary on his personality; although it does bring out the important fact that he had managed to put himself under the protection of the powerful Earl of Leicester—how or when we have no means of knowing. It shows, moreover, that he was not a man of little character; to stand out so long against the power of the bishop and the dignitaries of his own church argues courage and persistence of no mean sort. Indeed, I cannot help suspecting that the wording of the writ of excommunication was not in this case a mere form, and that Sebastian was fitly called contumacious and obstinate.

The intervention of the earl seems not to have availed the recalcitrant schoolmaster, for there exists among the records kept at St. Paul's a bond⁹ dated November 8, a^o 6 Elizabeth, between Westcote and Grindal for the sum of one hundred marks, by the terms of which Westcote is required to frame his conscience to the required standard by Easter next, or if that is impossible resign his offices in St. Paul's; otherwise the bond is forfeit. Evidently Sebastian submitted to the inevitable, and like a sensible man forfeited neither his bond nor his emoluments, for he remained in the enjoyment of his offices until his death.

⁹The reference is A. Box 77/2059.

But the year 1563 did not put an end to the problem of Westcote's recusancy, and indeed there is something comic in the persistency with which he gave trouble to those officers who had in their charge the religious conscience of England. Twelve years after the conclusion of his tilt with Grindal, in 1575, he is bringing anxiety to the city fathers of London. In the *Repertories of the Court of Common Council*¹⁰ under the date December 8, a^o 18 Elizabeth, occurs the following passage:

" And also for asmoche as this Court ys enformed that one Sebastian that wyll not commvnicate with the Church of England kepe the playes and resorte of the people to great gaine and peryll of the Coruptinge of the Chyldren with papistrie And therefore master Morton ys appoynted to goe to the Deane of Powles and to gyve him notyce of that dysorder, and to praye him to gyve suche remeadye therein, within his iurysdyccion, as he shall see meete, for Christian Relygion and good order."

What became of this resolution, or of the visit of Master Morton to Dean Nowell, does not appear from any further notice in the records of the city of London. Apparently the course of Sebastian's life remained, outwardly at least, undisturbed. But it is interesting, and I believe significant of the man, that twelve years after he was to all appearances firmly anchored down to orthodoxy he was still drifting towards the abhorred papal superstitions.

Just about the time of this investigation by the city fathers, a curious accident had happened to Westcote. In 1575, not long before December, one of his boys, a player of importance, was kidnapped. This much we learn from an order of the Privy Council¹¹ directing an inquiry into the matter and an examination of suspected persons. More than that bare fact we do not know, and what the meaning and result of this affair were we have not even a means of guessing. Whether the boy was kidnapped for reasons not connected with theatrical affairs, or whether he was impressed by the Chapel Royal in defiance of the right of exemption belonging to St. Paul's, cannot be known until more illuminating information is discovered.

When I have added that Westcote died before the middle of April, 1582,¹² I have said everything there is to say about the life

¹⁰*Rep.* 19, fol. 18.

¹¹The original note of the action taken in the affair is contained in the *Privy Council Registers*, Elizabeth, Vol. II, p. 408.

¹²His will was dated April 3, 1582; proved April 14, 1582.

of this man. His name occurs often enough in contemporary documents—in a few account books at St. Paul's, in the records of payments for plays at court—but rarely in such a connection as to be informative. That is unfortunate, for if we were more liberally supplied with the circumstances of this man's life, we would undoubtedly know more than we do about the mid-Elizabethan drama. As has been said, the children were constant visitors at court during the mastership of Westcote. In the thirty years between 1552 and 1582 they played on the following occasions:

1552 (early), before the Princess Elizabeth, as already noted.

1554; a well known occasion when the boys played at Hatfield before Elizabeth and Mary.¹³

1559, August 5, when the queen was entertained by Lord Arundel at Nonsuch House.¹⁴

1560, Christmas; one interlude.¹⁵

1561, Christmas; one interlude.

1562, Shrovetide (probably) and Christmas; one play each.

1564, Christmas; two plays.

1565, Candlemas; one play.

1565, Christmas; two plays.

1565, ?; a play at the Lady Cecilia's lodgings at the Savoy.

1566, Christmas; two plays.

1567-8, Christmas-Shrovetide; two plays.¹⁶

¹³Cf. Warton, *Hist. of Poetry*, ed. 1778-81, Sec. xxiv, pp. 579-81. Murray (English Dramatic Companies, II, 286) records a seeming reference to the boys in the accounts of Hedon in Yorkshire, where is noted, with no more exactitude than that it was after Edward VI, a payment of two shillings "to the—pawlle players." That this means Westcote's company I do not at all believe. The possibility of error in transcription, the blank before the "pawlle," but more than anything the unlikelihood that this company would be found touring so far from home at so early a date in its history—all these reasons seem to me sufficient to reject the possibility of the company's being the children of Paul's.

¹⁴J. G. Nichols, *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*, I, 74.

¹⁵The following list is compiled from M. Feuillerat's edition of the *Revels Accounts* under Elizabeth, and from the original rolls of the *Declared Accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber*, among the records of the Pipe Office, in the Public Record Office, London; of which a convenient transcript is contained in the appendix to C. W. Wallace's *Evolution of the English Drama up to Shakespeare*, Berlin, 1913.

¹⁶The Revels books inform us that there were seven (or more probably eight) performances at this season, divided among Lord Riche's players (2 plays) and the children's companies of Westminster (1), Windsor (1), Chapel Royal (1),

1569, New Year's night: one play.

1570, Innocents' Day; one play.

1571, Innocents' Day; one play, ("Effignia," a tragedy).¹⁷

1572-3, Twelfth Day (?);¹⁸ one play.

1573, St. John's Night (Dec. 27); "Alkmeon."¹⁹

1575, Candlemas Day (Feb. 2); one play.

1576, Twelfth Night; one play.

1577, Jan. 1; "The historie of Error."²⁰

1577, Shrove Tuesday (Feb. 19); "The historye of Titus and Gisippus."²⁰

1579, Jan. 1; "A Morrall of the marryage of Mynde and Measure."²¹

1580, Jan. 3; "The history of Cipio Africanus."²²

1581, Twelfth Night; "A storie of Pompey."²³

1581, St. Stephen's Day (Dec. 26); a play.

This performance of St. Stephen's Day, 1581, was the last by the children of Paul's to appear on the court account books until February 27, 1587. There has been a good deal of talk about the cause of this hiatus, and as in other similar cases the hypothesis of royal inhibition has been brought forward. But that is a solution which has rarely been proved to be true, and is not to be resorted to except when everything else fails. So in this case the cessation of the Paul's boys can be explained quite simply by the illness and

and Paul's (2). The *Revels Accounts* for that year furnish the names of the plays: *As Plain as Can Be*, *The Painful Pilgrimage*, *Jack and Jill*, *Six Fools*, *Wit and Will*, *Prodigality*, "and the sevoenth of Orestes and a Tragedie of the kinge of Scottes." (Cf. *Revels Accounts*, ed. Feuillerat, p. 110). As Mrs. C. C. Stopes (*Athenacum*, 1900, I, 410) has shown, the Chapel play, which is in the *Declared Accounts* called a "tragedy," was most probably the play on the King of Scots. Then two of the remaining plays should be assigned to the Paul's boys, one of which, as I hope to prove later, was in all likelihood *Prodigality*.

¹⁷*Rev. Acc.*, p. 145.

¹⁸The day of the performance is not specified, and the warrant is dated Jan. 7.

¹⁹*Rev. Acc.*, p. 193.

²⁰*Rev. Acc.*, p. 256.

²¹*Rev. Acc.*, p. 286.

²²*Rev. Acc.*, p. 321.

²³*Rev. Acc.*, p. 336. On this performance, so the Revels books tell us, "was ymployed newe one great citty, A senate howse and eight ells of dobble sarcenet for curtens and .xviii. paire of gloves."

death of Westcote, which took place in April of 1582 and which would have the natural effect of disrupting the organization which he had guided for so many years. The interpretation of the events that lay between the cessation and the renewal (a period still full of obscurity and doubt, complicated by the relations of the Paul's boys to the recently built playhouse in Blackfriars), is not so simple a matter; but it does not concern us, who are only occupied with the life of Westcote. With his death came to end a long period of activity, of production of plays at court and in the private theatre of which we still know nothing except that it was close by the cathedral.²⁴ A glance at the table of performances above will show how frequent were the appearances at court, incontrovertible evidence of a popularity greater than that of any other company, even the Chapel Royal. This alone is enough to make us regret our ignorance of the plays produced, and presumably written, by Westcote. But there is another circumstance to enhance our interest in the company and make our regret more keen—which is that in all likelihood the theatre at Paul's was the first regular playhouse to be constructed in London, even antedating Burbage's *Theatre*.

There are evidences to be derived from the Revels books as to the general nature of the plays from Paul's. The few titles which are cited there show us that in subject matter these plays were not different from those given by the other companies of children and indeed by the adult players. *Iphigenia*, *The History of Titus and Gisippus*, *A Moral of the Marriage of Mind and Measure*, *A Story of Pompey*—these are just the kind of titles which at this period fill the Revels books,²⁵ and may be resolved into two classes: those which suggest plays of a romantic cast derived from classical sources or the great romances of the Middle Ages, and those which suggest interludes of a moral and instructive nature, like the *Marriage of Mind and Measure*. The writers for the children's companies, being usually men of culture if not University graduates,

²⁴Nothing that the writer has attempted in his searchings into the history of the children of Paul's has proved so baffling as the identification of this theatre. The evidence on the matter is slight, and confuses rather than illuminates. On the whole, it seems likely that the most persistent theory—that the choir-boys' singing-school (that is to say, the Almonry house) was the place—is the correct one.

²⁵For a convenient listing of titles from the *Revels Accounts* see C. W. Wallace's *Evolution of the English Drama up to Shakespeare*, pp. 199 ff.

had a taste for classical subjects, which they treated as freely as they pleased, as freely as did Edwards in his *Damon and Pithias*, or Udall in *Ralph Roister Doister*. Otherwise there was no great difference, observable from the titles, at this time between plays for children and plays for men. To the classical plays named in the Revels books is to be added a play of *Cupid and Psyche*, which Gosson tells us was being acted at Paul's about 1581.²⁶

To these general and all too insufficient facts I should be delighted to think that I could add something of far more importance—the identification of one of these performances noted in the *Revels Accounts* with a play now extant. This I feel I am able to do, though on what good evidence the reader must judge for himself. The bits of circumstantial evidence which relate one of the many anonymous plays which go to fill our editions of old drama to certain performances of the Paul's boys, are just strong enough to accept or slight enough to reject, according to the mood of the judge. To me they seem sufficient; and in truth they are better than much evidence upon which firm conclusions of this nature have been made.

The play which I presume to call Westcote's—for if it was produced at Paul's it was probably written by the master of the boys—is to be found in Vol. 8 of Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, and is known as *The Contention between Liberality and Prodigality*.²⁷ As its name suggests, it is a moral interlude of the kind so prolific in the mid-sixteenth century. It was printed in 1602, but I have not been able to find that it was ever entered in the Stationers' Register. Near the end of the play (p. 380 in *Dodsley*) we are given the date Feb. 4, 1601,²⁸ that being the day when, it is charged, the crimes of Prodigality were committed. It is reasonable to suppose that this was the date of performance at court.

²⁶"But in Playes either those thinges are fained that neuer were, as Cupid and Psyche plaid at Paules"; Stephen Gosson, *Playes Confuted in five Actions*.

²⁷"A Pleasant Comedie, showing the contention betweene Liberalitie and Prodigalitie. As it was playd before her Maiestie. London Printed by Simon Stafford for George Vincent, and are to be sold at the signe of the Hand in Wood-street over against S. Michaels Church. 1602." 4°.

²⁸The Clerk says: "Thou art indicted here by the name of Prodigality,
For that thou, the fourth day of February,
In the three and forty year of the prosperous reign
Of Elizabeth, our dread sovereign," etc.

Very little has been said about this play, and that little has been none too intelligent. The introductory note in Hazlitt's *Dodsley* is worse than incompetent. It repeats Collier's error²⁹ of dating the play 1600, and it interprets a reference in the Prologue to "childish years" as meaning that the author was a youth. The lines are these:

"As for the quirks of sage Philosophy
Or points of squirriling scurrility
The one we shun, for childish years too rare,
Th'other unfit for such as present are."

The natural understanding of these lines is that the play was being performed by boys, who were too young to engage in plays of a deeply philosophical cast. Certainly young authors are not accustomed to refer to themselves as children. The editor further calls attention to the fact that in 1567-8 a play called "Prodigality" was acted at court.

Mr. Fleay was more observant. He rightly interprets³⁰ that the play was given by children, but assigns it to the Chapel Royal, for no good reason. He believes that it was written in the reign of Edward VI, from the fact that in two scenes, (III, 5, V, 4) the word "prince" remains, whereas in the same scenes and elsewhere "queen" is used; and this discrepancy he explains on the grounds of careless revision. Of all the errors in his books there is none more characteristic than this. True it is that in more than one interlude there are clear evidences that "king" or "prince" has been changed to "queen" to the violation of rhyme, and in some cases has been left in by neglect. But in this play "prince" is used in its general, sexless sense of "sovereign," and is interchangeable with "queen." We might grant that in the lines

"Sir, I beseech you, speak a good word for me to the prince
That by her letters I may be commended to some province,"³¹

the reviser had overlooked "prince" while changing "him" to "her," though that strains credulity. But when we are asked in regard to the phrase "the prince herself" on the next page to suppose that the same thing was done, we must flatly refuse to allow anything so absurd. There is no evidence, then, of the play's being older than the reign of Elizabeth. Fleay admits that it may be a revised version of the old lost *Prodigality*.

²⁹*Hist. Eng. Dram. Poetry*, ed. 1879, I, 308.

³⁰*Biog. Chronicle of the Eng. Drama*, II, 323.

³¹Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, VIII, 356.

This is all that has been written about the play. Let us approach it anew and see what we can make of it. In the first place, I am firmly in agreement with Fleay that it is a children's play. The lines of the prologue clearly point to that conclusion, and cannot be interpreted in any other way without twisting them to the meaning. The play, moreover, is full of songs, and while that would be dubious evidence alone, it offers some corroboration. Certainly the play was given in 1601, and very probably on the day mentioned in it, or shortly after. In its general character it certainly suggests a much earlier date than 1601. It is of that kind of mixed morality and interlude which is represented in its perfection by *The Nice Wanton* and which was popular between 1550 and 1580.

As we look back through the years for an earlier appearance of the play, we are first of all drawn to the mysterious *Prodigality* which was presented at court in Christmas or Shrovetide of 1567-8. As we have already³² seen, there were eight plays given in this period; and of the corresponding performances seven are specified in the *Declared Accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber* in this manner; Lord Riche's men (two plays), the Westminster boys (one play), the children of Paul's under Westcote (two plays), all at Christmas: and the boys of the Chapel Royal under Hunnis (one play, a tragedy) and of Windsor under Farrant (one play) at Shrovetide. The Chapel play has been identified with the "Tragedie of the kinge of Scottes," listed in the Revels books. The only other company which was playing then and also when the *Contention* was revived in 1601 was Paul's. We have, then, a strong inference that, providing *Prodigality* and the *Contention* were the same, it was the Paul's boys who gave them both; for it is more likely that a play would be revived in 1601 from the old repertory of the company than from the repertory of another.

We come upon more suggestive hints in the accounts of the revels at court for Christmas, Twelfthtide, Candlemas, and Shrovetide of 1574-5.³³ At this season the performances were thus distributed: the Earl of Leicester's men on St. Stephen's and New Year's days; Lord Clinton's men on St. John's day and Jan. 2; the children of Windsor on Twelfth Night; the Chapel boys on Shrove Sunday; the Merchant Tailors' boys and the Earl of Warwick's men in Shrovetide; and Paul's boys on Candlemas day

³²See *ante*, p. 574 and note 16.

³³Ed. Feuillerat, pp. 234 ff.

(Feb.2)³⁴ It was a busy season for plays, and the *Revels Accounts* are full of references to properties. The most significant of them all for our purposes is this one:

"The fethermaker A Cote, a hatt, & Buskins all ouer covered with ffethers of cvllers for vanytie in sebastians playe with xij^d geven in Reward to y^e bringer—xxij.^{s, 35}

If we turn now to the *Contention*, we find that the very first stage direction reads: "Enter *Vanity* solus, all in feathers." The coincidence is significant, and I cannot recollect any other play in which *Vanity*, in a cloak of feathers, is a participant.

The only other direct reference to the Paul's play neither helps nor hinders our theory. It is this:

"skynnes to furr the hoo de (*Vanity's*, in all likelihood) in sebastians playe—ij.^s

ffor making of ij sarcenet hooddes for Cyttyzens in the same playe—ij.^{s, 36}

There are citizens in the *Contention*, but so doubtless were there in many other plays. But there is one item which, though unconnected with any company, is yet full of significance under these circumstances:

"A ffelt y^t was covered with mony—vj.^{d, 37}

Among the *dramatis personae* of the *Contention*, and a very important member, is Money, son to Dame Fortune. The "felt covered with money" may well have been a part of his costume, in the fashion which then obtained of characterizing figures in moralities by their dress. There is no other item not definitely connected with one of the other companies which can be applied to the *Contention*, unless it be this:

"Cownters to cast awaye by the players—ijj.^s"

There is much talk in the *Contention* of money and the squandering of it, and very possibly the distribution or flinging away of coins played a part.

That is the sum total of our evidences; no one of them by itself is strong, but taken together they form a pretty firm chain. Let us recapitulate.

³⁴*Declared Accounts*; cf. Wallace, *Evolution*, p. 216.

³⁵*Revels Accounts*, p. 214.

³⁶*Revels Accounts*, p. 244.

³⁷*Revels Accounts*, p. 244.

In 1601 a play of an antiquated type is produced in London, with evidences in it that it was originally written in the early part of Elizabeth's reign. From the Prologue we learn that it is a children's play. Hence it must have been given either by Paul's boys or the Chapel Royal, for they were the only children then acting in London. The main characters are Vanity, Prodigality, Tenacity, Fortune, Master Money, Liberality, and there are various minor characters of real life—the Host, Tom Toss, Dick Dicer, Captain Well-Done, constables, sheriff, clerk, judge, crier, etc. In Christmas of 1567-8 was produced a play called by the short title "Prodigality." At that time four companies of boys played at court—Paul's, Chapel, Westminster, and Windsor; of these, the Chapel, the only company besides Paul's which was playing again in 1601, was presenting a tragedy of the "King of Scots." In 1574-5 the Paul's boys were again playing at court, along with many other companies. There are no direct evidences in the Revels books as to the name of the play, but among the notes of properties are references to Vanity and her feathers, to some article of dress covered with money, to counters (presumably make-believe coins) to be thrown away—all of which fit excellently into the *Contention*. For these reasons I believe that in 1567-8 the Paul's boys presented at court a moral-interlude of *Prodigality*, or *Liberality and Prodigality*, which was revived in 1574-5, and again under the title of *The Contention between Liberality and Prodigality* in 1601. The conditions under which the Paul's boys began to act in 1599-1600 favor this hypothesis, for it is known that they first put on "musty" and stale plays from their earlier repertory, which did not please the public and were soon withdrawn.³⁸ It has been supposed that the *Wisdom of Dr. Doddipole* and *Maid's Metamorphosis* were two such plays, and that may be so; I feel that the *Contention* was a third.

We have no record of a performance at court by the Paul's boys (or by the Chapel either) on Feb. 4, 1601; Paul's did play on Jan. 1. But that is by no means final evidence that they may not have played on the later date. Nor are we certain that Feb. 4, the date in the play, was the date of the performance.

³⁸Cf. the oft-quoted lines in *Jack Drum's Entertainment*, Act V, lines 111 ff.

"But they (the boys of Paul's) produce,
Such mustie fopperies of antiquity,
And do not sute the humorous ages backs
With clothes in fashion."

Because of the many vicissitudes the play has endured in the way of revivals, the question as to what relation the *Contention* bears to the original, or even to the play as Westcote left it, is very difficult to decide. On that account we are treading unstable ground when we undertake to point out Westcote's abilities as a dramatist. For the sake of clearness, a brief résumé will help our discussion.

The play opens, after the prologue, with a soliloquy by *Vanity* which tells us that a state of enmity exists between *Fortune* and *Virtue*. In the second scene, a vigorous piece of writing, *Prodigality* arrives at an inn and rouses the *Host*. *Virtue* and *Equity* bewail the state of the human race. Then follows a scene between *Tenacity*, who in spite of his name is a realistic countryman of thick wits and an equally thick dialect, and *Vanity*, who is a kind of *Vice*. *Tenacity* is in search of *Money*, and is persuaded that he is to be found by courting *Vanity*. Enters then *Money*, singing, and heralding *Fortune*, who comes close upon his heels in the midst of another song. With *Fortune's* declaration that she has come to humble *virtue* and prove her own supremacy, the act closes. Act II opens with a soliloquy by *Liberality*, *Virtue's* steward and a foil both to *Prodigality* and *Tenacity*. These last two seek *Vanity's* intercession with *Fortune* to procure them *Money*. *Fortune* awards him to *Prodigality*. Act III is taken up with the schemes of *Tom Toss*, *Dick Dicer*, and *Dandaline*, the hostess, to fleece *Prodigality*, and with two suits to *Liberality* for preferment by *Captain Well-Done* and a courtier, in which *Liberality's* judgment and integrity are shown in befriending the one and refusing the other. In Act IV *Money*, escaped from *Prodigality* by the help of *Dicer* and *Toss*, is taken on by *Tenacity*. *Prodigality*, in desperation at the loss of *Money*, attempts to scale *Fortune's* castle and enter the window by main force, but is repulsed and narrowly escapes death. In Act V *Prodigality* with his boon companions is seen making up with *Money*, having waylaid and killed *Tenacity*. The constables raise the hue and cry and finally capture the thieves. *Prodigality* is at first sentenced to die, but on his earnest protestations of repentance the sentence is left open to the *Queen's* decision. The act is filled out with further dialogues between *Virtue* and *Equity*, the fortunate conclusion of *Captain Well-Done's* suit, the bestowal of *Money* upon *Liberality*, with whom at last he has chances of good treatment, and the final exaltation of *Virtue* over *Fortune*.

There are three threads in the plot: the adventures of Prodigality with Tenacity, Money, Vanity, Fortune, Tom Toss, and Dick Dicer; the befriending of Captain Well-Done by Liberality; and the contention, never actually carried out, but always suggested, between Virtue and Fortune. The threads are no more than slightly related. Of them all, by far the most dramatic, vivid, and amusing is that which concerns Prodigality, Tenacity, and Money. Their scenes, which take up the bulk of the play, are written with flavor, dash, and compactness; there is plenty of action, and the speech is unusually clean. Tenacity, as I have said, is a thickwitted country lout, with a dialect full of v's and ch's, like that which was so popular in comedies at the time when the play was written—the dialect of Grim in *Damon and Pithias*. Here is a sample—Tenacity's reply to Vanity, inquiring whither he is bound (II, 4):

“Nay, bur lady, zon ich can make no haste,
Vor che may say to thee, cham tired clean.”

This dialect of Tenacity's raises in itself the presumption that the play was written close to the time of such plays as *Like Will to Like*, *Gammer Gurton's Needle*, *Damon and Pithias*, and others which had one or more dialect characters of this type. There seems to have been a fashion in such personages between 1560 and 1580.

As I have said, since we cannot tell how much alteration the play has undergone in the vicissitudes of years, we are at a loss as to just how much credit we ought to give Westcote for his work herein. Beyond question, I think, the moralizing passages which engage Virtue, Equity, and Liberality come from the older play, but what of the remaining scenes of real life? Are they the additions of a later age? I do not believe they were entirely so, for that would mean that the old play was cut to pieces, and a new play could have been quite as easily written. Then, too, the popularity of the play surely depended upon these realistic scenes; they must have been in the original in some form, or else we are puzzled to account for the revivals of the play. As they stand now, these scenes have a continuity of treatment and theme which defies the efforts of the investigator to find any differences in the manner of handling them. Of course, the old scenes may have been pruned and polished to some extent, but I see no reason to think that revision went further than this. The character of Money comes beyond doubt from the original play, and reflects a dramatic fad of the times. We are pretty safe in taking him as an example of Westcote's best work, and that is really good.

If this play is now in substantially the same condition as Westcote left it, it shows that he quite deserved the reputation to which his long and unbroken popularity at court testifies. He was not a poet of more than ordinary ability, even for his own time, but he could write a scene of popular life in a crisp, compact, humorous, and telling manner. The play is certainly not so good as *The Nice Wanton*, which is written in a somewhat similar way, but it is a great deal more alive and interesting than many of the dull interludes of the time.

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REVIEWS AND NOTES

BLENDS: THEIR RELATION TO ENGLISH WORD FORMATION, by Louise Pound, Ph.D., Professor of the English Language, University of Nebraska. Heidelberg, Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1914 (Anglistische Forschungen 42). Pp. iv+58.

In this book Miss Pound divides the subject as follows: I. General nature and interest¹ of blend-words. II. Relation to standard or literary speech. III. Some delimitations. IV. Present-day vogue of blend-formations. V. General classes of blends. VI. Illustrative lists of English blends.

It is true, as the author claims, that little interest has been shown in blends. As an instance, Brugmann, in giving the "Motive und Arten der Wortbildungsvorgänge" in his *Kurze vergleichende Grammatik*, does not even mention crossing or amalgamation. And yet the formation of blends is a very important feature in the growth of language. For if the psychological processes that are now going on in language development have always been active, then every language has in it a large number of blends, most of them parading as thoroughbreds, because they are the offspring of an ancient union.

After reading Miss Pound's interesting monograph, one is still in doubt as to what blends really are. For "blend-words, amalgams, or fusions, may be defined as two or more words, often of cognate sense, telescoped as it were into one; as factitious conflation which retain, for a while at least, the suggestive power of their various elements." Later it is admitted that "it cannot always be assumed that the original blend was conscious or intentional." The probabilities are that most of the blends that have added materially to the increasing stock of words were made with only a subconscious association of the words combined.

Blends may be divided into three classes: 1. Words that have taken on or lost a sound or combination of sounds on account of synonymous words or by folk-etymology. 2. Words or compounds in which a part is supplanted by another word or part of a word, as: *baffound* 'perplex, bewilder' from *baffle* and *confound*; *dink* 'deck, dress' from *deck* and *prink*. 3. Haplogenic blends, i. e., compounds in which one of two similar sounds falls out. These may be overlapping compounds, as: *idolatry*, *tragicomedy*, *pantaloonic*, or Shaw's *Potsdamnation*; grafted compounds, as: *fibbercator* from *fibber* and *fabricator*, *screwmatix* from *screws* 'rheu-

¹Under this head Miss P. states that "blend-words have never been treated separately, i. e., for their own sake, at much length." My article of thirty-four pages giving 246 groups of blends: Kontaminationsbildungen und haplogische Mischformen, *JEGPH.*, July 1912, had escaped her notice.

atics' and *rheumatics*; or compounds with (syllabic) dissimilation as: *howtowdie* 'a young hen that has never laid' from *howdie* and *towdie* id., *peedoddle* 'dawdle' from *peedle* 'do anything in a slow, indolent fashion' and *doddle* 'dawdle', *rantacket* 'noise, uproar' from *rant* 'a rough frolic, noise' and *racket*, etc.

Of course, the above classes might be subdivided according to use or origin, as in Miss Pound's classification. But in a scientific classification it is immaterial whether a blend is the effulgence of a literary light or the obscuration of a clodhopper, the 'versiflage' of the satirist or the 'slanguage' of the street, the 'sweedle' of the advertizer or the 'snangle' of the child, however interesting it may be to know these facts.

Though most of the blends given in the lists are transparent enough, some are quite the contrary, and might be differently explained. Such words as *chump*, *lunch*, *smoggy*, *blash*, *blurt*, *flounder*, *flurry*, *flush*, *squush*, *squish*, *swizzle*, *thump*, *thwack*, *whang* are more than doubtful. Some of them may be very old, though putting them into antiquity doesn't make them any the less blends. Some may be rime-words. In English occur many parallel forms with *k* or *ch* and *p*, as: *bunch*: *bump*; *chunk*: *chump*; *hunk*, *hunch*: *hump*; *lunch*, *lunk*(head): *lump*; *crouch*: *creep*; *prink*: *primp*; *flick*: *flip*; *nick*, *snick*: *nip*, *snip*; *suck*: *sup*, etc. Rime-words also may be the following: *bang*, *twang*, *whang*, *ding*, *ring*; *bump*, *dump*, *flump*, *plump*, *thump*; *clack*, *crack*, *thwack*, *whack*; *clash*, *crash*, *dash*, *lash*, *plash*, *splash*, *smash*, *thrash*; *blash*, *flash*, *flush*; *blurt*, *spurt*, *flirt*, *jert*; *flurry*, *hurry*, *scurry*; *quirl*, *swirl*, *twirl*, *whirl*, and many others. In a sense even these might be called blends. But if so, then every word that has assumed an additional element, whether determinative, formans, or suffix, is a blend.

Others are formed by secondary ablaut. Thus *squish*: *squash*: *squush* are analogous to *plish*: *plash*: *plosh*; *swish*: *swash*; *mish* (in *mish-mash*): *mash*: *mush*; *click*: *clack*: *cluck*; *clink*: *clank*: *clunk*, etc. Similarly *flounder* may be a secondary ablaut-form to dial. *flinder* 'flirt, run about in a fluttering manner', Flem. *flenderen* 'wander about lazily or sluggishly', Bav. *fländern*, *flandern* 'hin und her bewegen, wehen, ziehen'.

In the lists are also included words that may be regular derivatives. Thus *straddle*, which may go back to OE. **stræðlan*, does not owe its meaning in any degree to *saddle*. Germ. *stridan* means 'stretch out (the legs) forward or sidewise' (cf. *Mod. Phil.* IV, 497 f.). *Burble* 'bubble, gush', which is given as a creation of Carroll, is locally in use now, and has come down from ME. *burblen*. It is related to Pruss. *burbeln* 'klunkernd tönen, trinken, saufen', MDu. *borbelen* 'aufsprudeln', French dial. *borbouller*, Span. *borbollar* 'bubble'. *Broodle* 'cuddle and soothe a little child' need not be regarded as influenced by *cuddle* and *soothe*. It may well be only a frequentative of *brood* after the analogy of *cuddle*, *nuzzle*, *snoodle*, *snuggle*, etc. This is a favorite formation of one of my friends, who

says: *bobble*, *chinkle*, *flapple*, *muffle* 'fumble', *snortle*, *whopple*, etc. *Swizzle* 'guzzle, imbibe noisily or rapidly' may be from dial. *swiz* 'a whizzing noise; force, impetus'. For meaning compare *swipe* 'strike with a long or wide sweeping blow: drink off hastily', *swipple* 'tipple'; *nozzle* 'strike violently: drink with avidity'. *Smoggy* may contain an original *g* as in *smudge*, EFris. *smügen* 'nebeln, nassen, fein und andauernd regnen'. *Mux*, which I also earlier explained as a blend of *mix* and *muss* (*Mod. Phil.* IX, 175), is perhaps rather from dial. *mux* 'dirt, filth', OE. *meox*, modified in meaning by *mix*. Compare also *mixter-maxter* 'heterogeneous mixture' and *muxter-maxter* 'a confused heap' (*ibid.* 161). *Quag* 'a shaking, marshy soil, quagmire' is explained in *Cent. Dict.* as an abbreviation of *quagmire*. In any case there is no reason to assume a telescoping of *quake* and *bog*. The word is sufficiently authenticated in *quaggy* 'trembling under the foot, as soft wet earth, boggy, spongy', *quaggle* 'a tremulous motion'. Whether the word was originally a blend or a rime-word it is impossible to say. Beside *quake*, OE. *cwacian* occur *quaver* (: *quiver*), *quab*, *quob* 'shake, tremble, quiver', *sb.* 'bog, quagmire', Norw. *kvabb*, *kvap* 'scäiche Masse', MLG. *quabbe*, *quabbel* 'Bebemoor', WFlem. *kwabbel* 'a lump which, because of the moisture it contains, easily trembles or quivers'. *You* (*jū* not *jau*) can not be a blend of *ye* and *thou*. *You* regularly represents ME. *yeu*, *ȝew*, with *ȝ* from the nom. But OE. *ēow* (ME. **ēw*) would also give NE. *jū*. Compare OE. *ēow*, *īw* 'yew', ME. *ēw*, NE. *yew*.

Several words should be omitted from the list, as they are extensions by suffixed endings rather than blends. So Miss Pound herself excludes *judgmatical*, *splendiferous*, *grandiferous*, etc. By the same token drop the following: *Belkuppung* (why two p's?) 'hickuping' is formed from *belk*, *belch* with the ending *-up*² as in *hickup* (*hiccup*) from *hick* 'make a clicking sound in the throat, hickup'; *jiccups* 'hickups': *jick* id.; *snickup* 'hickups': *snick* 'a sudden, sharp noise, click'. *Dastardice* is formed from *dastard* with the suffix *-ice* as in *cowardice*, not a blend of that word. *Shuttance* 'riddance' is from *shut* in the expression *get shut of* 'get rid of' + the suf. *-ance*. *Riddance* as well as *shuttance* is a hybrid, but not a blend. *Scareesome* is not "from *fearsome*, or *timmersome*, + *scare*," but from *scare* + the suf. *-some* as in *fearsome*, *timmersome*. So we might form *awesome*. With greater propriety *timmersome* or rather *timorsome* might be regarded as a blend, since it is made over from *timorous*. *Clacket* 'clack, chatter' may be an older word than *racket*. The suf. *-et* is OE. *-ettan*, Goth. *-atjan*. Even *embranglement* 'embroilment, confusion' is not properly a blend but a hybrid like *entanglement*.

Like the above are compounds with parts of words that are abstracted as suffixes, as: *gasalier*, *electrolier* (: *chandelier*); *beero-cracy*, *bureaucracy*, *cottonocracy*, *mobocracy*. Here *-(o)cracy* has its

²On this ending see *Hesperia*, *Ergänz.* I, 52-72.

regular meaning 'rule, power', just as it does in *aristocracy*, *democracy*, *plutocracy*, *theocracy*. In *cablegram*, *gram* is used simply for 'message', abstracted from *telegram*. So also *-ology* is abstracted in the sense of 'science', and may even be used alone, or may form such mongrels as *bug-ology*, *bird-ology*, etc.

Finally words like *Wafrika*, *Westralia* are not properly blends but elliptical contractions. They did not result from crossing of two words nor from any wearing down and welding together of two forms (hence not agglutination), but from the intentional omission of a part of the word so as to make a shorter form.

But these criticisms do not mean that the book is not worth while. It is decidedly so, all the more because there are still those who refuse to believe. They see them, hear them, and use them, and yet, with the farmer at the circus, they declare: "There isn't any such animal."

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BERTRAND, J.—J. A. CERVANTES ET LE ROMANTISME ALLEMAND. Paris, Felix Allan, 1914. (VIII, 635 S.)

Das grösste Verdienst der Romantiker um die Entwicklung der deutschen Literatur besteht ohne Zweifel nicht so sehr in ihrem eignen, dichterischen Schaffen, als vielmehr in ihren kritischen Schriften und in der Eroberung fremder Gebiete für das deutsche Geistesleben. Es war der Drang nach Universalität, der ihnen hier die Wege wies, während ihre Weltanschauung die Auswahl und Bewertung fremdländischer Dichter und ihrer Werke bestimmte. Von all den Dichterfürsten, welche die Romantiker so zu sagen entdeckten und auf den Schild erhoben, stand wohl keiner als Mensch und Künstler ihrem eignen Geistesleben näher als Cervantes. So kann es kaum wunder nehmen, dass dieser Dichter einerseits einen grossen Einfluss auf die Kunstübung und ästhetische Theorie der Romantiker ausübte, und dass anderseits die Bewertung Cervantes' und seiner Werke ganz auf dem Urteile der Romantiker fusst und eigentlich nie darüber hinausgegangen ist. Selbst den erklärten Gegnern der Romantik gelingt es nur selten sich aus diesem Abhängigkeitsverhältnis zu retten.

Bertrand verfolgt in seiner Monographie mit Gewissenhaftigkeit und Gründlichkeit den wechselnden Anteil, den man seit dem Ende des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts in Deutschland für Cervantes und seine Werke gezeigt hat. Das Interesse an der spanischen Literatur, welches im siebzehnten Jahrhundert in Deutschland geherrscht, war zu Anfang des achtzehnten fast vollständig erloschen, und die Meisterwerke der spanischen Literatur waren eigentlich nur in den unvollkommenen, französischen Uebersetzungen bekannt und zugänglich. Einen entscheidenden Anstoss zu erneuerter Beschäftigung mit der fremdländischen Literatur im allgemeinen, und der

spanischen im besonderen, gab wohl Lessing, und zwar vor allem, indem er die deutsche Dichtung und Kritik von dem Joche der Franzosen befreite, und gleichzeitig das Vertrauen in die eigene Kraft und das eigne Urteil erweckte. Spanische Bücher waren damals in Deutschland rar und schwer zu beschaffen, und die Hilfsmittel zum Studium der spanischen Sprache fehlten gänzlich, doch das einmal wieder erwachte Interesse wuchs beständig. Der erste Vorstoss ging von einem Gelehrten aus; im Jahre 1769 erschien J. A. Diezes Uebersetzung von Velasquez' *Geschichte der spanischen Dichtkunst*, welches Werk er durch Verweise und selbständige Ausführungen erheblich bereicherte. Cervantes versucht er auf Grund seines gesamten Schaffens einzureihen und zu würdigen, während er im allgemeinen für jene Zeit nur als der Verfasser des *Don Quixote* in Betracht kam. Freilich fällt auch bei Dieze das Schwergewicht auf dieses Werk, welches er zu dem Vortrefflichsten rechnet, was je geschrieben worden. Auf Dieze folgten bald andere, die sich an die Werke der spanischen Dichter heranwagten; an erster Stelle Bertuch, der nach einigen kleineren Versuchen 1775 eine Uebersetzung des *Don Quixote* herausgab. In seiner Bewertung dieses Romans in der Einleitung ist er indessen ganz abhängig und betont vor allen Dingen den Realismus der Darstellung. Trotz des minderwertigen Charakters seiner Leistung, ward Bertuchs Mühe von Erfolg gekrönt und er fand bald einen Nachahmer in der Person des Barons von Soden, der zuerst die *Moralischen Novellen*, dann den *Persiles* übersetzte. Bertrand unterwirft diese ersten Versuche, besonders Bertuchs Uebersetzung, einer eingehenden und durchaus gerechten Kritik.

Im literarischen Deutschland spielte damals die Aufklärung noch ihre Herrscherrolle, und diese sah in *Don Quixote* nichts als eine Satire, dazu bestimmt, den Sieg der Vernunft über die Einbildung zu verherrlichen. Es folgten nun zuerst eine Anzahl grammatischer, lexikographischer und literar-historischer Arbeiten und Anthologien, die das Studium der spanischen Sprache fördern sollten, welchen Zweck sie auch erreichten. Gleichzeitig entdeckte man gewissermassen das Land selbst, das den Deutschen jener Zeit nur aus Reisebeschreibungen bekannt war. Für die literarische Entwicklung waren die Reisen der beiden Humboldts und Burghardts von besonderer Wichtigkeit. Am Ende des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts war das Interesse der grossen Geister Deutschlands für Spanien ein allgemeines, und durch die Bestrebungen der Romantiker ward Cervantes auf längere Zeit zum Mittelpunkt dieser Anteilnahme. Die Wahl der Romantiker fiel keineswegs durch Zufall auf Cervantes; in dem damaligen Stadium ihrer Entwicklung entsprach gerade dieser Dichter ihren Anschauungen und Bedürfnissen aufs vollkommenste. Es lässt sich kaum in Abrede stellen, dass die romantische Theorie, besonders in Bezug auf den Roman und die Novelle, Cervantes viel zu verdanken hat. Bewusste Nachahmung und Entlehnung lässt sich in den Romanen und

Erzählungen der älteren Romantiker nicht wohl nachweisen; doch ist sie ziemlich häufig bei den kleineren Geister dieser Kreise, wie auch bei Schriftstellern, die zu den Romantikern in keiner Beziehung standen. Unter den wirklichen Dichtern haben Eichendorff und E. T. A. Hoffmann, in Bezug auf Stoff und Ideen, am meisten von Cervantes entlehnt. Bertrand ist der Ansicht, dass Kleist dem Dichter des *Don Quixote* viel zu verdanken habe. Er gibt zwar selbst zu, dass der Nachweis schwer zu erbringen ist, lässt sich aber zu dem Ausspruch verleiten: "Michael Kohlhaas est un veritable Don Quichotte." In dem Sinne wie wir heute wohl mit dem Namen des edlen Ritters von *la Mancha* einen Menschen bezeichnen, der das gänzlich Aussichtslose und Unmögliche unternimmt, ist Bertrands Ausspruch vielleicht zulässig, aber irgend welche Beziehung zwischen dem Romane Cervantes' und der Erzählung Kleists besteht nicht. Bei Kleist fehlt jede Ironie, er behandelt im Gegenteil sein Thema mit unerschütterlichem Ernst, er benutzt einen geschichtlichen Stoff, vermeidet alle romantischen Abschweifungen, und bedient sich, wenn wir von dem Schluss absehen, seiner Erfindungsgabe nur, um uns den Helden psychologisch verständlich zu machen. Dieser selbst ist durchaus nicht in einem Irrtume über die Zustände der Wirklichkeit befangen, noch kämpft er eigentlich für ein abstraktes Ideal. Es ist ihm einzig und allein um sein persönliches Recht zu tun, was freilich die Anerkennung des allgemeinen Prinzips voraussetzt. Allerdings zeigt Kleist grosse Vorliebe für starke, unternehmende und kampfbereite Naturen, wie wir sie oft bei Cervantes antreffen, aber mehr noch für ungewöhnliche, seelische Probleme, worin ihm C. F. Meyer gleicht, doch beweist dies gar nichts, betreffs seiner Beziehungen zu Cervantes. Bertrand erklärt zwar selbst, dass vor allem die geistige Verwandtschaft zwischen den beiden Dichtern in Anschlag zu bringen sei, erweckt aber doch den Eindruck, dass, nach seiner Meinung, verschiedene Elemente in Kleists Erzählungen auf literarischen Einfluss seitens Cervantes' zurückzuführen sind. Die Uebersetzungen, die Tieck und Soltau von dem Meisterwerke Cervantes lieferten, unterzieht der Verfasser einer gründlichen Analyse, wobei er zu dem Ergebnis kommt, dass trotz vieler Mängel Tiecks Uebersetzung dem Originale am ehesten gerecht wird, besonders was den poetischen Gehalt anbetrifft. Er betont ferner die Verdienste der Romantiker um die Uebersetzungskunst, und führt wiederholt lange Auslassungen der Romantiker über die ausserordentliche und ganz besondere Anpassungsfähigkeit der deutschen Sprache an, liberaler Weise, ohne je Einspruch gegen diese teilweise übertriebenen Behauptungen zu erheben. Ohne diese Ueberschätzung wäre wohl freilich manches kühne Unterfangen nie in Angriff genommen worden; auch ist die deutsche Sprache immerhin geeigneter zur Wiedergabe des Spanischen und Italienischen, als, z. B., die englische.

Bertrand bucht sorgfältig alle die verschiedenen literarischen, wissenschaftlichen und politischen Erscheinungen bis zum Jahre 1850, die Cervantes immer weiteren Kreisen nahe brachten. Natürlich nimmt er dabei auf sämtliche Werke des Dichters Bezug, wenn auch *Don Quixote* die anderen in den Schatten stellt. Die politischen Ereignisse in Spanien zu Anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts brachten Deutschland und Spanien einander näher. Zwischen 35,000 und 40,000 Deutsche fochten in den Heeren Napoleons oder gegen diese auf spanischem Boden, 20,000 spanische Truppen lagen Monate lang in den norddeutschen Hafenstädten im Quartier, was natürlich das Interesse der Deutschen für Spanien steigerte, wenn auch die nähere Bekanntschaft manche Enttäuschung brachte. Die Kämpfe der Spanier gegen Napoleon verliehen dieser Nation in den Augen der Deutschen einen heldenhaften Nimbus, und man entdeckte plötzlich eine enge, geistige Verwandschaft zwischen den beiden Völkern, ja man fand, dass alles Grosse, was Spanien je geschaffen und vollbracht, ausschliesslich auf den germanischen Einschlag in dem Wesen dieser Nation zurückzuführen sei. Wenn man auch hier im Eifer den Bogen zu straff spannte, so liegt andererseits doch viel Wahres in dieser Erkenntnis.

Der interessanteste Teil von Bertrands Werk ist aber seine Darstellung der Entwicklung, die in der Beurteilung von Cervantes' Meisterwerk, *Don Quixote*, vor sich ging. Den Aufklärern war dieser Roman nichts als eine Satire, die dem spanischen Ritterroman den Todesstoss gegeben; bald kam man sogar zu der Ansicht dass dabei auch die grossen Tugenden der Spanier, wie Heldenmut, Ausdauer und Seelengrösse, mit zugrunde gegangen seien. Daneben betont man den nationalen Charakter des *Don Quixote* und lobt den Realismus der Darstellung. Aber erst die Romantiker würdigten Cervantes in erster Linie als Dichter und suchten ihn im Zusammenhange mit seiner Zeit und seinem Volke zu erfassen. In *Don Quixote* sahen sie ein Symbol der Dualität des Lebens, des Konfliktes zwischen der gemeinen Wirklichkeit und der Poesie. Der Held des Romans war in ihren Augen nicht komisch oder gar lächerlich; sie verherrlichten ihn, indem sie die Darstellung des Dichters als ein grossartiges Beispiel angewandter, romantischer Ironie betrachteten. Als Individualisten waren die Romantiker jeder zu seiner eigenen Auslegung berechtigt. Schelling bezeichnete *Don Quixote* als den philosophischen Roman *par excellence*; in den Abenteuern des Helden erkennt er den ewigen Kampf zwischen Ideal und Wirklichkeit, und in seiner Niederlage, trotz allem, den Triumph des Heroismus. Jean Paul findet, der Roman sei ein Bild des Widerstreits zwischen Idealismus und Realismus, zwischen Seele und Leib, und betont den subjektiven Charakter allen Humors. Fouqué gibt der Auslegung eine didaktische Wendung; er ruft jedem ein *tu quoque* zu. *Don Quixote* ist das Opfer eines halb bewussten, halb unbewussten Selbstbetrugs, der natürlich im Angesichte des Todes nicht standhalten kann. Der Nachdruck ist

hier von der ästhetischen nach der moralischen Seite verschoben. Solger wieder bezeichnet *Don Quixote* als fast das einzige Beispiel eines komischen Romans. Er soll uns den Kampf des Ewigen und Göttlichen in uns mit dem Vergänglichen und Niedrigen des alltäglichen Lebens zur Darstellung bringen. Sogar Hegel fühlte die Notwendigkeit, sich mit diesem Werke auseinander zusetzen, was ihm ohne alle Schwierigkeit gelang. *Don Quixote* und andre Werke dieser Art sind für ihn ein Bild des Rittertums, des Individualisten, der in seiner Vereinsamung der Gesellschaft machtlos gegenüber steht, unfähig ist, in den Gang des wirklichen Lebens einzugreifen, und deshalb komisch wirkt. Das Gesetz herrscht nunmehr, nicht der Wille des Einzelnen, und Don Quixote wird trotz seines anerkannten Edelmutts und der Selbstlosigkeit seines Strebens verurteilt. In dem Staate Hegels ist begreiflicherweise kein Raum für ihn. Der Standpunkt des Dichters ist nach Hegel natürlich ironisch. Auch Schopenhauer sucht den Helden von *la Mancha* seinem System einzuordnen, und, wie zu erwarten, sieht er dessen Schuld in dem auf ein Sonderziel gerichteten Willen. Heine findet, dass Cervantes in *Don Quixote* nichts als eine Satire auf die Ritterromane zu schaffen beabsichtigte, doch ohne es zu wollen schuf er vielleicht eine Satire auf alle menschliche Begeisterung. In dem Helden sieht Heine eine Verkörperung des geistigen Menschen, während Sancho Pansa die irdische Seite unsres Wesens darstellt. Der Roman als Ganzes erörtert mit furchtbarer Wahrscheinlichkeit die Probleme des Geistes und der Materie. Trotzdem hat er aber eigentlich nur einen Helden, denn Sancho und sein Herr personifizieren nur die beiden Seiten der menschlichen Existenz. Während Cervantes einerseits eine überlebte Gattung der spanischen Literatur vernichtete, schuf er andererseits mit demselben Wurf eine neue, nämlich den modernen Roman, in dessen realistischer Darstellung das ganze Volk zu Worte gelangt, und nicht nur eine bevorzugte Klasse. Grillparzer lehnt die Auffassung der Romaniker entschieden ab, doch ist *Don Quixote* auch für ihn ein Meisterwerk, an dem er vor allem den Realismus und die Satire bewundert. Er ist der Meinung, dass Byron vielleicht sehr recht hat, wenn er den Niedergang des spanischen Charakters und der edlen Ritterlichkeit dieses Volkes von dem Erscheinen des *Don Quixote* datiert. Otto Ludwig sieht in diesem Werke die Geschichte der gesamten Menschheit, weshalb auch der in demselben spielende Konflikt nicht zum Austrag kommt, oder auch nur zum Austrag kommen kann.

Zuletzt schildert Bertrand in grossen Umrissen das Schicksal Cervantes' in Deutschland vom Jahre 1850 bis auf die Gegenwart, und findet sehr mit Recht, dass eine wahre Würdigung dieses Dichters und seiner Werke der von den Romantikern geschaffenen Grundlage nicht entbehren kann. Die vorliegende Monographie ist eine fleissige, gründliche und ansprechende Darstellung, welche einen grossen Gegenstand zum ersten Male im Zusammenhange

behandelt. In den sehr häufigen Zitaten von Titeln, u. s. w., sind einige Druckfehler stehen geblieben. S. 66 *was* statt *was*, S. 472 *beschossen* statt *beschlossen*, S. 535 *merk wadig* statt *merkwürdig*, S. 550 *Rute and have a wife* statt *Rule a wife and have a wife*. Selbstredend sind hier nur die sinnentstellenden Unrichtigkeiten angedeutet worden. Einige angestellte Stichproben haben keine sachlichen Fehler ergeben.

JOSEF WIEHR.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF LANGUAGE. By Leonard Bloomfield, Ph. D., Assistant Professor of Comparative Philology and German in the University of Illinois. New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1914.

Before offering any opinion on individual points of the book before me, I wish to state it as my judgment that, on the whole, it is decidedly a good piece of work, and I beg to regard the following remarks, largely confined to questions which as yet do not seem to me to have found a final answer, not as intended to point out weaknesses in the book, but rather as indications that it thoroughly interested me.

Throughout the author shows sound learning in the use of the vast material treated, and on the whole good pedagogic sense in the subject matter chosen and in the manner of presentation. Yet it is doubtful if "the general reader and the student who is entering upon linguistic work" will not often be bewildered by a mass of intricate detail, highly technical terminology, and not infrequently a style anything but popular and inviting to the general reader and the novice in matters linguistic; for example in the treatment of phonetics. But if not among the general readers and the novices, the book certainly should, and I sincerely hope it will, find its readers among students with some training in language study. The author disclaims any originality in the presentation of his subject. Though there may be little that is strikingly new to those initiated, yet it is to be considered no small service to the scholarly pursuit of language work in America to have made accessible to students investigations for most of them under lock and seal in articles of technical journals presupposing the knowledge which this book means to supply, or written in foreign languages with which our students are not sufficiently familiar.

That the author has at least thoroughly digested his material, and has formed wellfounded opinions on the questions he treats, is apparent on every page, not only in the subject matter itself, but also in the freedom with which the author supplies illustrative material, first from the English language, (as it should be, because with it all of his readers are familiar); and also from foreign languages, ancient and modern, with which at least many can reasonably be supposed to have some acquaintance. Less commendable, in my judgment, is the strange proneness of the author to bring in

illustrative examples from languages of which not one out of a thousand readers can reasonably be expected to have even a most superficial knowledge; and I, for one, have the uncomfortable feeling that conclusions based upon the alleged phenomena of such languages fail to be convincing. Illustrations are to serve the purpose of demonstrating *ad oculos* statements supposedly based on them. They are the premises for an argument, and if I cannot verify the premises, the conclusion deduced from them falls to the ground, and the illustration becomes bewildering rather than illuminating. This is the more true, if at times the author fails to be wholly convincing in instances which the reader can control and in which he has every reason to suppose the author much more competent than in his use of obscure dialects. If, for example, in various places we are told that flash, flame, flare, flimmer, flicker, are derivatives, or perhaps more justly developments of a consonant combination fl, it is doubtful at least if popular consciousness is aware of any connection, and I, for one, who have been somewhat engaged with these matters should be inclined to see in the fl-element, common to the words mentioned as well as to a number of others of remoter meaning, very little more than a striking coincidence, though as a mere hypothesis, I might not be bold enough to deny the possibility of such word-formation. Certainly the fl-element ought not to be put in the same class with universally recognized morphological elements such as inflectional endings or suffixes of various kinds; which, after sinning in this direction, the author himself indicates. Again, the author might have some difficulty in convincing many readers of any difference between the Latin "puella cantat" and our, "the girl sings"; the former being considered the equivalent of "the girl she-sings." And the less he is convinced here, the more staggering to the general reader and the beginner in linguistics it might be to comprehend and accept the Greenlandish "takuwa": "appearing-of-it-to-him," as the next approach in that language to our "he sees it"; or the Georgian "m-e-smi-s": "me-to-sounding-is" as the equivalent of our "I hear." It is quite true, as our author means to illustrate, "that the categoric and other distinctions of one's own language are not universal forms of expression or of experience"; yet the conclusion ought not to be pressed too hard that the idiomatic differences between various languages indicate a corresponding difference in the mental make-up of the peoples concerned. To come back to the Latin "puella cantat" it might be suggested that the early Germanic dialects furnish frequent examples of the same "inclusion" of the actor in the finite verb together with the action-meaning, as our author, of course, well enough knows. That is, in Gothic and the other older Germanic dialects the pronominal subject, now obligatory, is quite frequently left unexpressed. Even if it should have been the growing lack of distinctness of conjugational forms that induced, as seems probable, at first the more frequent, and finally the regular use of the pronoun

as subject, yet I cannot convince myself that in this outward remedy of a growing indistinctness any corresponding psychological change should have been involved. At a time when the use of the pronominal subject is unsettled, "nimu" is no more and no less than "ih nimu," and when finally "ih nimu" prevails, the new form was in every way the equivalent of the old. Similarly, "puella cantat" is no more and no less than "the girl sings," or "a girl sings," as the context may decide. What I mean to say is, that there is some danger of being betrayed into seeing, back of differences in linguistic expressions, greater differences of psychologic habits than the facts warrant. Modes of utterance, or idiomatic turns are very often the result of the most curious historical development, and they no more adequately express psychological analyses, or complex psychological operations, than the sound of the individual word can be said to cover a single psychological concept. Both become conventional; and often enough the outward form finds not only its explanation but receives also its real present value from its historical development. I should not agree that the German: "Das Lied wurde gesungen," now is, or, for that matter, ever was equivalent to "The song became sung," and do not suppose that the author seriously means to propose this as its meaning, though he might easily be so understood (p. 173). Just how the compound passive with *sein*, in Gothic the rival of a simple form similar to that in Latin, though also of different origin, gradually displaced the simple form, and, in turn, was itself replaced by the new formation with *werden* need not be recounted here. But as the compound form was in Gothic evidently quite the equivalent of the contemporary simple form, so are also the later developments. If we agree now, that in languages whose history we can at least partly unravel, word combinations, syntactic groups, as well as single words have a conventional meaning rather than the one naturally derived from them by a logical analysis, it becomes apparent how great the danger of misapprehension in dialects so remote and so little known. I hasten to say, however, that I fear less for our author in this regard than for his readers, particularly the class for which this book was professedly written.

I fear some danger for these also from the first chapter of the book, on the "Nature and Origin of Language." It would be to no purpose to quarrel with the author and those with him who are convinced that the evolutionary theory finds its application in the most diverse fields, and so try to make a connection between the human speech as we know it and the surrogate found in the hypothetical *species homo* in an infinitely lower stage of development. Yet it seems to me that it is more a matter of faith than of demonstrable knowledge, that gesture-language is essentially the resultant of earlier purposeful movements, as the deictic movement of earlier grasping; and, particularly, that from expressive movements, incidentally accompanied by vocal utterances, language should have

directly developed. His belief is as good as other opinions or hypotheses; it is no better, in my judgment, because it explains no more of the nature of real language than the others. I quarrel with the author only for his unduly dogmatic assertion, first, that "gesture-language is nothing but a higher development of the expressive movements common, in their basis, to many animals." And that, second, "Vocal language is not essentially different. It consists, at bottom, of expressive movements. In the case of gesture-language the expressive movements themselves remained the means of communication; consequently the connection between a gesture and the original expressive movement is nearly always apparent, as when the deictic gesture is plainly a weakened grasping movement and the depicting gestures scarcely differ from natural imitative movements. In the case of vocal speech, on the other hand, it was not the movement itself that attracted attention and became the starting point for further development, but the sound which the movement produced." (p. 14) "Expressive movements are the physical phase of mental processes: whatever the mental processes the expressive movements correspond to them. Man's mind and his expressive activity have developed in indissoluble connection." (p. 15) I wonder if even the term "expressive movement" is not implying too much in this connection. Are we not led to infer that behind an "expressive movement" there is the *purpose* to express? Are these movements more than merely accompanying, or parallel physical movements? It is not without significance that in the last sentence quoted the term "expressive activity" has taken the place of "expressive movement." When the spontaneous physical movement, *accompanying* mental processes becomes associated with or productive of the expressive activity consisting of sounds voluntarily uttered for the purpose of communication with others, we have the beginnings of language, in the widest sense, a language in which also the higher types of animals may have a share; in man only have these sounds become articulate speech: the man who explains how, solves the question as to the origin of speech. But to me it seems that expressive movements, so-called, have no connection with language. To make clear the problem let me compare the human prototype before he had *speech* with a singing bird. He produced his "speech sounds," incoherently, without articulate meaning, as the bird his song, and as a baby its prattle. It remains to explain, first, how *he* came to associate these sounds with definite psychic experiences of his own, and, second, how *others* came to comprehend this association. The answer to these questions can at best be a mere hypothesis, and should never be given with any great assurance.

I have somewhat singled out this one part of the book because the author has clearly spent most earnest thought and conscientious labor upon it and repeatedly finds occasion to refer to his assumptions or conclusions. From a man of his learning and logical

incisiveness I should have expected an answer in a less certain tone, such as I appreciate in his treatment of "Internal Change in Language," Chap. VII, and "External Change in Language," Chap. VIII, two chapters which I consider to have been particularly well done. Chapter XIX, "The Teaching of Languages," does not altogether seem to fit into the book. To be sure, it shows the author as a young teacher of high ideals and contains some valuable suggestions; but the tone irritates me. Or is, perchance, this tone justified by an all too common lack of understanding and appreciation of the ideals and strivings of the serious members of our profession, and the view lamentably common also in places of influence and authority, that any one with some glibness in a foreign tongue, though without serious linguistic or literary training, is amply equipped to impart language instruction even in schools of higher standing, so long as he can laboriously, with the aid of the grammar and dictionary, render a foreign text into English, and in case of urgent necessity by the same means transfer a simple English selection into the foreign idiom? I grant, actual conditions, prevalent views outside of our ranks, amply justify the tone, and I might express the wish that, of the two classes of readers for whom the book was written, this part particularly be seriously studied by the general reader who may be in position to influence the raising or lowering of the standards of language instruction, in our colleges and universities as well as in the high schools.

Chapter X, "The Study of Language," gives a very brief outline of the history of language study and contains a useful bibliography. A full index fittingly closes the book, enhancing its usefulness for reference after a first connected reading, and this it will surely, and deservedly, receive from many seriously interested in language study for its own sake.

TOBIAS DIEKHOFF.

Ann Arbor, Mich., Jan. 12, 1915.

HUGO HERMSEN, *DIE WIEDERTÄUFER ZU MÜNSTER IN DER DEUTSCHEN DICHTUNG*. Breslauer Beiträge N. F. 33. Heft. Stuttgart 1913. J. B. Metzlersche Buchhandlung. x u. 161 pp. Preis M4, 80.

Der Verfasser bespricht in der Einleitung die Lehren der Wiedertäufer, die Ereignisse in Münster und die geschichtlichen Darstellungen. Nach einem kurzen Bericht über dichterische Bearbeitungen von Zeitgenossen, die nur als Zeugnisse der Zeitstimmung bemerkenswert sind, werden etwa 20 dichterische Arbeiten vom Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts bis 1900 der Reihe nach untersucht. Zum Schlusse werden die Ergebnisse der Schrift zusammengefasst. Da es sich um keinerlei vollwertige Dichtwerke handelt, so sind die Früchte der Studie bei aller lobenswerten Sauberkeit

der Methode und Klarheit des Stils entsprechend mager. Der Hauptwert der Arbeit Hermensens liegt in der wissenschaftlichen Anregung.

Wichtig ist die Bewegung der Wiedertäufer, die zum historischen Verständnis der Mährischen Brüder, Mennoniten und Baptisten gehört, für die Geschichte des deutschen Geisteslebens z. Z. der Reformation, hauptsächlich weil sie religiöse und soziale, politische Forderungen zu vereinigen sucht. Der Name: Wiedertäufer deutet auf *einen* Grundsatz dieser Gemeinschaft, nämlich die Taufe der Erwachsenen. Wesentlicher ist ihre Verwerfung des geistlichen Standes und aller weltlichen Obrigkeit, ihre Verkündigung des tausendjährigen Reichs, der Gütergemeinschaft und des gesamten sozialen Systems der urchristlichen Gemeinde. Eigenartig ausgestaltet hat sich die Wiedertäufer-Bewegung in Münster von 1532 bis 1535 gezeigt. Hier hat sich unter Jan (Bockelson) von Leyden und Knipperdolling eine Theokratie mit der Vielehe u. a. gebildet, die ein schnelles, schreckliches Ende nahm.

Parteiisch getrübt wie die geschichtlichen Quellen sind auch die dichterischen Bearbeitungen ausgefallen. Die grösste Aufmerksamkeit der Poeten wie der Historiker hat die rätselhafte Persönlichkeit Jan von Leydens auf sich gezogen. Seltsam ist nun, dass sich dieser Jan als religiöses Kraftgenie nicht den Stürmern und Drängern empfahl. Wir wissen von keinem ernsteren Interesse einer der grossen Stürmer und Dränger an dieser Persönlichkeit. Immerhin ist Schillers Karl Moor Jans geistiger Bruder. Auch die Romantiker sind an Jan vorbeigegangen. Erst 1837 unter dem deutlichen Einflusse Walter Scotts stellt ihn ein unbedeutender Dichter, Carl Spindler, in einem historischen Roman dar. Sein *König von Zion* ist der erfolgreichste Roman dieser Art. Nächste ihm hat Meyerbeer in seiner Oper *Der Prophet* (1849) den Stoff bekannt gemacht. Eugène Scribe schrieb den Bühnentext, Ludwig Rellstab besorgte die deutsche Ausgabe. Blendende Theatereffekte sind alles darin. Und wie mit Spindlers Roman und mit Meyerbeers Oper, so ist es auch mit Robert Hamerlings 9000 Hexameter umfassenden Epos (1867-68) und endlich mit Ernst Meverts Drama *Der König von Münster*, der wohl eine gewisse Bühnenwirksamkeit hat, aber auch keine bedeutende Dichtung ist.

Eine wirkliche tiefpoetische Ausdeutung der problematischen Persönlichkeit Jan von Leydens und der geistigen Bewegung, in der er stand,—neben "der allgemeinen Situation" das "rein Menschliche" im Sinne der Briefe Goethes und Schillers vom 20. und 21. 8. 1799—hat ein echter Dichter immer noch zu leisten. Des Verfassers besondere Hoffnung auf Gerhart Hauptmann, der 1909 ein Fragment *Die Wiedertäufer* veröffentlichte, vermag ich leider nicht zu teilen.

F. SCHOENEMANN.

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THE MAKING OF THE ROMAN PEOPLE, by Thomas Lloyd.
London: Longmans, Green and Co. 1914. Pp. vi + 136.
\$1.50 net.

The senior editor of *The Statist* has looked over the hedgerow and caught a glimpse of inviting pastures. In zeal that is unequally yoked together with knowledge, he essays to solve perplexing problems of linguistics and history with the theory that Latin is a corrupted form of Keltic. This view seems to him "to have been strangely overlooked or disregarded" (p. v), yet the singular indisposition "to accept the obvious explanation of the riddle" exists, he blithely assures us, "partly because [it (the explanation) is so very obvious, but, mainly, no doubt, because the modern intellect is still in bondage to Roman ideas" (p. 48).

The book opens with ingenious speculations regarding palaeolithic and neolithic man, and continues with a discussion of the Mediterranean or "Brown" race, as the author prefers to call it, in which he shows himself greatly impressed with its "intellectual superiority" (p. 3). We are thus in a measure prepared for the assertion that, with the solitary exception of the Greeks (and the author rather suspects that they "became inoculated with the ideas and the knowledge that they had not originated"), "the Aryans did not possess high qualities, whether intellectual, artistic, social, or political" (p. 63), those of the east being "a complete failure," and those of the west comparable at best "with the settled negro tribes of the centre of Africa." He thus proceeds to "the inevitable inference that the Brown race stood higher in civilization than their white conquerors," and "the further conclusion that it is to the Brown element in the populations of Europe to which is mainly due the progress that Europe unquestionably has made in the past few hundred years" (pp. 58-63). Considerable pains are taken to prove that the Romans were neither Etruscans, nor Greeks, and the final conclusion is that they must have been a mixture of Gauls and the Brown race. (That the Romans might have been themselves, with as much right to speak an Indo-Germanic language as Greeks, or Gauls, or anyone else, seems not to have occurred to this searcher after origins.) The descendants of these Gauls became the Patricians, those of the Brown race the Plebeians, and the Latin language is that of the conquerors as modified by their subjects. It would, of course, be a sheer waste of words to point out the absurdities of such a theory; they are the more heinous, because this time a social scientist, and not a mere philologist, has sinned against the plainest light of history and reason.

The remainder of the book is devoted to marshalling "the philological evidence" for the author's portentous conclusions. If the first half of the book is irritating to the scholar, what follows can

be nothing but comical. Even the unsuspecting who may buy the book will be sure to get their money's worth of that none too common article, philological fun. Not that all the statements are wrong of course; on the contrary, a great many parallels are in essence correct enough, but, in rediscovering this mare's nest of similarity, Mr. Lloyd utterly transcends the limits of what his evidence will prove. I need hardly say that of the really significant points of identity, like the passive and deponent formations in *-r*, the subjunctive in *-ā-*, the nouns of agency in *-tion-*, there is never a word. A few samples of what is regarded as "philological evidence" will spare one the need of detailed criticism. Thus *Oidipos* (sic) is equated with *oidhche* (night); *tyrannus* is derived from *tigherna* (lord); *cogeo* (sic) from *cog* (make war); *timpanum* (sic) from *timpan* (a musical instrument); the adverbial *-im* as in *interim* from *am* (time); *bucolicus* from *buachaill*; *catus* from *cat* (cat); *treasaurus* (sic) from *stor*; *brum* (?) from *bromonach*; *bonus* from *ban* (white); *melior* from *míl* (honey); *malus* from *maol* (bare); *sylva* (sic) from *sliabh* (mountain chain); *toga* from *cota* by inversion, and the like. The following will serve as an illustration of the more formal argumentation:

"Many English visitors to Ireland . . . have heard . . . a . . . proverb originally Gaelic, and translated literally into English as follows: 'Life is precious, as the tailor said, and he running from the gander.' Now this extremely peculiar form of expression is used by one of the very greatest of Latin writers, *Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes*. It may be objected that the writer was a native of Gaelia Cis-Alpina. But he was also an exquisite poet. As such it is incredible that he would have employed in the greatest of his works a form of expression which would have shocked the ear or offended the taste of polite Rome. If that much be admitted, the form of expression could not have been unusual. If it was not, it is difficult to conceive any piece of evidence that would more clearly establish the Gaulish origin of the ruling class in Rome" (p. 84 f.).

No less redoubtable are some of the feats of explanation. Thus *sinn* and *sibh* (pronounced *siv*) are "manifestly identical" with *nos* and *vos*, for they "differ only because of the fact that the spelling is reversed in either the one language or the other" (p. 90 f.). Again it is found that the Latin paradigm should run *sum, est, es* in order to correspond to the modern Irish equivalents. Mr. Lloyd finds this just the "kind of change which might reasonably be expected" according to his theory, for "subjects finding it necessary to learn a conqueror's language, might very easily mistake 'thou art' for 'he is'" (p. 126). Furthermore "there cannot be a doubt that" *nihil* is derived from *n'íl se* (is not), for "when the original Gaelic was forgotten, and the words had taken firm place in Latin, nothing would be more natural than that 'is not' should come to be used for 'nothing'" (p. 128). Particularly choice, however, is the new etymology proposed for French *oui*.

"One of the ways of saying 'it is' . . . would be in the affirmative *fuil se* or 'it is' . . . As Latin gained more and more ground upon Celtic, the origin of the word *fuil* would necessarily be forgotten, and the pronunciation might change somewhat. *Oi*, for example might take the place of *ui*. For that matter, even before Latin was introduced, the French Gaelic

speakers may have spelt the word with an *o*, while the Irish speakers spelt it with a *u*. In any event, the *f* would be dropped when its meaning was forgotten, and when *oil* came to be misconceived as a form of *ille*. Gradually, the *l* itself would be dropped, and *oui* would take the place of *fuil*. Here again we have decisive evidence of the permanent part played by Celtic in the formation of modern French" (p. 110 f.).

But enough of this. When one has had his laugh, the serious side claims attention. "Modern science," of which Mr. Lloyd talks glibly enough, has so far extended its range and refined its tools, that no amount of good will and ingenuity alone can hope to make substantial contributions. Nor is that all; the method is fundamentally at fault. In the preface to his "Theory of Distribution and Consumption" Mr. Lloyd takes the interesting position, that "political economy" "is a purely mental science"; that "it really concerns itself with subjective things, moods of the human mind." It is not for me to gainsay the validity of that contention for the science of economics, but one might observe that linguistic science is best treated objectively, and those results are most trustworthy which depend least upon the interpretation of "moods of the human mind," at least after the fashion in which the author of this work applies that method. Neither as history nor as philology has the book any scientific value whatsoever.

It is to be hoped that the lamentable failure of this preliminary study will induce the author, in his forthcoming book, "on the growth and decay of civilization, as exemplified by the history of Rome," to restrict himself to a discussion of the social and economic factors in Roman civilization within the framework of accepted history. In this field his professional attainments should lead one to expect really valuable results.

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JELLINEK, M. H. GESCHICHTE DER NEUHOCH-
DEUTSCHEN GRAMMATIK VON DEN ANFÄNGEN BIS
AUF ADELUNG. (Germanische Bibliothek, II, 7, edited by
Wilhelm Streitberg.) Heidelberg, I: 1913, x+392; II: 1914,
xi+503.

The word "grammar," *γραμματική*, classicists will recollect, originally denoted merely the "science of letters," that by no means wide-spread faculty of reading and writing which in the time of Cæsar became synonymous with the newly-coined "litteratura." The concept of correct speaking did not form part of its definition, as it did later, cf. the "certa scribendi et loquendi ratio" of Melanchthon, the great preceptor of Germany. The office of the grammarian was singularly lofty and autocratic. He might perchance be a writer himself, a poet or a historian; but in his profes-

sional capacity his was the task not only of observing and recording the facts of literary usage, but also of regulating them in accordance with the spirit of established tradition,—a quadruple function, in fact, which I find aptly summarized in old Martianus Capella as “scribere, legere, intellegere, probare.” (De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii, III, §230.) In the last analysis he was the supreme arbiter of linguistic and stylistic phrasing, in that he was regarded the guardian of literary purity, the repository of what the sober sense of his epoch both conserved from the past and created out of the exigencies of the present. The importance thus for the historical philologist of an intimate acquaintance with the transmitted norms and theories of his professional prototypes would seem to be unquestioned: his broad scientific equipment must embrace on the one hand familiarity with the carefully edited works of these grammarians, on the other a readiness to make use, in connection with his researches, of a synthetic command of the principles wherein these works registered the unbroken continuity of grammatical practice.

The earnest scholar of the German language has hitherto been enabled adequately to possess neither of these qualifications. An even cursory survey of the classical field—to revert to the fountain-source of our grammatical knowledge—will reveal the fact that Greek has its Schneider-Uhlig collection of “*grammatici Graeci*” and Latin Keil’s great edition of the Roman national grammarians. In the midst of the feverish research of the last quarter of a century the reprint of the older German grammars has not yet progressed to a half-dozen volumes. Similarly, that digest of theories, the systematic collation of the changes in the conceptual formulation of grammatical data which Jeep so admirably furnished for Latin (*Zur Geschichte der Lehre von den Redeteilen bei den lateinischen Grammatikern*, 1893) and a host of other investigators, to mention but the Frenchman Egger, K. E. A. Schmidt, Schömann or even Steinthal (in his *Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft bei den Griechen und Römern*, 1863) contributed for Greek, has not thus far been accessible to the student of German, albeit his idiom is the most scrutinized of modern languages. It is to the credit of Professor Jellinek that he has undertaken to supply this latter want in the face of the seemingly unsurmountable difficulties presented by the general lack both of reprints and of preliminary studies by others.

The volumes under consideration, then, present a history* not of the German language, not even of linguistic philosophy in the sense of Leibniz, but of grammatical agreements and disagreements from the beginnings of the science up to and including the activities of Adelung. In other words, they may be said to offer a book of grammatical institutes, a grammar of grammars. Volume one is historical in its plan and traces the origins of German grammar, first in the service of Latin instruction, then as an independent aid to the study of German rhetoric itself. The varied characteristics of

epochs, men and dogmas form the theme of detailed discussion, as well as the development of orthography and the conflict and compromise of dialectal assertions, until we are in a condition to appreciate the author's final comprehensive section representing the sum-total of Adelung's achievements, "What is High German?"

The scope of the second volume is such as to make it particularly serviceable to those interested in the inner history of the German language. It comprises an itemized account of the gradual progress made in the observation of grammatical facts and in their doctrinal interpretation. The German grammar—and in this it holds no unique position—is not of spontaneous and national origin. Having once borrowed its set categories from translators of Donatus, it has not been able—or willing—to shake off its Roman fetters ever since. As it stands to-day, to all intents a compact body of well-articulated constituents, it is the laboriously combined product of Judea, Rome, Greece and France on the one side and of the German philosopher, scribe and schoolmaster on the other. Thus, Hebrew influence is unmistakable in the field of early phonetics and of word-derivation; that fourfold division of grammar into the study of sounds, syllables, words and discourse which swayed the scholar's world as late as Gottsched's time, harks back to Priscian; that of the parts of speech into the classes current to-day is the result of a triple combination: Latin advanced the noun, pronoun, verb, participle, adverb, preposition, conjunction and interjection, Greek subsumed the interjection under the adverbial order and exalted the article in its place, French prestige finally established the ten parts of speech by omitting the participle and drawing a sharp line of demarkation between substantive, adjective and numerals.

We trace in a like manner the diverse fluctuations in the domain of that fascinating science of Syntax, which since 1894 has been the scene of such intense speculation and development. If it is safe to state that following the appearance of Ries' *Was ist Syntax?* the aims of syntax have received more eager consideration than ever before, it would seem no less permissible to vindicate for the period immediately preceding and contemporaneous with Adelung that steady desire to set definite bounds to the province and problems of syntax without which our present-day efforts, practically realized in the works of Holthausen (*Altisländisches Elementarbuch*, 1895), Behaghel (*Die Syntax des Heliand*, 1897), Sütterlin (*Die deutsche Sprache der Gegenwart*, 1900) and others would scarcely have been possible. By ingeniously picturing the varying fortunes attendant upon the evolution of grammatical and syntactical principles, Professor Jelinek succeeds in making of this volume of five-hundred pages a story of uniformly absorbing interest.

However, a work of this kind possesses not merely a chronological worth. It is in equal measure constructive as well. To the uninitiated the fact that Schottelius became, by introducing his epoch-making principle of analogy, the founder of the rationalistic school

of grammarians, is no doubt a grateful information. The spirited inner struggle, espoused by the theorists, among the various German dialects for supremacy or at least a "place in the sun," claims its own well-deserved attention: how the superiority, before Gottsched, of Low Saxon and Middle German had, after him, to contest the renewed incursions of the South for the recognition of *its* dialectal peculiarities and how the latter in turn found an impetuous opponent in that champion of the East Middle German literary language, Adelung. But the chief concern of the philologist centers on the deep and broad historical perspective which this study opens up for the illumination of modern problems of first importance. A modest concrete illustration: the older German grammarians often interchanged quantity and accent in that they termed tonic syllables long and atonic ones short. The source of this confusion was formerly sought exclusively in the influence of metrics, predominantly of Latin prosody. But the confusion was observed to operate vice versa as well: the quantitative relation came to be expressed in terms of accentual relations. By an unbiased investigation of the theories of the grammarians, Jellinek discovered that while Latin prosody undoubtedly had been the partial cause of the exchange, the real reason was to be ascribed both to the early modern pronunciation of Greek and Latin, and to undue fluctuations in ancient terminology itself. (Cf. *Zs. f. deut. Altertum*, 48, 227 ff.)

In the face of the monumental perseverance displayed by the books, even the traditional, fault-finding critic would ungrudgingly permit himself to be disarmed. Whoever has had occasion to delve into the larger grammatical treatises of former centuries—and this holds equally true of non-German works like Girard's *Vrais principes* or Voss' seven parts "de arte grammatica"—and endeavored to disentangle the desired modicum of truth from their but too often conflicting masses of statements, will not pause to tax Professor Jellinek for minor inconsistencies either of omission or of commission. But since his volumes are henceforth to take an honorable place, as authoritative books of reference, on the desk of the advanced German scholar, a larger comprehensiveness would not have been out of place. A case in point: the exclusion of a theme like the Germanization of the vocabulary, not indeed of daily life but of grammatical literature. Pursuing his excellent account of lexical etymology and grammatical word-formation, we wonder why Professor Jellinek thought it fit to disregard that early patriotic-purist movement whose strongest moment was appropriately synchronous with the politically depressing period of the Thirty Years' War. The frequently naïve but always enthusiastic endeavor, so actively furthered by the Fruit-bearing Societies, which beside such mirthful renderings as Wolffstirn's (1649) "superlativus=alleröberster," "dativus=überantworter" gave us the unsurpassed nomenclature typified in "radix=Wurzel" or "etymologia=Wortforschung," should certainly have received an ade-

quate treatment. Yet we find nothing of the emancipation of the German grammatical *Fachsprache* from under the sway of Aristotelian principles cloaked in Latin technical terminology, nor of the yeoman services of Chr. Wolff and Gottsched, nor of the failure of Campe's *Versuch* (einer genauern Bestimmung und Verdeutschung der für unsere Sprachlehre gehörigen Kunstwörter, 1804) largely through the latinistic leanings of Grimm. This, however, may easily be due, similarly to the relatively meager analytical index of names, subjects and places, to the author's voluntary limitation of the scope of his work. As a totality, the two volumes of Professor Jelinek offer a well-nigh faultless product, a pioneer-work of prime significance, for which the specialist cannot but be grateful. It is to be hoped that continued investigation will eventually present us with the grammatical history of the period subsequent to Adelung as well.

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GRILLPARZER UND DIE POLITIK. EIN BEITRAG ZUR WÜRDIGUNG SEINES SCHAFFENS UND SEINER PERSÖNLICHKEIT von Dr. Wilh. Bücher. Marburg, N. G. Elwert'sche Buchhandlung. 1914. (No. 19 der Beiträge z. Literaturwissenschaft. her. v. Prof. Dr. E. Elster.)

Bei wenigen Dichtern hat die Stellungnahme zur Politik des Tages so starken Anteil an ihrem Wesen und Schaffen wie gerade bei Grillparzer. Zum vollen Verständnis seines Werks ist daher eine zusammenfassende Klarlegung seiner politischen Ideen durchaus notwendig, und Büchers Arbeit füllt denn auch eine wesentliche Lücke in dem allmählich vollständiger werdenden Grillparzer Apparat.

Gleich eingangs nennt er als richtunggebende Einflüsse "auf Grillparzers politische Charakterbildung" den Klassizismus, den aufgeklärten Josefismus und des Dichters Oesterreichertum. Den Einfluss des ersteren nachzuweisen spart sich der Verfasser dann für den letzten Teil des Buches auf. Dass der Dichter sich gegen den deutschen nationalpolitischen Einheitsgedanken sträubte, dass er sich mit einer auf gemeinsamer Sprache und Kultur beruhenden Einheit der Deutschen begnügt hätte, dass sich für sein Denken Humanität und Nationalität überhaupt gegenseitig ausschlossen, das alles sind nach Bücher Ansichten, die der Einwirkung Schillers und Goethes zuzuschreiben sind. Gewiss decken sie sich mit Anschauungen der beiden Altmeister, aber gerade ihre politischen Ideen sind doch damit noch nicht erschöpft. Den allerwesentlichsten Schritt zum Pogramm des (oft so missverstandenen) intellektuellen Weltbürgertums hat der Oesterreicher nicht mit den beiden Klassikern getan; ihm konnte der oft einseitig österreichisch national gesinnte Grillparzer nicht das Wort

reden. Reichlich oft und stark hat er betont, wie sehr er gerade die Literatur seines Heimatlandes gefördert und bereichert habe; aber als Mitarbeiter an einer alle Völker beglückenden Weltkultur hat er sich wohl kaum je erfasst. Den ganzen Weg bis zu den Punkten, wo sich die Klassiker von ihrer Mitwelt wesentlich unterschieden, ist er sicher nicht mit ihnen gegangen; doch auch die kurze Strecke, die er ihnen folgte, ist nur scheinbar dieselbe. Goethe dachte seine politischen Ideen immer, so zu sagen, staatenlos, Grillparzer immer im Rahmen seines Heimatstaates Oesterreich. Weil ihm Preussen-Deutschland als Rivale Oesterreichs verhasst war, wollte er an eine politische Einigung aller deutschen Stämme nicht glauben. Ihm war auch die ganze Nationalitätenfrage etwas anderes als Goethe; er sah in ihr in erster Linie den Kampf verschiedenartiger Rassen gegen die Verschmelzung zu einem Staatengebilde. Das war ihm so widersinnig, wie es heute bei dem stark betonten Nationalempfinden der Völker erst recht empfunden wird. Prüfen wir ausserhalb dieses einen wichtigen Problems seine übrigen Äusserungen zu politischen Vorgängen und Fragen, so zeigt sich, dass er fast immer seine Urteile als ausgesprochener Positivist und Realpolitiker bildet. Dasselbe hat wohl noch niemand von den Klassikern und besonders nicht von Goethe behauptet; er war in seinem politischen Handeln und Denken unwandelbarer Idealist. Solche grundlegenden Gegensätze machen aber eine Beeinflussung nicht gerade sehr wahrscheinlich; um seine These aufrecht zu erhalten, müsste der Verfasser wohl die Politik der Klassiker in scharfer Umgrenzung zeichnen.

In vollem Recht dagegen ist er in dem, was er über Grillparzer als Sänger des Befreiungskrieges sagt; es sollte als das letzte Wort in dieser Frage gelten. G. ist nie ein Freiheitssänger gewesen, und alles sophistische Bemühen wird ihn nicht dazu stempeln. Er konnte über das Bewusstsein, dass seine Landsleute echter Charakterstärke ermangelten und die Regierenden politische Schwächlinge waren, nicht hinauskommen. Dazu mag sein Napoleonkult die unvermeidlichen inneren Kämpfe oft verschärft haben. Hatte er wirklich Freiheitsgedanken niedergeschrieben, die sein Volk hätten erheben und begeistern können, so hat niemand davon etwas gesehen oder gehört, denn der Dichter hat sie einfach der Mitwelt nicht in fertiger Form geboten. Freilich sind auch Werke wie Kleists Hermannschlacht und Prinz Friedrich von Homburg in der Schublade liegen geblieben; aber sie waren fertig da, und es war nicht des Dichters Verschulden, wenn sie nicht das Licht der Rampen sahen.

Nur zehn von 156 Seiten widmet Bücher dem Forschen nach "zeitgeschichtlichen Problemen in Grillparzers Dramen." Was er auf diesem engen Raume bietet, ist denn in der Tat auch eine sehr begrenzte Ausbeute, was um so überraschender ist, da er andererseits in einer ganzen Anzahl der Epigramme die lokalen oder tagespolitischen Veranlassungen gesucht und wohl auch richtig gefunden

hat. So bleiben manche Winke anderer Forscher unbeachtet. Wie sehr sich z. B. im "Goldenen Vliess" die Schicksale Jasons und Napoleons berühren, darauf hat schon Ehrhardt (S. 337) hingewiesen. Beide Herrscher sagen sich im Augenblick, da sie den Schritt zur höchsten Macht tun, los von Frauen, die ihnen nicht geeignet erscheinen für die neue Machtstellung. Als Kampf und Eroberung ihre Leidenschaften aufpeitschten, da ketteten sie diese Frauen an sich, aber sobald die Staatsklugheit es gebot, wurden sie geopfert und Frauen königlichen Gebiete mussten an ihre Stelle treten. Dabei erinnert die Art, wie Jason seine Handlungsweise rechtfertigt, lebhaft an die Verteidigung "des Systems der Legitimität," wie sie die von Metternich bestellte Literatur von Gens, Görres usw. führten. Unverkennbar sind aber schliesslich besonders im letzten Teil der Trilogie die Beziehungen auf den Dichter selbst. Wie Jason hatte er in Verbindung mit dem Campo vaccino Gedicht ein Erlebnis hinter sich, das er wie jener gern ungeschehen gemacht hätte, wenn es möglich gewesen wäre. Stellen wie Werke (Cottasche Ausgabe) V S 136-137 (Da liegen sie—in mir verwandelt), S. 139 (Es ist des Menschen—der uns trifft), S. 161 (Es ist des Unglücks—hab's nicht getan), S. 162 (Jetzt da ich—kein Wort) und S. 163 (Mach dass—Korinthos blieb) drücken zweifellos des Dichters eigne Erfahrungen und Empfindungen aus.

Auch in "König Ottokars Glück und Ende" ist mehr zu suchen als nur ein Vergleich des Königs mit Napoleon. Schwerlich hat irgend ein anderer österreichischer Dichter einen ähnlichen Hymnus auf sein Vaterland gedichtet, wie Grillparzer ihn hier (Werke 8 S. 86) dem Ritter Ottokar von Horneck in den Mund legt. Es ist des Dichters Antwort auf manche Zeile politischen Ehrgeizes, die ihm aus dem Norden von jenseits der böhmischen Berge auf den Arbeitstisch geflogen kam. Hier drückt der patriotische Oesterreicher sich selbst und seinen Landsleuten zur Herzensstärkung ein grosses Stück seiner politischen Hoffnungen aus. Den Mut zu solchem Hoffen, zum Hoffen auf Oesterreichs Kaisermacht, stiehlt er ihnen dann in zwei weiteren Hymnen (S. 90 und 94-95), die er den Kaiser Rudolf selbst sprechen lässt. Auch diese beiden Stellen, zu denen der Dichter sich besonders Schillers rhetorisches Pathos geliehen hat, haben mehr als poetische Bedeutung, in ihnen liegt etwas wie ein politisches Programm. Grundsätzliche politische Anschauungen liessen sich wohl überhaupt aus dem Stücke noch verschiedene herauschälen, so ausser der von Bücher berührten Nationalitätenfrage auch bezüglich der Stellung des Klerus zur Krone und anderer Rechtsfragen. Nicht zu übersehen sind vollends die Motive, die Grillparzer trotz der kaum überstandenen Nöte mit dem Ruinengedichte an diesen Stoff heranzuführen; sie gehören zweifellos zu dem, was Bücher (S. 49-50) über des Dichters "Liebe zur Dynastie" sagt.

Von der Ehrfurchtsbezeugung vor dem Kaiserhause bis zum Evangelium der Beamtenpflichten des "treuen Dieners" war nur ein kurzer Schritt. Eine Fundgrube und zugleich ein Feld voller

Wolfslöcher ist das Bankbandrama für jeden, der darin nach des Dichters politischen Grundsätzen schürfen will. Was ihm an Tagesereignissen der politischen und der Hofgeschichte bewusst oder unbewusst alles vorgeschwebet haben mag, wird sich kaum erschöpfend nachweisen lassen. Metternichs Legitimitätsprinzip und sein Einfluss auf den Kaiser spiegeln sich in manchen Zügen Bankbans und Ottos von Meran wieder. Doch wie der Grundzug seines treuen Dieners grösste Vorsicht ist, so ist der Dichter selbst im Drama äusserst vorsichtig mit allen Andeutungen und Beziehungen. Aus den Erlebnissen mit dem Ottokar hat er besonders eine Lehre gezogen; die Böhmen hatte er damals verletzt, die Ungarn behandelt er vorsichtiger. Sie sind ein einfach stilles Volk, so sagt er, (Werke VI S. 166), das sich nicht abziehn lässt von der beschwornen Pflicht (S. 169). So wie Ungarn und Treu zusammengehören (S. 172), so bilden auch Ungarn und Ruhm "ein altes wackres Paar" (S. 237). In einem solchen Land hat denn auch Otto von Meran seine Sittenlosigkeit nicht gelernt, sie stammt vom Ausland (S. 166).

Doch war der Bankban nicht Grillparzers einziges Drama des subalternen Beamtengeistes. Jene übermütige kleine Satire "Das Prius oder die Bekehrung" (1821) scheint Bücher übersehen zu haben, und doch gehört sie mit zum Schärfsten, was Grillparzer aus der eignen Misere heraus über das altösterreichische Beamtenwesen geschrieben hat. Schliesslich ist aber auch die Priestergestalt in "Des Meeres und der Liebe Wellen" eine von denselben Beamtentypen, die der Dichter so lebenswahr geschildert hat. Mit peinlicher Genauigkeit versieht dieser prächtige Vertreter der Legitimität seinen Dienst, mit blindem Eifer stellt er sich und andere unter die bestehenden und selbst erlassenen Gesetze. Tauben, die keine Ortsberechtigung im Tempelhain haben, werden gefangen; Untergebene, die von ihm abhängen, müssen das Übermass seiner Autorität fühlen. Mit diesem Buchstabendienst kann er aber einen freien Geist wie den Heros nicht fesseln, an ihm geht er zugrunde. Wie sehr er sich auch müht, selbst mit fragwürdigen Mitteln den Untergang aufzuhalten, sein Schiffbruch ist besiegelt. Beamte und auch Kleriker dieses Typs waren im vormärzlichen Oesterreich wohl keine Seltenheit.

Ein rechtes Kompendium politischer Anschauungen und Begriffe ist "Eien Bruderzwist in Habsburg." Bücher hat wohl gerade betreffs der Revolution von 1848 manches Neue, das sich auf dene Dichter bezieht, zusammengetragen und auch dessen Stellungnahme, wenn auch scharf so doch richtig gezeichnet. Wer aber diese Stellung erklären will, darf nicht an des Dichters letztem Drama vorübergehen. Besonders ist es der dritte Aufzug, der als eine einzige Ablehnung jeglicher Revolution anzusehen ist; mit wirtschaftlichen, moralischen und politischen Gründen hat Grillparzer hier nicht gespart. Und der vierte Aufzug liefert zu all den Begründungen das abschreckende Bild einer Volkserhebung; beide

Aufzüge bilden eine Art Verteidigung seiner Stellung und zwar den politischen Freunden wie der Regierung gegenüber. Jenen konnte er aus kühler Überlegung nicht folgen und vom regierenden Hause Habsburg aus patriotischem Gefühl nicht lassen; denn wenn er gleich Habsburger in tiefer Erniedrigung schildert, so hindert ihn das selbst hier nicht, auf ihr Haus (9, 67) ein hellklingendes Loblied zu singen.

Auch in den bisher nicht erwähnten Dramen liegt noch manches, das Grillparzers Ansichten über politische Tagesfragen und wirtschaftliche oder politische Probleme weiter erklären würde. Und noch weiter würde das Material dazu wachsen, wenn sich auch für die bisher unerklärt gebliebenen Epigramme die einzelnen Veranlassungen feststellen liessen. An dem Gesamtbild von Grillparzer als politisierendem Staatsbürger, wie Bücher es uns gezeichnet hat, würden wohl aber weitere Funde nichts ändern.

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BEOWULF, EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION, BIBLIOGRAPHY, NOTES, GLOSSARY, AND APPENDICES, by W. J. Sedgfield, Litt.D. Second Edition. Manchester at the University Press. 1913.

BEOWULF, WITH THE FINNSBURG FRAGMENT, edited by A. J. Wyatt. New Edition revised with Introduction and Notes by R. W. Chambers. Cambridge, at the University Press. 1914.

English scholarship now has to its credit two excellent editions of *Beowulf*, which will undoubtedly do much to make a reading of the poem easier and pleasanter for students in England and America. While mainly designed for those who are approaching this material for the first time, each of these books contains a great deal of interest and value to the expert. The two might profitably be used in conjunction, since they are not at all alike in critical apparatus, and since each presents some features of excellence not found in the other.

Dr. Sedgfield's first edition has already been reviewed by the present writer in this journal (Vol. X, pp. 633 ff., October, 1911). In that edition the text and glossary were good, the notes fair, the introduction exceedingly bad. In the present issue most of the earlier errors have been corrected. The introduction has been entirely rewritten, to its very great benefit. The marks of quantity have been added in the text and the glossary. Various conjectural emendations have been excised, and many of the notes revised. Some obvious mistakes, already pointed out, have been allowed to stand—as, for example, the note to 1240. The punctuation is occasionally questionable, as the semicolon instead of the period after 17. But punctuation is not a matter one can dogmatize

about. It seems a pity that the *Finnsburg Fragment*, which everyone reads in connection with *Beowulf*, should not have been provided with quantities, notes, and a place in the glossary. It is even more of a pity that Dr. Sedgefield thinks it necessary to adhere to the old theory of Möller in regard to the interpretation of this poem, and its relation to the epic. (See especially the Glossary of Proper Names, sub Finn, pp. 258-59.) Dr. Chambers' comments are far more up to date: "Möller's view is open to at least half a dozen objections. . . . This theory is, therefore, now generally discredited, and most recent scholars follow in the main the view of Bugge" (p. 168). The inclusion of *Widsith*, *Deor*, and *Waldhere* in Sedgefield's edition is much to be commended. If time permits, *Widsith* should always be read in conjunction with *Beowulf*. But the statement about these poems in the Introduction is not felicitously phrased. "There seems good reason for believing that the earliest OE. poetry was lyric in character and strophic like the Old Icelandic poetry in the sense that there was no *enjambement*, the full stop occurring at the end of a line. To this class belong the *Rune Song*, *Deor's Lament*, the *Charms*, and *Widsith*" (p. xviii). This might seem to mean that the poems named are all examples of the oldest Anglo-Saxon poetry, that they are all strophic, and have no *enjambement*. The *Rune Song* is not very early in its present shape—all that Brandl will say is "jedenfalls vor der Zeit Alfreds"; *Deor* (which ought not to be called a "Lament," although the title will no doubt long survive) is probably of the eighth century; and there are late elements in the *Charms* and *Widsith*. There are traces of strophic structure in *Widsith*, but it is misleading to speak of it as a "strophic" poem. Möller's view is, of course, long since obsolete. *Enjambement* is not always absent from these pieces. There are other passages in the Introduction and Notes that would gain by greater exactness of statement, or greater caution in setting forth a debatable question. Thus when it is said that William of Malmesbury and Æthelweard "substitute" Scaef for Scyld, the term seems unfortunate, in the present unsettled condition of the problem (p. 109). It may be true that "the Sigurðr (Siegfried) of the *Völsunga saga* (Wælsing) and the *Nibelungenlied* is replaced by Sigemund in the *Beowulf*" (p. xxxvi), but Dr. Sedgefield will find scholars to disagree with him, and students who will wonder what the word "Wælsing" means, as he has phrased the sentence. The whole Introduction, however, represents so great an advance over that in the first edition that one does not feel inclined to cavil at minor faults. Most of the errors have been corrected, and there is less reverence for obsolete theorizing. Many scholars nowadays seem disquieted because the Anglo-Saxons celebrated in *Beowulf* Geats and Danes, instead of their own people. Professor F. W. Moorman, for example, has recently advanced an elaborate and ingenious theory that the poem took shape in a Geat colony settled

in Yorkshire, which he thinks may explain this difficulty.¹ Dr. Sedgefield asks, "What is the reason for this exclusive interest in Scandinavian matters?" (p. xxix), and believes that the settlement of Danes among gradually departing Anglian tribes on the mainland provides a solution. It ought not to be necessary to point out that at this period there was great interest in the deeds and sagas of foreign peoples, and that these sagas often thrived best and reached their highest literary development far away from the places where they first arose. Is it a matter of surprise that the Scandinavians developed the Nibelung story, the scenes of which were about the Rhine and at the court of the Hunnish king, or that Eormannric and Dietrich of Bern were favorite heroes among peoples of nationality very different from their own? Moreover, the interest of the Anglo-Saxons was not exclusively centred on Scandinavian epic material. *Widsith* shows well enough how little confined to any one people that interest really was, and the material of the *Waldhere* fragments, which is not Scandinavian at all, confirms it. It is a mere accident that the only long epic in Anglo-Saxon which has survived until the present day should deal with Scandinavian heroes.

Turning now to the edition by Dr. Chambers, we see at the first glance that it has been much changed from the form in which it left the hands of Mr. Wyatt. It is, indeed, virtually an independent work. The revision has been made with great skill and discretion. The critical apparatus has been much enlarged, especially in the somewhat copious Notes. As the editor points out, this has been rendered necessary by the publication of many new interpretations and emendations in recent years, many of which cannot be disregarded. The very ascetic Preface of the earlier edition, covering thirteen pages, has here been expanded to thirty-six. Most of this space is taken up in defending or explaining editorial principles and practice. Little is said of grammar, and nothing of syntax, metre, style, structure, literary history, or theories of composition. A very few bibliographical references are given. Much of this material is to be looked for in a separate *Introduction to Beowulf*, which is to be published shortly. Such a volume has long been needed, and it is gratifying to know that it will come from Dr. Chambers' own pen. The question remains, however, whether it may not be well to preface the text with a brief discussion of these matters, with references to the books most helpful to the student. It is frequently convenient to place the most essential facts in regard to the poem before students in the beginning, postponing detailed study until after the text has been read. To compress into brief form discussion of the principal points of *Beowulf*-criticism is indeed not easy, but it seems worth trying. Mr. Sedgefield's attempt leaves a good deal to be desired, but shows the general lines along which such

¹*Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association*, Vol. V, Oxford, 1914.

work might proceed. Brief explanations of this sort would not materially increase the size of the present volume. Moreover, the Introduction, as it stands, is a little diffuse in places. The excursus on p. xii, for example, might well have been omitted.

Dr. Chambers' very careful description of the MS is supplemented by two excellent half-tones, reproducing pages which illustrate the handwriting of each of the two scribes. A transcription is placed on the page opposite. This has often been done before, but it is not so easy to find facsimiles of the Thorkelin MSS. Both the copy made by Thorkelin and that made at his order are here illustrated in specimen pages. Great care has obviously been exercised in examining the *Beowulf* MS; this may be seen by reference to the pages in which the marks of quantity appearing in the MS are discussed (xxxvii-xxxviii). After the exceedingly painstaking collations of Sedgefield and Chambers, it seems not too much to say that little remains to be done by working directly from the MS itself.

The editorial methods seem to the present reviewer almost uniformly excellent. Conservatism is the rule,—and Mr. Wyatt's text was distinctly conservative, too. The best proof of Dr. Chambers' adherence to that principle is that he has made no conjectural emendations of his own at all. He rightly refuses to "emend the text where the metre shows the form given in the MS to be wrong," maintaining that absolutely consistent reconstruction would necessitate a complete rewriting in the language of the eighth century. It might be added that, despite the great services rendered to Anglo-Saxon metrics by Sievers, much still remains to be settled, and that the metrical system is not now, and perhaps never will be, a mathematically accurate affair. The editor shows a similar conservatism in regard to dialectical variations. The whole tendency of the present day is against unduly "normalized" texts, as it is against those in which conjectural reconstructions abound. In this edition it is obvious that smooth and ingenious readings have constantly been rejected in favor of the wording of the MS.

The present reviewer agrees that it is a pity that Anglo-Saxon texts cannot be printed in type approximating more closely to the characters in the MSS. This is particularly desirable in dealing with passages in which emendation is necessary. As Dr. Chambers says, "A conjecture which seems a very violent one when expressed in modern type may yet appear very reasonable when we picture the form of the Old English letters." The practice of printing with characters modelled upon the MS handwriting was followed by most of the earlier editors, and has been revived in modern times by Trautmann, but his example has been but little imitated,—partly, no doubt, because of the expense of the type. Into the text of the new edition Dr. Chambers has introduced the character ȝ, "against which," he thinks, "most teachers seem to cherish an

unreasoning antipathy." Elsewhere in the book, however, he uses *g*. Would it not be better to employ the Anglo-Saxon character uniformly throughout the whole book? Its introduction seems desirable; it is much used in Anglo-Saxon texts printed in Germany, and it surely forms a better symbol for the different sounds which it represents than the Roman *g*.

There is undoubtedly a distinct advantage in placing the Notes at the foot of the page, rather than at the back of the book, as done by Sedgefield and Schücking, or even in a separate volume, as Holthausen arranges them. Dr. Chambers is here carrying out the plan adopted by Mr. Wyatt in the earlier edition. It undoubtedly saves time and eyesight. In the arrangement of the critical material, the choice of type, and the spacing on the page, the present book is to be commended.

The Index of Persons and Places is admirable, as might be expected from the chief authority on *Widsith*, that cyclopedia of Germanic story. But it is regrettable that the editor, in his list of what may be supposed to be the three most helpful works covering this general subject, should include Miss M. G. Clarke's *Sidelights on Teutonic History during the Migration Period*, an untrustworthy and unauthoritative book, with many errors and misprints, and entirely lacking in critical judgment and perspective. The general view of the Finnsburg material proposed by Chambers is, as has already been noted, far more in accordance with the best modern criticism than Sedgefield's, although it seems doubtful if his theory of a part played by the Eotenas in contradistinction to the Frisians will command general assent. The reading of the "Thryth" passage (1931 ff.) seems to the present writer more convincing than Sedgefield's. It is precisely here that one of the chief excellences of this edition appears: it shows a firm grasp of the complicated problems of Germanic heroic story, and a wise and conservative application of the results of modern research to the readings in the text.

The plan of the present review precludes discussion of the details of the textual criticism in the Notes. The intention of the writer is rather to make clear the main lines along which each of these two editions has been conceived, and to point out their respective merits. It is easy to criticise, but it is not easy to exaggerate the amount of patient labor which has gone to the making of these two books. For both of them, the student of *Beowulf* should feel very grateful. According to his needs, he may use each of them with the greatest profit. Finally, a word of appreciation may perhaps be added on behalf of those who are engaged in teaching the poem or in endeavoring to throw fresh light upon its many difficulties.

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MARLOWE'S EDWARD II, Edited by William Dinsmore Briggs, Ph.D. London: David Nutt. 1914. Price 12 s, 6 d, net.

That this edition is the product of long and careful labor would be evident, even without the prefatory explanation that the Introduction to it was first put into form as a Harvard thesis in the year 1900. The text follows that of the Cassel copy of the 1594 edition, the oldest known to be extant. A collation of about a dozen random pages with my facsimile of the Cassel quarto evidences the general trustworthiness of the editing. The occasional deviations which occur (e. g., '*Arun.*' for '*Aru.*', l. 1191; '*senselesse*' for '*sencelesse*', l. 1211; '*Arundell*' for '*Arundell*', l. 1238; '*bloodshed*' for '*bloudshed*', l. 1240; '*should*' for '*shoulde*', l. 2500; '*Houlborne*' for '*Houlburne*' in the colophon), though irritating, will hardly seem inexcusable to those who know the difficulty of producing a faultless letter-for-letter reproduction of an Elizabethan volume.

The footnotes, recording variant readings in the later editions, are no less accurate, and they are very full. Indeed, many readers will probably feel that Professor Briggs has given himself meticulous pains in attempting to cite all the textual variations in the many nineteenth-century editions of the play. In about sixteen instances my collations of the early quartos seem to correct or supplement the variants indicated, the most important cases being in l. 107, 182, 370, 1301, 1734, 1870, and 2569. None of these points are of great significance, and it would be disingenuous not to add that Professor Briggs's notes correct those of my preliminary edition in about as many instances. In general no effort is made to indicate the original punctuation or the sporadic use of italic capital letters (e. g., *I* for *I*).

It is on the bibliographical side that students will find most cause to complain of Professor Briggs's text. Unfamiliarity with regular procedure is indicated by his numbering the different pages of each signature of the quarto '1' to '8.' Thus the page of the original which bibliographers would call 'B 2' is confusingly labelled 'B 3,' and 'B 2' of the quarto is called 'B 4.' No account whatever is taken of the catchwords of the original, of the running title, or of the printer's devices which appear on the title page and at the close of the play. Considering the rarity of the first quarto of *Edward II*, of which the only two or three known copies are in isolated libraries, the editor should certainly have made his reprint follow the original page by page. By this means not only would reference from one to the other have been facilitated, but it would have been possible also to reproduce signatures, catchwords, and running title accurately and clearly. In no case should these essential aids to the bibliographer have been utterly ignored. Page for page reprints are perhaps hardly practicable where the greatest economy of space is required or in the case of collective editions based

upon originals differing considerably in size of page (e. g., partly quarto and partly octavo editions); but they are always distinctly desirable. In the present instance, where a single quarto is followed throughout, and the pages of the reprint average about the same number of lines as those of the source, the abandonment of the original pagination can hardly be due to anything but failure to consider the bibliographical as opposed to the textual side of an editor's duty. The same cause doubtless accounts for the absence of all bibliographical information concerning the later quartos of 1598, 1612, and 1622. The reader is not even given to understand which copies of these editions have been employed in the collation, though, in the case of the first at least, it is known that different copies vary in their readings.

The explanatory notes, which occupy about ten per cent more space than the text itself, are not only full, but also in general comprehensive and acute. The citations from Holinshed and the other sources of the play are excellently chosen and introduced in the connections in which they prove most illuminating. The references both to sixteenth-century works and to modern criticism show thorough command of the literature relating to the play, and many of the notes are distinct contributions to the reader's knowledge. Among the happiest are Professor Briggs's discussion of 'The hautie Dane,' etc., in l. 964 and 'lake' in l. 2433. This commentary is indeed the most valuable part of the book, and it will command the respect and gratitude of future students of Marlowe. Small errors seem, however, to be involved in the notes on the following lines: L. 8 (p. 105). It is quite wrong to speak of Marlowe's *Hero and Leander* as 'his translation of a Greek poem long attributed to the old poet Musaeus.' Chapman's translation of the Greek poem, published in 1616, should be compared with the original poem which Marlowe began and Chapman finished (first published in 1598), if one would understand the utter difference between the two works. L. 70 (p. 109). The note fails to explain the syntax. Rather supply 'shall be' before 'puld.' Ll. 71-2 (*ibid.*). Is it a casual slip or is it from forgetfulness of Middle English that Professor Briggs refers to '-th plurals' as belonging to the *Northern* dialect? L. 249 (p. 118). 'His peeres' certainly does not mean the king's peers, as here explained (i. e., holders of one of the five degrees of nobility), but obviously *Gaveston's* peers (equals). L. 307 (p. 122). One can hardly believe that Professor Briggs would have ventured to doubt the wide diffusion of 'the ability to understand spoken Latin,' had he kept in mind the enormous contemporary vogue of academic Latin plays and the popular influence of such works as Udall's 'Floures for Latine speakyng.' L. 675 (p. 130). The note on 'Spare' is certainly wrong. There is no question here of an omitted relative subject as in the alleged parallels cited. 'Spare' is simply an imperative. L. 689 (p. 131) *Octavis*. As the metre shows, this form in the quartos of 1594 and 1598 is certainly a misprint for the

'Octavius' that appears in the later quartos. The accidental omission of the second 'u' is very easily explainable in the case of the printer of 1594, and the compositor of 1598 simply followed 'copy.' (I may perhaps add that my failure to mention this printer's mistake in my preliminary text of the play was not due to failure to note it.) L. 2356 (p. 196). *Suscepi that prouinciam*, etc. The note misses the point. It is not anything supposedly unclassical in the use of the term 'provincia' that Marlowe is 'taking a fling at,' but the hackneyed contemporary employment of the Ciceronian phrase, of which a dozen instances might have been cited. See, for example l. 1134 of the Latin play, *Victoria*, with Moore Smith's comment.

Slight carelessness seems responsible for the employment of modern usage in regard to 'u' and 'v' in passages of text quoted in the notes, where otherwise the spelling of the original is retained. A personal idiosyncrasy appears in the regular spelling of Arundel as 'Arundell.'

Criticism of the long Introduction, in which Professor Briggs sketches the general evolution of the chronicle play, is rather forestalled by the author's modest prefatory remarks. 'Hardly any competent scholar who attentively examines the subject,' he says, 'can fail to discover for himself the principal features of its (the chronicle history's) development. I cannot then pretend to offer to the world any large fund of new information. Nevertheless, I venture to print this account of the growth of an interesting and important species of the drama in the hope that the reader will find it to be at least a useful collection of material.' The sketch is indeed written in a very pleasant style and it shows close study of the extant history plays of Marlowe's generation. The technical student, however, who alone is likely to be drawn to so extensive and critical an edition of a single play, will find the Introduction, in comparison with the rest of the volume, disappointingly 'thesis-y' and general. It contains nothing of consequence concerning Marlowe or *Edward II*. One might well wish that it had been published elsewhere and that its place in the present book had been taken by a more serious effort to answer the particular problems which face an editor of the play; for example: the bibliographical questions connected with the early editions; Marlowe's exact relation to his various sources; the chronological and artistic relationship of *Edward II* to the poet's other works; the technical analysis of style and meter; and the suggestions which the play offers concerning the methods of Elizabethan staging.

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MUSIC ON THE SHAKESPEARIAN STAGE. By G. H. Cowling. Cambridge: at the University Press. 1913. 8vo, pp. viii, 116.

The reader, I think, will be able to discern the character of this volume from the following prefatory remarks of the author:

When my friend Professor Vaughan asked me if I had thought over any subject for a dissertation, I felt depressed. For I remembered the melancholy compilation that is expected from a student who sets out to take a degree in English Literature.

The following essay is the outcome of curiosity—curiosity to know with what sort of stage-music and musical effect the Elizabethan dramatists produced their plays. . . . It may be objected that all this is purely antiquarian in its aim; but even if it were, it must not be assumed that all antiquarian research is of the dry-as-dust sort.

As one might suspect from the tone of these utterances, the author lacks that thorough knowledge of the subject, and fails in that painstaking care of details, which would give to his work a very high value. His book, one must frankly say, is full of annoying inaccuracies, of naïve statements, and of generalizations based upon insufficient research. Yet one must hasten to add that it deals with an interesting subject of some importance to a correct understanding of early theatrical performances, and that in spite of obvious deficiencies in scholarship it will prove valuable to students of the Tudor-Stuart drama.

The first chapter is entitled "Music in Pre-Shakespearian Drama." Here the author quickly betrays his lack of a wide familiarity with the religious drama. For example, in dealing with the mystery plays he fails to take into consideration the guild accounts, which are full of significant references to music and musicians. As Mr. E. K. Chambers (*The Mediaeval Stage*, ii, 140) remarks: "The professional assistance of the minstrels . . . was a usual and a considerable item in the expenses." And the importance of these recorded expenses Mr. Chambers illustrates as follows: "At the Chelmsford performance just mentioned the waits of Bristol and no less than forty other minstrels were employed. There is no sign of a musical accompaniment to the dialogue of the existing plays, which were spoken, and not, like that of their liturgical forerunners, chanted." But we hear nothing of these guild records in the chapter under discussion; Mr. Cowles, it would seem, contented himself with examining the text of "the first play, *The Creation*, in existing series of plays." And even this examination, one is led to fear, was not thorough. Of the Towneley Cycle he says: "The Towneley play of *The Creation*, etc., has twelve leaves missing, so that it is impossible to say whether musicians were employed. This series has but few stage-directions, yet it would be rash to draw thence the conclusion that the Towneley plays were played without music. For example the second *Shepherds'*

Play ends with the Yorkshire shepherds bringing toys for the holy child to Bethlehem. Their last words are:

First Shepherd. What grace we have fun.

Second Shepherd. Come forth, now are we won.

Third Shepherd. To sing are we bun.

Let take on loft.

—And it is likely that they finished their show with a carol." Now a careful examination of the play shows that after line 189 the three shepherds unite in a song; that after line 476 Mak sings "clere out of toyne"; that after line 638 "Angelus cantat"; and that after line 664 the three shepherds apparently sing again. Thus instead of one there were in the play probably five songs. The suspicion that the author's examination of the play was superficial is strengthened by his later statement: "To Heywood also belongs the credit of leading up to song with fitting dialogue" (subsequently he refers to this as "Heywood's manner"), and he cites *The Four Ps* by way of evidence. But the first song in the second *Shepherds' Play* is more effectively and even more elaborately introduced than the song in *The Four Ps*:

I. Pastor. By the roode,
Thyse nyghtys ar long!
Yit I wold, or we yode,
Oone gaf vs a song.

II. Pastor. So I thought as I stode,
To myrth vs emong.

III. Pastor. I grauntt.

I. Pastor. Lett me syng the tenory.

II. Pastor. And I the tryble so hye.

III. Pastor. Then the meyne fallys to me.
Lett se how ye chauntt.

The song is here introduced with conscious art; and I imagine that it would not be difficult to find similar cases in other plays much earlier than those of Heywood. The discussion of the moralities is wholly inadequate. Was the author unaware of *Mankind* and *The Castell of Perseverance*, and the songs and instrumental music in these plays? More serious still, Mr. Cowles ignores the influence of the Chapel Royal and of the various singing children on the development of song and instrumental music in the drama.

The second chapter deals with "An Elizabethan Stage and Its Music." Again one finds the same sort of defects. How can the author declare: "It was Marlowe who popularized trumpets in battle scenes"? We do not know enough about the plays that preceded Marlowe's to make such a generalization. Probably, after all, the military authorities determined the use of trumpets, drums, and ensigns by armies. A second example of generalization on insufficient evidence must suffice for the purposes of this review. *The Malcontent*, which was written by Marston for the Blackfriars playhouse, was stolen in 1604 by the actors at the Globe, in retaliation, it would seem, for the theft, by the children, of *The Spanish Tragedy*. Webster wrote a long Induction by way of explana-

tion, in the course of which the actor Sly asks Burbage: "What are your additions?" and Burbage answers: "Sooth, not greatly needful; only as your salad to your great feast, and to abridge the not-received custom of music in our theatre." Mr. Cowles quotes this passage, and draws the sweeping conclusion: "Here is proof that music was not in regular use at the *Globe* in 1604, though there must have been trumpets and drums to play the flourishes and alarums needed for the historical plays that were staged there." The passage, however, only means that the Induction by Webster had been written to take the place of the elaborate musical overture which was a characteristic of the performances of the boys. The custom is described by the Duke of Stettin, who records in his Diary a visit to Blackfriars in September 1602: "For a whole hour preceding the play one listens to a delightful musical entertainment on organs, lutes, pandorins, mandolins, violins, and flutes." This elaborate overture of an hour's duration was the "not-received custom" to which Burbage refers; and it explains the phrases, "as your salad to your great feast," and "to entertain a little more time." That the *Globe* had a regular band of musicians is clear even from this play; and Mr. Cowles himself is later forced to observe: "The 'not-received custom of music' at the *Globe* seems to have been relaxed in 1604 for the production of the Marston-Webster *Malcontent* in favor of a band of wind-instruments. The play begins with this direction: 'The vilest out-of-tune music being heard, enter Bilioso and Prepasso.'" I may add that the author forgot the Blackfriars "custom of music"—the same custom seems to have prevailed at Paul's—when in Chapter IV he said: "In the age of Shakespeare, no overture was played before the curtain rose."

Chapter V, dealing with the social status of the playhouse musicians, puts its contention thus: "The men who provided this music in the theatres were a despised and outlawed caste, recruited from the ranks of strolling musicians. They were despised by the church, hated by Puritans, and mocked at even by a writer of plays like Dekker. Without visible means of support, wandering from tavern to tavern," etc. This generalization, I believe, is in the main untrue, for the reason that the author has confused the theatrical musicians with the strolling tavern fiddlers. The latter class, it is true, infested the rooms of the London taverns where they were glad to play for the conventional "fiddler's fee." But, so far as the evidence goes, the more important Elizabethan and Jacobean theatres seem to have employed the best musicians that London afforded; and these musicians were probably not less respectable than musicians of the same class to-day. In 1635 Sir Bulstrode Whitelocke wrote of the musicians belonging to the King's Men—Shakespeare's troupe—as follows: "I was so conversant with the musitians, and so willing to gain their favour, especially at this time, that I composed an aier my selfe, with the assistance of Mr.

Ives, and called it Whitelocke's Coranto; which being cried up, was first played publicly by the Blackfryars Musicke, *who were then esteemed the best of common musitians in London*. Whenever I came to that house (as I did sometimes in those days, though not often) to see a play, the musitians would presently play Whitelocke's Coranto; and it was so often called for, that they would have it played twice or thrice in an afternoon." From Sir Henry Herbert's Manuscript we learn that this band of musicians, which played at the Blackfriars and at the Globe, paid to the Master of the Revels an annual fee of £1 for license. In *The Actors' Remonstrance* (1643) we find playhouse musicians in general referred to as: "Our Musicke that was held so delectable, that they scorned to come to a Taverne under twentie shillings salary for two hours."

The chapter on "Musical Instruments and their Uses," accompanied by excellent illustrations of the more common musical instruments of the time, will prove of special value to students of Elizabethan drama. Other chapters deal with "Elizabethan Music and Its Share in the Drama," and "Some Literary Allusions to Music in Elizabethan Plays." A useful bibliography is appended. The author promises a later and fuller treatise on this subject, and states that he publishes now "in order to report progress." We hope that he will carry out his promise, and that in the meantime he will have the opportunity to fulfill a wish expressed in his Preface: "I should have liked to read and ransack every play of the period for material, but alas, I had not time enough for this."

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UNIVERSITY DRAMA IN THE TUDOR AGE, by Frederick S. Boas. Oxford, The Clarendon Press, 1914.

Among the many books and articles of recent years helping to round out our still fragmentary knowledge of the forces that contributed to the passing of medieval morality and farce and the rise of the great romantic and poetic drama of Shakespeare and his fellows, I doubt whether any is of greater value to the student than *University Drama in the Tudor Age* by Professor F. S. Boas. The rich and varied repertory of the academic stage traced for us here in detail had become somewhat familiar through the studies of Professors Churchill and Keller in the Shakespeare *Jahrbuch*, of Professor Boas himself in the *Cambridge History of English Literature*, and of Professor Moore Smith in his reprints of Latin plays. But though the present volume is in large part a repetition of facts already published, the data had been so scattered that the best informed found difficulty in following the history of university drama. Professor Boas has gathered the mass of scattered infor-

mation on the subject and added material that gives perspective and enables the average student to grasp the significance of the work of the university playwrights.

The author's treatment of his material is in some respects ideal. He gives a clear and full statement of what is known in regard to the drama of Oxford and Cambridge to the end of Elizabeth's reign, ample analyses of the plots of all the extant plays, and accounts of sources and relations. All this is of permanent value, and the volume will probably long remain an important reference work on account of the inaccessibility of most of the plays and the inability of many students to read sixteenth century Latin fluently. Besides, many interesting passages expressive of the playwright's critical attitude or typical of the humor and jesting, the pageantry and song, of the university stage are skilfully woven into the accounts of the plots. For example, the discussion of the unities (p. 28) in the preface of Grimald's *Christus Redivivus*, published in 1543, antedates Sidney's discussion by nearly half a century. A word should be said, also, of the engaging fashion in which Professor Boas criticises the various plays from the point of view of literary value; here his real sympathy with his work is revealed.

The greatest shortcoming of the volume is its too limited scope. The author, rather modestly, has not emphasized the significance of his field or stressed a number of broad generalizations that urge themselves upon the reader. "With the imperfect materials at our command," he declares, "all generalization is difficult, and is liable to be overthrown by fresh evidence" (p. 346). There is occasion for regret, however, that one who knows so much of university drama has not seen fit to discuss its relation to the great general development of English drama in the sixteenth century. Dramatic productions at the universities probably played no mean part in the spread of humanism—in the naturalization among the English of its aspiring and aristocratic temper, in the development and application of its critical tenets, and in the domestication of classic and foreign types of drama. It is difficult, of course, to discuss relations so complex, particularly since the classification of drama on the basis of university production is a somewhat artificial one. But though the Tudor dramatist's adaptation of classical structure, technique, and material was merely one of the results of humanism, which manifested itself alike in universities, schools, inns of court, and court, the universities in all probability formed the center of the movement and furnished the laboratory which trained the workers in the field.

One impression gained from the material which Professor Boas presents is that dramatic activity at the universities showed remarkable breadth and vitality. The academic interpretation of humanism might conceivably have forced the drama into some such barren formalism as Italy experienced; for the constant tendency of the scholar was toward a rigid formulation of rules, as one may

judge from Ascham's account of Watson's *Absalon*. But whatever the cause, the history of university drama reveals a spirit of liberalism. Most significant is the temper of the men who were the exponents of classical technique. According to Grimald (p. 28), his Oxford tutor in praising *Christus Rediuiuus*, 1543,—“Bellè uidelicet me temporum ordine ad finem decurrisse,” says Grimald—commended a romantic type of art, and even defended the violation of the unity of time on the ground of classical precedent. Gager claims liberty in handling the material of his *Meleager*, 1582 (pp. 167, 168), and prefaces his *Vlysses Redux*, 1592, with a still more significant profession of freedom from the rigidity of classical laws (p. 203). These passages are interesting forerunners of Jonson's criticism in *Every Man out of his Humour*, itself illustrative of the way in which extreme classicism was modified by the more virile Elizabethan taste. One of Jonson's best claims to breadth of view lies in his principle that literature must be after the fancy of the times. Certainly no phrase is more suggestive of the capacity that English writers showed for advancement in literary art, and academic as well as professional drama was evidently in accord with this principle. Drama at the universities, as its history is now presented by Professor Boas, was never long isolated from the general movements of Elizabethan drama, even though its tone was always more academic and its comedy never lost the mockery and broad burlesque appropriate to Christmas festivities, where Lords of Misrule held sway. The university stage reveals successively the popularity of mystery, morality, classical play and adaptation of classical tale and play, romantic play from Italian sources and from Chaucer, chronicle play, and satiric comedy of manners. The contribution of the universities to the field of romantic comedy in Edwards and the later Cambridge romanticists is typical. It is little wonder that Sackville was prepared to contribute so significantly to tragedy, and that Lyly, Peele, Greene, and Marlowe, fresh from the universities, effected the final crystallization of Elizabethan drama.

The university romantic plays at the end of the century, which have not been fully studied heretofore, seem to me of particular importance in this connection. Possibly in some phases they reflect the large body of lost romantic court dramas belonging to the seventies. They are full of conventional features, and, as Professor Boas points out, frequently do not follow their Italian sources closely. Thus the author of *Hymenaeus* defends himself against the charge that he has merely decked out another's comedy in new garb by referring his plot to a tale in the *Decameron* (p. 135). Yet it is probable enough that an earlier adaptation of Boccaccio's story did influence the author of *Hymenaeus*. His play is not close to the Italian tale, and the added material includes such a commonplace feature as the three wooers who became a general convention of English popular comedies and not alone those adapted from

Italian sources. The later romantic drama of the universities suggests the conventionality in the sixteenth century of many motives and situations that we would naturally ascribe to Beaumont and Fletcher, Middleton, and their fellows of the Jacobean professional stage. We may have in this fact one indication that the large body of lost sixteenth century plays exhibited almost as great variety as seventeenth century comedy. The many situations of these university plays paralleled in the later plays of the London stage at least help to reveal university drama as an integral part of general Elizabethan and Jacobean drama. One very interesting parallel is found in *Silvanus*, 1597. Silvanus in his madness is represented as twisting the heads of two cats, imagining them to be Erastus and Florinda, who have wronged him (p. 302). It is quite possible that Lear's mad fancy about the cat is a reflection of this incident. Several Gullios appear in the university drama at the end of the sixteenth century, and the name seems to have been used by university playwrights before it became popular on the regular stage.

On the other hand, university drama had, as it seems to me, marked individual notes. The most interesting of these is to be found in the treatment of country and village life and pastimes. Despite a spirit of mockery, university drama presents a far more realistic picture of rural life than the regular drama, which was a London product. *Gammer Gurton's Needle* is obviously the most notable example, and I believe that *Wily Beguiled* furnishes a worthy rival. Actual English country pastimes are no doubt reflected in the wooing dance of Gager's *Rivales*. The seventeenth century *Fucus Histriomastix* is peculiarly rich in its pictures of the provincial's songs and dances connected with wooing and marriage, but a number of the sixteenth century plays discussed by Boas contain similar material. The countryman of the regular drama was likely to be presented as he appeared in London, whereas the university playwrights and audiences appreciated better the humor of the villager and countryman as he appeared in his home life, with which numbers of them were familiar.

But, aside from generalizations, an inclination to disregard all but established facts has led Professor Boas to exclude plays whose right to a place in university drama, at least, we should expect to find discussed. The old *Timon* is an example. Professor Boas disregards also the possibility that in the extant *Wily Beguiled* we have a revised form of the lost Oxford *Wylie Beguylie* of 1567. Yet all the passages in the extant play which point to a date near the end of the sixteenth century could have been added at revision, and much in the play suggests old stagecraft; while the scholar-hero and the same broad humor as in *Gammer Gurton's Needle*, with realistic touches in the portrayal of country scenes, suggest university drama.

Naturally points of varied interpretation arise. The most interesting of these concerns the authorship of *Gammer Gurton's Needle*. Professor Boas argues strongly the claims of Bridges. The problem

is purely one of balancing evidence, as Mr. Bradley recognized when he attributed the play to Stevenson. It appears to me, however, that Professor Boas makes far too little of the religious attitude of the play and of the reference to arresting "in the Kings name." These features hardly seem like "pieces of literary artifice," as Professor Boas suggests, and they tell against Bridges's authorship, for he could hardly have written a play at Cambridge before the accession of Mary, since he proceeded B. A. in 1556, whereas there is definite record of Stevenson's connection with a play in 1554, probably in English, and with plays in preceding years—in other words, in the reign of Edward VI. It seems to me that the reference to "Mr. Stevesonne play" in 1560 is less likely to be to a play by the new man of the name who was fellow at Christ's at this time than to a revival of the popular *Gammer Gurton's Needle* or of another play by the early Stevenson. It would be a striking coincidence if two men of the same name were dramatists at the same college within the space of a few years. Professor Boas regards William Stevenson as merely the manager of performances, but the phrasing would more readily, I think, be taken to indicate authorship. Certainly even management of dramatic performances gives a presumption in favor of authorship, as we may judge from the careers of Heywood, Bale, Udall, and many later dramatists. Moreover, as little as we can rely on title pages, it seems to me that as much weight ought to be attached to the title page of the 1575 edition, apparently prepared about ten years before it appeared, as to the mocking attribution of the play to Bridges in Martin Marprelate pamphlets more than thirty years after *Gammer Gurton's Needle* was written. However high an opinion Martin may have held of the "witte and invention" shown in the play, ability to fasten the authorship on Bridges would be tantamount to unveiling a skeleton in the Dean's closet, and I do not believe that Martin would have qualified his statement by "as they say," if he had been sure of the authorship. Still there must have been some report of Bridges's connection with *Gammer Gurton's Needle*. It is possible that Stevenson wrote the play in the reign of Edward VI, that it was repeated in 1560, and that Bridges had some connection with this revival, possibly revising the play slightly.

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KARL NESSLER, *GESCHICHTE DER BALLADE* von Chevy Chase. Pp. xii, 190. Palaestra CXII, Berlin, 1911.

The Palaestra series of monographs is already assuming the proportions of a library and begins to suggest the question how one is to find time to read not merely the elaborate contributions to literary history but even the specimens of literature on which they are based. The number before us is a very thorough piece of work.

Data of all sorts concerning sources, time and place of origin, and the history of the ballad down to modern times are brought together and conveniently arranged for the use of the future historian of the English ballad. And a future historian there must be, for, notwithstanding ambitious attempts on a grand scale, as for example in the Cambridge History of English Literature, much of the history of English literature is yet to be written. But obviously, unless all sense of proportion is to be lost, detailed investigations like this cannot find a place in a general history of the literature.

Yet the theme of this study deserves a prominent place; for in the popular poetry of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, we find, with the possible exception of the Robin Hood ballads and The Babes in the Wood, nothing to rival the popularity of Chevy Chase. Other ballads have more artistic finish and more beauty, but the mingled strength and pathos of Chevy Chase drew warm praise from critics as different as Sir Philip Sidney and Addison and still assure its reputation even among readers who know it only by name.

In view of the attention the ballad has received for hundreds of years it is notable that Herr Nessler is the first to make a detailed study of it in all its bearings. He begins his discussion with the two chief versions, A and B and their relations—A being a popular ballad going back in its elements to the fifteenth century and B a street ballad hardly older than the beginning of the seventeenth century. Then follows a comparison of the style of the two versions. Notable indeed is the difference. Whereas the older version is rough and awkward, every line and every turn of expression are of popular origin. The later version—the one on which Addison based his famous criticism in the *Spectator*—affects a learned style and a careful neatness of rhyme. The line is often padded with the expletive *do*. Epithets such as *vehement*, *purple*, *brinish* (tears), *beauteous*, *fragrant*, *harmonious*, *pearlye* (teares) are much in evidence. Verbs like *prevent*, *advance*, *perceived*, etc., are found. In general, although there are exquisite lines in B, the tone is far more self-conscious than in A. And the thin, washed-out quality of B becomes increasingly evident the more it is studied in comparison with A. The later version, moreover, gives abundant evidence of confusion and misunderstanding. In A there is evident sympathy with Percy and the English; in B and the allied versions the Scottish leaders, Douglas and Montgomery, are made more prominent. But, of course, B ultimately goes back to the same source as A, and this source is found in the ballad on the Battle of Otterburn in 1388. The historical and the unhistorical elements in the two versions receive somewhat detailed treatment, pp. 53 ff. Without difficulty the author shows that most of the material in *Chevy Chase* is unhistoric.

As for the remainder of the discussion, pp. 86-154, it is taken up with the literary antecedents of *Chevy Chase*—including parallel motives in various romances—and with the reputation of the bal-

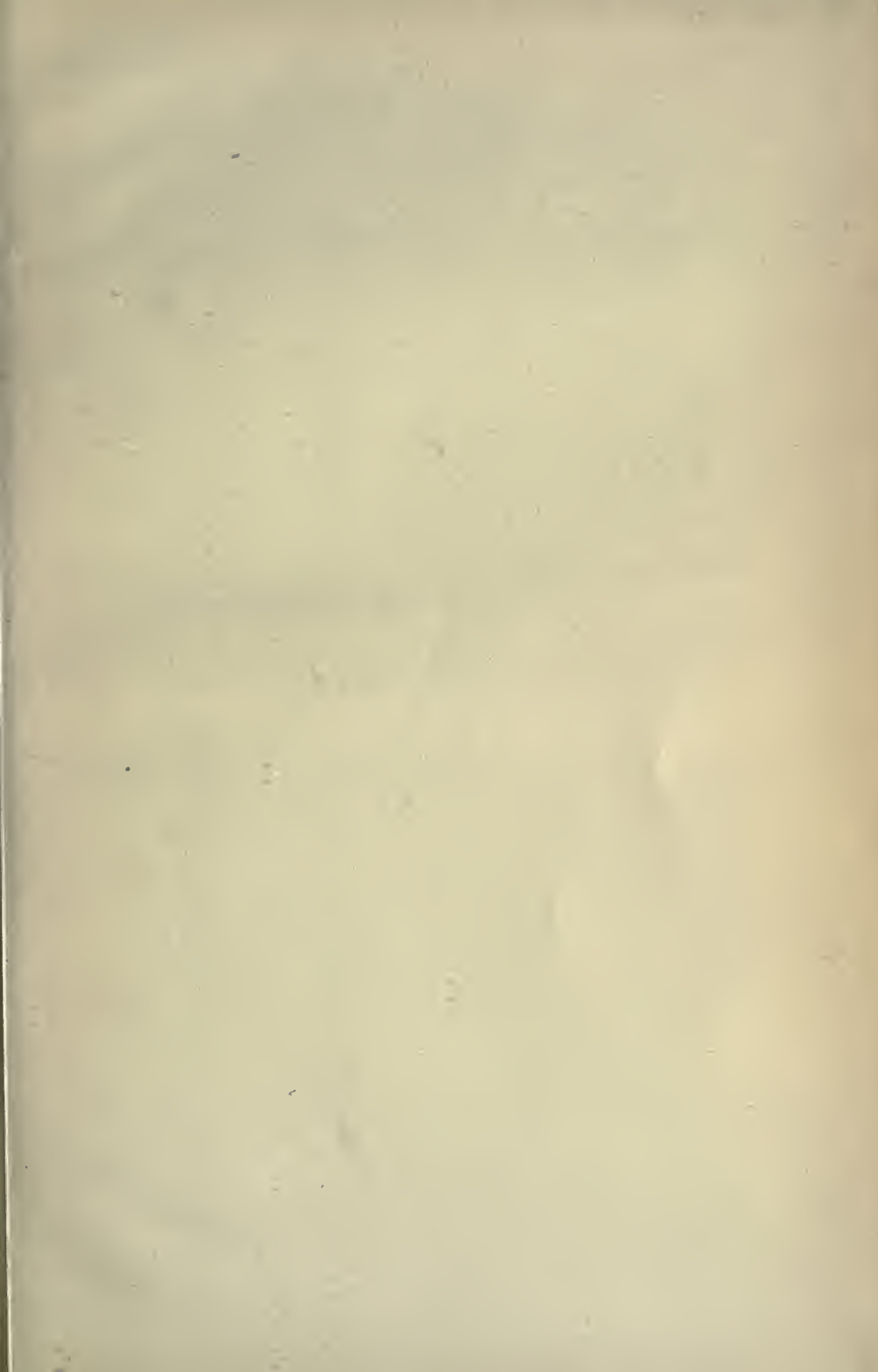
lad as evidenced in allusions and criticisms down to 1850. The collection is measurably complete but makes no mention of the famous "Miscellany Poems" edited by Dryden and published by Tonson, beginning in 1684. These poems included various Ballads, such as *The Miller and the King's Daughter*, *Little Musgrave and the Lady Barnard*, *Johnnie Armstrong*, and *Chevy Chase*.

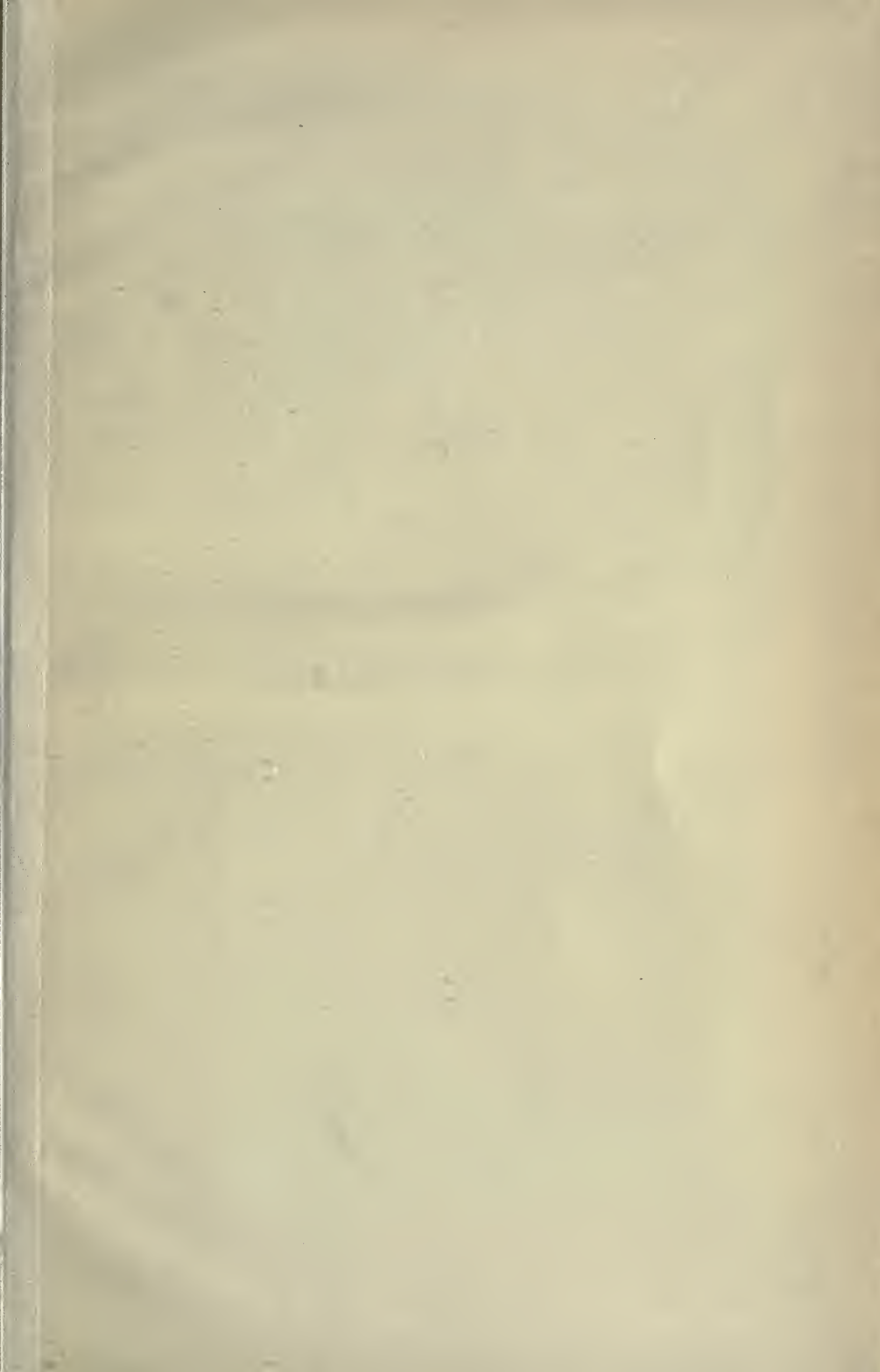
Among other minor matters we may note the not convincing argument that the balladist of the Battle of Otterburn must have known Latin, since the name Swinton is found only in the Latin *Scotichronicon* of Bower! Are we bound to assume that the maker of this ancient ballad could not have picked up the name from an oral source and hence need not have been a man of learning? Herr Nessler's book as a whole would have been more usable if the author had brought together his numerous abbreviations in an alphabetical list. Scattered as they now are, the reader who dips in without following the discussion in detail may well be puzzled. One *may* make out that B. P. F. M. (p. 95) means Bishop Percy's Folio Manuscript. But when OC is mentioned on pp. 78, 81, 82, the only key is found on p. 74. Misprints are rare, but "Pery," p. 181, is evidently for Percy. It is to be regretted that there is no index, a defect only too common in the *Palaestra* series.

Following the main discussion is a reprint of A and B in parallel columns, with variant readings, and a supplement on the vogue of *Chevy Chase* in Germany.

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